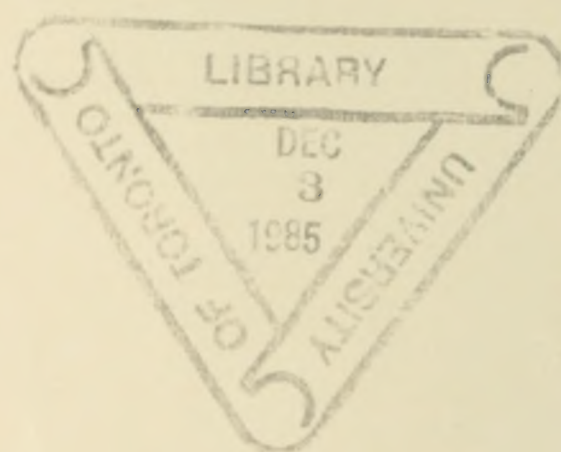




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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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BARON SHIBUSAWA, FOREMOST FINANCIER OF JAPAN

DURING the past two months Baron Shibusawa, who, while holding no official post, is recognized in his own country and throughout the world as Japan's leading business man and financier, has made an extended tour of the United States, visiting the San Francisco Fair, and coming East to New York, Boston, Washington, and other centers. The Baron has done more than any other man to make the merchant's calling respectable in his country. He founded the First National Bank of Japan, organized the Tokio Chamber of Commerce, built up commercial training schools, and later devoted a large part of his great wealth to philanthropic causes. His purpose in visiting this country was to interest American capitalists in coöperating with the Japanese for the development of China's vast resources.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Facing Another
Calendar
Year*

When the European war began, at the end of July, 1914, the German troops were assured that it would all be over and that they would be home in time for Christmas. But the highest English authority, Lord Kitchener, said that the war would last three years. At the beginning of the year 1916 the outlook for peace is altogether gloomy. Those Englishmen, like Mr. Charles Trevelyan, who have dared even to hint at an end of the war by other means than complete military victory, are treated with derision and notified not to expect a reelection to Parliament or any other mark of public esteem or confidence. In Germany, there is perhaps more peace sentiment than in England. But the one recent official utterance on the subject that stands out above all others gives the pacifists no ground for encouragement. We refer to the speech of the German Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, at the opening of the Reichstag, December 9, whose careful statements took the form of a reply to a previously arranged inquiry on behalf of certain Social Democratic members of the body, with Dr. Philip Scheidemann as their spokesman, in advocacy of a German proposal.

*The German
Chancellor's
Speech*

The occasion was one of great brilliancy and formality; and important personages of the Government, the army and navy, and the diplomatic corps, were present to hear the Chancellor's answer to the Socialist interpellation as phrased in the following sentence: "Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to give information as to the conditions under which he would be willing to enter into peace negotiations?" The Chancellor gave his reasons why Germany could not set forth a peace program. He reviewed the facts and developments of the war, and set them over against the current statements in

England and other Allied countries, that the war must go on until Germany is crushed or annihilated. He thought that for Germany to make peace proposals at this time would lengthen rather than shorten the war. "If our enemies," he said, "make peace proposals compatible with Germany's dignity and safety, then we shall always be ready to discuss them. Fully conscious of our unshaken military successes, we decline responsibility for continuation of the misery which now fills Europe and the whole world." He reviewed the Balkan situation with Bulgaria as a new factor, with Serbia for the present eliminated, and with the Entente powers menacing Greece.



GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSALS

"We are ready for peace. We decline to accept responsibility for continuation of the war."—Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg.

From Public Ledger (Philadelphia)

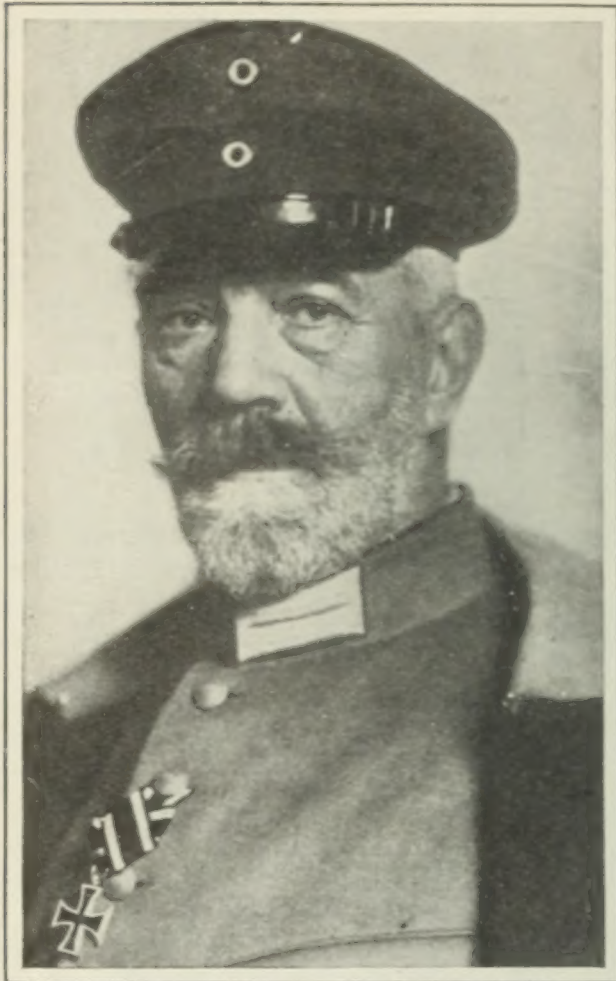


Photo by Bain

DR. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR

Germany's Internal Conditions

The Chancellor's speech made a general review of military and economic conditions, within Germany and within conquered territory, and was marked from beginning to end by great confidence of tone. The Reichstag emphatically approved of Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg's survey of the situation. There have been rumors of great disaffection in Germany, but these have probably been exaggerated. There are very contradictory statements regarding the German food supply, with preponderant evidence to the effect that with increasing strictness of government regulation the available supplies will suffice for some time to come. We shall soon have forecasts of another year's crops; for spring and summer are not far distant. Meanwhile the trains that carry military supplies and railroad material to the Balkan regions and the Turkish Empire are returning to Germany with food supplies, cotton, copper, and various materials. A new war loan has been over-subscribed.

Broad Issues of the War

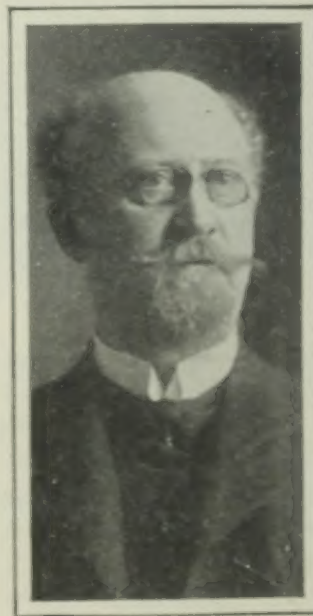
Many of our readers will have a much clearer idea of the issues involved in the making of future peace if they will read very carefully Mr.

Simonds' contribution to the REVIEW this month, together with that of Dr. Talcott Williams which immediately follows it, as well as that of Mr. Stoddard on Rumania. The two things most thoroughly demonstrated thus far in the war are: First, that England's sea power cannot be broken, and that the British Empire has neither yet been shaken nor is likely to be disturbed; while the second fact is that Germany's amazing power of organization and unified action, together with her advantages due to operating from an inner position, renders her practically invincible,—at least from the defensive standpoint,—in a war on land. England cannot and will not give up the war while Belgium is either directly or indirectly under German control. France cannot and will not give up the war with enemies entrenched upon French soil. The German authorities now understand that they are not to remain in Belgium or France.

What Germany Might Consider

As a price of permanent peace, they would probably be willing to make some slight concessions to France on the Alsace-Lorraine frontier. As regards Russia, the most responsible Germans probably no longer have any thought of holding Russian territory as spoils of war. But they would like to create the Kingdom of Poland, chiefly out of Polish Russia, and to have Poland as a buffer state. They

would also probably like to see Rumania gain something to the northward by taking back Bessarabia from Russia, in order that the Russians might the more effectively be kept from the Balkans and Constantinople. Germany would undertake to find her own compensation by securing the consent of Europe and the world to undertake the development of the Turkish Empire and to hold a position of recognized leadership,—not of

DR. SCHEIDEMANN
(Socialist leader in German Reichstag)

formal rulership,—throughout the southeast of Europe. Thus Germany is taking the Balkan campaign very seriously, and is push-

ing the uncompleted parts of the Bagdad railroad system with intense energy. Dr. Williams understands that many of the Armenians who have been so cruelly maltreated by the Turks in Asia Minor have found their way into the construction camps of the German railway builders, where they are probably glad to be allowed to live, as impressed laborers. Germany looks forward, also, as we explained in these pages fourteen months ago, to being allowed to create a Central African colony that will connect her East and West African possessions by acquisition of the Belgian Congo. France has her great empire to develop in North Africa, and Great Britain has far more empire on her hands than she needs. The South African Union will not be likely to give up German Southwest Africa, conquered last year by General Botha. Belgium will not be fitted to maintain and develop an empire in the heart of Africa.

No
Separate
Bargains

Thus the lines of a durable understanding begin to make themselves more or less clear in the minds of the more moderate German leaders, of whom Ambassador von Bernstorff is a type. Italy has given her adherence to the compact previously signed by England, France, and Russia, against the making of separate peace. We have no reason to believe that this agreement will be disregarded, unless indeed there should arise some misunderstandings among the Entente powers,



(This map shows how the Belgian Congo lies between the German Cameroons on the west and German East Africa. German Southwest Africa will probably remain a part of British South Africa)



BACK TO BACK, INVINCIBLE AND MORE DETERMINED
THAN EVER

[Italy has accepted the Entente agreement not to make separate peace]

From the *Star* (Montreal)

of a far more serious nature than those that have been recently rumored. Even if Germany should voluntarily withdraw from France and Belgium, modify the Alsace-Lorraine boundary, and guarantee the French empire in North Africa, taking as her own compensation nothing but the Belgian Congo, there is no reason whatever to think that France would give up the war and leave England and Russia still fighting. It is true that the French authorities have not been satisfied with the support they have received from England, and have regarded many misfortunes as due to persistent British blundering. But on the other hand, the French Government and people are not so blind as to have lost sight of the inestimable benefits they have received (1) from Great Britain's maintenance of her sea power, (2) from British financial coöperation, (3) from the presence in France of a million British soldiers, and (4) from the moral assurance arising out of the knowledge that the British Empire could not and would not give up the struggle until France and Belgium had been duly restored and their future safeguarded for several generations.

England
In Good
Condition

We have not had accurate or conclusive reports regarding the remarkable canvass for recruits, directed on a house-to-house plan by Lord



DERBY'S DAY

(With Mr. Punch's compliments to the director of recruiting)

From *Punch* (London)

Derby and his efficiency experts. But it seems to be established that considerably more than two million new enlistments have been enrolled, and that in the United Kingdom alone, since the war began, something like three and a half millions of volunteer soldiers have been secured. If the war continues long, the United Kingdom can supply still further millions. There seems to be much less talk, at the turn of the year in England, about the failure of the Asquith-Kitchener-Balfour-Lloyd George coalition cabinet than there was in November. Changes in high command on the fighting front have been brought about with much less friction than might have been anticipated. Sir John French has resigned from leadership of the British troops in France, but he has not been disgraced or relegated to private life. He has been raised to the peerage and made Field Marshal in command of the great armies that are organ-

izing and recruiting in the British Islands. General Sir Douglas Haig, who was his foremost assistant and in active charge for a long time of the right wing of the British forces in France, becomes chief commander in the field.

*Efficiency
in Military
Places*

It is possible that General Haig will coöperate more efficiently and agreeably with the French supreme commander, General Joffre; and on many grounds the change is to be regarded as advantageous. The French war authorities have never hesitated to supersede generals and to place military capacity above all social and political considerations. It will be a hard thing for the British army to get on a real basis of efficiency like the armies of France and Germany, because of the traditional relations of the aristocracy to the military caste. But the stern necessities of the war will doubtless infuse the spirits of democracy and of practical achievement into the higher circles of military rank. As for the patriotism and bravery of the English aristocracy, it has never been in question. But over against it has been an even more extreme and fanatical German patriotism, coupled with a scientific, industrial, and organizing capacity beyond that of the British.

*Relative
Comfort "in
the Trenches"*

Viewed in its larger aspects, therefore, the war offers no prospect of an early settlement. Never from the beginning of it has such a



A SCENE IN THE TRENCHES

(This picture shows French soldiers making rings from German shells. They are only fifty yards away from the German lines. They are amply provided with covered shelters, with layers of sand bags for additional protection against shot and shell. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers are spending the winter in similar excavations, with scientific care for their physical condition)

pious and kindly settlement as that which would have "got the boys out of the trenches and by their own firesides before Christmas" had so little relation to the real situation as last month. The boys in the trenches were,—so far as the western and some other fighting fronts are concerned,—rather better off than they had previously been, because of the growingly elaborate systems of shelter and care provided by all the principal belligerents. Although the opposing intrenchments lay so near each other, many hundreds of thousands of men were in what had been arranged as winter quarters. The next few weeks will be, for most of the armies, a quiescent period, while for the people at home it will be a period of intense activity in providing equipment and preparing for the activities of spring and summer.



SIR JOHN FRENCH

After a career mostly spent in France and Belgium, Sir John French was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in France and Belgium.



SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, THE NEW COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

(General Haig had been Sir John French's right-hand man at the front, and had been repeatedly praised in the dispatches of his chief. He saw active service at Khartum, and was a staff officer in the South African war and in India)

The War to Be Settled on Large Lines

The events of the war have led Europe to see that questions regarding the relative culpability for the outbreak, in 1914, have been lived down and have become chiefly academic. The immense growth of populations, industry, and commerce were bringing about a number of inevitable changes. The question was whether these changes could be defined and accepted without a war, or whether they should be defined and accepted after a world-wide struggle. If there had been greater strength and wisdom in the diplomatic and governmental machinery of the nations, the needful adjustments might have been made without a wholesale sacrifice of private interest to alleged public necessity. War hardly ever brings to the collective mass any benefits that suffice to compensate the individual members of the mass for their private sacrifices of life and fortune. A common-sense dealing with Balkan problems on the part of the great powers, during the past thirty years, and a generous and broad-gauge treatment of the rivalries of growing commercial powers in the matter of colonial en-

pires and oversea trade would have obviated the great war and resulted in benefit to countless millions in their personal capacities, without loss or harm to the collective entities that we call "states" or "nations."

Programs Must Be Reconsidered Germany had far outgrown both France and Great Britain in numbers; while in science and industry the disparity was incomparably greater than in population. The Germans have been eager not only to do things at home, but to play a large part in the development of the resources of backward countries and regions. Their commercial and economic energy has sought important outlets. If Germany and France had composed their lingering differences on a sensible basis years ago, and if England had been somewhat broader-minded in recognizing legitimate German aspirations, the solid arguments for peace might have outweighed the temptations to war. As matters stand, the world is paying a great price for the luxury of having rival empires contend for their conflicting programs. And it seems unlikely that either side will be able to impose its programs upon the other. The Allies had announced the program of crushing Germany utterly, of dismembering Austria, and of wiping Turkey completely off the map. The great military fact that the events of the year 1915 have disclosed is the extreme unlikelihood that this program of the Entente powers can be carried out short of another four or five years, if at all. Nations fighting defensively from interior positions, with their very existence at stake, can hold out a long time. But if their existence is conceded, their honorable future is assumed, and the terms of peace are not too difficult or humiliating, such a war may be brought to an end.

Let Germany Develop Asia Minor The great western Asiatic empire of Turkey has been lying waste and undeveloped through many centuries. There is no other conceivable portion of the earth that so needs stability of control, and economic rehabilitation. What England has done splendidly for Egypt, and is doing for the British Sudan, needs to be done in a large way for the country south of the Black Sea, extending through the Mesopotamia district to the Persian Gulf. The fate of the Armenians shows that Turkey in Asia should be controlled and developed by some firm and responsible agency. Neither England nor France can undertake it, and it must lie

between Russia and Germany, or else be left to the further devastation of Kurdish murderers. Even if there were comparative quiet, there could be no economic development without outside agencies. Russia has already far more territory than she can properly manage in the economic sense. Her further encroachments in northern Persia might be of doubtful advantage to anybody; but since she already controls nearly all the coast line of the Caspian Sea, she might properly enough seek a southern outlet through northern and western Persia to the Persian Gulf. Such an arrangement could be made without destroying anything that is advantageous in Persia's sovereignty, and on the contrary it ought to be of advantage to the Persians and to all other interests. In short, there is plenty of room for German enterprise and energy in the world, and if it is encouraged in right and beneficent ways it will not be very likely to assert itself in wrong and dangerous ways.

A Partly Clearing Situation

It will, however, require another six months or perhaps another year to give determinate form to these now very nebulous outlines of readjustment. Bulgaria, with German and Austrian help, has indeed swept Serbia clean, and communication is unopposed all the way from Antwerp, Brussels, Hamburg, and northern Germany, through Austria, Hungary, Serbia, and Bulgaria, to Constantinople and across



WILL THE WATERS PART AGAIN?

From the New York Times.
(It is reported that a Turkish fleet, equipped for the purpose, is being sent to the East.)



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GREEK INFANTRY ON THE MARCH

(In the middle of December long columns of Greek soldiers marched westward in their unhappy evacuation of Salonica, their government having been compelled to withdraw them from that city and territory by the Entente powers.)

the Bosphorus to the interior of Asia Minor. As Dr. Williams and Mr. Simonds show us, in their interesting articles, the English expedition has been driven back from the vicinity of Bagdad. The Anglo-French expedition into Serbia and the fringes of Bulgaria has had to make tumultuous retreat to the neutral territory of Greece, where its leaders are spending all their energies in the establishment of a great base of operations at Salonica. The Anglo-French line across the Gallipoli Peninsula may, indeed, be maintained for the present, but it will have to assume a defensive position, with a view to keeping a large body of Turkish troops from being engaged elsewhere. Salonica may prove hard to hold.

The Plight of Greece

Thus the Teuton-Bulgar-Turkish campaign of 1915 seems to have been highly successful. Yet a study of the Rumanian and Greek situation shows that Teuton victory has yet to be clinched. One of the most significant and pathetic documents of the war is an interview given by the Greek King Constantine to the Associated Press early in December, and published in the United States on December 7. The following introductory paragraphs are quite worth reprinting:

I am especially glad to talk for America, for

America will understand Greece's position. We are both neutral, and are together determined, if it is humanly possible, not to court destruction by permitting ourselves to be drawn into the frightful vortex of the present European conflict. Both are trying by every honorable means to guard our sovereignty, protect our own people, and stand up for our national interests without sacrificing that neutrality which we recognize as our only salvation.

America is protected from immediate danger by the distance which separates her from the battlefield. We, too, thought that once, but the battlefield shifted, and may shift again. What is happening in Greece to-day may happen in America, Holland, or any other neutral country to-morrow if the precedent now sought to be established in the case of Greece is once fixed.

Constantine An-
nounces to Amer-
ican Opinion

Constantine declared that there was not the slightest ground for the assumption of the Entente powers that Greece would betray them to Germany at the first favorable opportunity. He made it clear, on the other hand, that Greece had been constantly misrepresented by the British and French governments and newspapers in the matter of her treaty with Serbia. The second Balkan war was strictly among the small neighboring powers. The treaty in question required Greece to aid Serbia in case of a future attack by Bulgaria with a view to annexing Serbian Macedonia. The treaty had no possible reference to the

contingency of an attack upon Serbia by the two great European powers, Germany and Austria-Hungary, with Bulgaria as an ally. In this statement, Constantine is obviously right; and the Entente press is wholly in the wrong. Further than that, Constantine denies that any treaty had been made, or understanding arrived at, between Greece and Bulgaria since the outbreak of the European war. Regarding the treatment that Greece had received at the hands of England and her allies, Constantine's interview proceeds as follows:

From the very outset of hostilities in the Near East, Greece's neutrality has been stretched to the utmost to accommodate the Entente powers,



KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE.

for whom we have always felt the keenest sympathy and the deepest gratitude. The Dardanelles operations were directed from Greek islands occupied by Allied troops. When Serbia was endangered by the combined Austro-German and Bulgarian attack the Allied troops landed unopposed on Greek soil, from which, with the second city of Greece as a base, they prosecuted not only unmolested, but aided in every way consistent with any sort of neutrality, their fruitless and too long delayed campaign to rescue their ally.

Finally, I myself have given my personal word that Greek troops will never be used to attack the Franco-British forces in Macedonia, merely to allay unjustified suspicions.

Yet, despite all these evidences of the good faith of Greece, the Entente powers now demand, in a form which is virtually an ultimatum, that the Greek troops be withdrawn from Salonica, and that Greece, as Macedonia, having her mediation proposed against wars by Bulgaria, contribute in all the horrors of war which that Belgium waste, should the Allies be driven back within our frontiers.

Just suppose the Germans were in a position to demand that your country concede the use of Boston or Seattle as the base for an attack on Canada. What would you say? And if all your military experience and the advice of your General Staff told you that such a landing was doomed to failure because made with an inadequate force, and you realized that the British troops in Canada would pursue the retreating Germans across New England, destroying as they went, would you accept the prospect without a struggle?

The interview was an extensive one, and every word of it was to the point. The Entente powers have now established themselves at Salonica, and are in full control of that port, as also of the railroad leading northward, and the adjacent territory. Dispatches printed December 16 gave a graphic account of the marching of Greek regiments away from the famous seaport and military camp that Greece had recently acquired with so much of national pride and satisfaction. King Constantine has learned a lesson from the experience of King Albert of Belgium. He does not propose to make fruitless resistance, and invite the devastation of his country. But he wishes the world to know that what the Germans proposed to do in Belgium,—namely, to march across the country and pay for any incidental damage,—is precisely what the opponents of Germany have now undertaken to do in Greece. Germany proposed to invade the enemy's country



THE GREEK TROOPS. (Illustration by the artist.)



BRITISH TROOPS AT THE GREEK PORT OF SALONICA

(The picture shows immense piles of supplies of all kinds that have been brought by the British and French to the Greek port which they are developing into a great military and naval base. The Greek army has been sent away, and it was expected that the foreign consuls would, of course, be expelled. This coercive occupation of Greek territory is similar in character to the occupation of Luxemburg, at the beginning of the war, by the Germans)

by way of Belgium and to keep open a line of retreat. The Entente powers have actually invaded the enemy's country by way of Greek territory, and have not only used Greece for safe retreat, but have demanded that Greece employ her military power to protect them against Teuton and Bulgarian pursuers, while partly demobilizing.

*Belgium
and
Greece*

This is going farther than Germany ever thought of going in Belgium. Surely it had never crossed the phlegmatic German mind that Belgium could not only be invited to allow German troops to use Belgian railroads and highways to reach France, but could also be required,—in case Germans had to retreat from France,—to fight France in support of their neutrality in case French soldiers should try to follow retreating Germans across the Belgian frontier. Yet this is the situation that existed in Greece last month. A great Anglo-French expeditionary army was driven back upon Greek territory. These forces had demanded that Greece should afford them safe shelter, and it was expected that Greece would use her own army to oppose the violation of Greek neutrality by Bulgars or Germans in pursuit of the Anglo-French. It remains to be seen whether Salonica, as a mili-

tary and naval base, is worth enough to England and France to justify them in the sacrifice of the principles of international law and right involved in the attack on Greek sovereignty and neutrality.

*Submission
and
Consequences*

England, France, and Italy have vast navies in the Mediterranean, and Greece consists mostly of shoreline. She can only submit. But England now joins hands with Germany in the bad doctrine that small powers have no rights that great powers are bound to respect when a question of military strategy is involved. The Allies have gone so far as to demand that Greece demobilize, and thus put herself in a position of helplessness as against all sorts of possible contingencies. This is as unjust as it would be for Germany to demand that either Holland or Switzerland should demobilize at the present time. The German diplomacy that led up to the war was far from creditable, according to our way of thinking. But two wrongs do not make a right, and the unjust attitude of the Teutonic empires towards smaller neighbors does not lend lustre to similar conduct when pursued by England and France. The thing that has really happened—in so far as the extreme eastern strip of Greece is concerned,

from Salonica to the frontiers of Serbia and Bulgaria,—is a seizure for military purposes by the Entente powers. This territory becomes a theater of war, to be invaded by Bulgar and Teuton without giving just cause or offense to Greece. The Greeks are eminently right in trying to keep out of the war, and in temporarily abandoning what it would be suicide for them to try to defend.

*Greece and
Rumania
Expectant*

If the Anglo-French plan of a tremendous attack upon Bulgaria next spring from Salonica as a base should restore Serbia and cut Germany off from Turkey, very handsome rewards will be due to Greece for her submission. If, on the other hand, Teuton and Bulgar should win the day and take Salonica, it is hard to believe that the Greeks would ever again be in authority at that seaport, or in any part of the district lying eastward. It is on this ground that the natural sympathies of the Greeks are with the English and French, and not with the powers that are crushing Serbia and supporting Bulgaria. Teutonic influence would, however, in any case consider the future of Greece as against that of Italy; and if Greece should have lost something of her recent gains at the head of the Egean, she might find more than ample compensation elsewhere. Meanwhile, it remains for the onlooking world to see whether Russia's recuperation will be rapid enough to permit her, within a few weeks, to put the same kind of pressure upon Rumania that England and France have put upon Greece. As Mr. Stoddard's article in this number of the REVIEW makes plain, Rumania might well hope to gain something by preserving her neutrality, while she might suffer a direful fate if she entered the war on either side. Germany would like to give Rumania the province of Bessarabia, now owned by Russia, as a price of keeping neutral; while Russia would be willing to give Rumania the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Bukowina and Transylvania as the price of a benevolent neutrality that would permit Russia to use Rumanian territory in the same way that the Anglo-French forces are using Greek territory. With Rumania, as with Greece, everything depends upon the military strength that backs the demands of great neighbors. Times are bad for small nations.

*The
Un-expected
Results*

Thus the war now begins to be fought for permanent results that gradually assume some understandable outlines. These results in Eu-

rope are regarded as far more important than the methods and the details of warfare. One hears little of the rearmaments of a year ago. The best aid that the United States could render to the world would be to maintain a great body of public opinion, capable of justice, generosity, fair play, and the other qualities that command esteem and respect. It is unfortunate that (according to practically all the testimony that can be gathered) this country is steadily losing the good opinion of the rest of the world. There could have been brought into association a neutral group of nations, with definite sentiments, that would have played a very influential role in the history of the war and in the ultimate settlement. From the very outbreak of the war this course has been repeatedly advocated by this REVIEW. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are stable countries, having an even greater relative stake in the maintenance of neutral rights on the sea than we have. The three Scandinavian countries, while not large, are very important in their seafaring interests, and are incomparably more concerned about the European war than is the United States. Spain is a country of importance and dignity, with a respectable commerce and a great history. Switzerland and Holland, though small countries, have immense moral weight, and are the homes of highly trained international jurists and publicists. The South American countries are better supplied than we are with trained diplomats and international lawyers. Nothing would have seemed more appropriate, at the outset of the war, than to have invited a certain number of neutral countries, including all those that we have named, to join in an official conference at Washington, under the auspices of our Government, to consider questions having to do with the rights and obligations of neutrals, and specific issues arising out of actual incidents.

*Need
of
Co-operation*

In the earlier period of the war there were many questions having to do with the movement of commodities, the changing of contraband rules, the transfer of merchant ships, and so on. We acted at Washington as if these were solely questions affecting the United States, and as if there were no other neutrals in the world. Yet a number of other countries were trying to deal with similar problems, and much was lost, with nothing gained, through failure to proceed in co-operation upon plans approved by a conference of neutrals. The British Orders in

Council, against which our Government has fulminated from time to time, were not directed against the United States, but against Germany; and their incidental disadvantage to the trade of this country was suffered by us in common with the South American countries and the neutral countries of Europe. If from the beginning we had been in conference with these other neutral countries, prompt representations could have been made to England with great moral impressiveness. If, for example, our one unquestionably correct diplomatic utterance,—the so-called "identic note" to Germany and England of last February,—had been sent simultaneously by all neutral powers as a result of an agreement in conference (inasmuch as the matters discussed were in no sense American, but in every sense international), it is almost impossible to believe that England would have made a belated, unresponsive, and negative answer, as she did, thus bringing on inevitably the German submarine campaign of reprisals.

*Safety
Through
Foresight*

An international conference of neutrals would have been free to advise the private subjects of neutral countries not to sail on belligerent ships which were also carrying munitions of war direct to the theater of combat. Such a conference of neutrals would doubtless have adopted a rule warning noncombatant persons to keep off belligerent ships that were not under clear orders to obey the rules of international law, and to refrain from trying to escape when hailed and warned by a hostile armed vessel. The war in Europe is being fought on large issues, for large stakes. No European country has been drawn into the war through some phase of a detail of an incident in the prosecution of the war. A conference of neutrals, in session from the beginning, would have insured the safety of a country like ours, by making it certain that proper diplomatic means were promptly used to keep neutrals from being involved through accidents. If such a conference had been called, it is hard to believe that there would have been a *Lusitania* incident, because the great liners enrolled as naval auxiliaries of their respective countries would have been openly warned not to carry women and children if they were also engaged in war service as munition-carriers or transports. Such a conference, in permanent session, would have protected all neutrals and saved the remnants of international law.

*The
Ancona
Dispute*

If such a conference had formulated its position, there would have been no *Ancona* incident in the Mediterranean, because many months ago there would have been fully established, and agreed to by all belligerents, several salutary principles of international law and of common sense. However wrong the Austrian submarine must have been in the subsequent proceedings, in the case of the *Ancona* it is evident that the lives of all the passengers were illegally jeopardized when the captain of the *Ancona*, in order to save his ship (which in its eastward passages was said to be a munition-carrier), disregarded the warning of the submarine and undertook to escape by putting on full speed. Under international law the pursuing warship was at liberty to sink the escaping vessel. The subsequent facts are in contradiction. But it is plain that all American and other neutral persons ought long ago in this war to have been warned that neutral governments could not protect them on belligerent merchant ships engaged in war service as munition-carriers, or on ships that were not pledged to observe the ordinary rules of international law as to capture, visit and search, and so on. It is alleged at Washington that certain of the numerous Italian passengers on this steamer in the Mediterranean had lived in this country and become naturalized. The American newspapers that were eager for a break of relations with Austria might reasonably have tried to ascertain how many



"WAS THERE, MR. PRESIDENT?"
From the Tribune (New York)



BARON STEPHAN TISZA

(The Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has been carrying-on the diplomatic argument with the United States concerning the *Ancona* sinking)

other neutral countries had passengers on board that ship, and also whether under circumstances of that kind other neutral governments would feel themselves justified in making peremptory demands upon Austria.

*Some of the
Essential
Facts*

The note of our State Department admits that the *Ancona*, after being hailed and warned, tried to escape. She thus brought upon her innocent passengers an attack that resulted finally in the loss of the ship and the death of a good many people. She had deliberately broken what is the most universally accepted rule of international law as regards such situations. It is alleged that the *Ancona* finally gave up the attempt to escape, that the submarine continued to fire her guns, and that a torpedo sank the passenger ship before everybody had been safely sent off in the lifeboats. But on the other hand, it seems to be admitted on both sides that the unlawful flight of the *Ancona*, which led to the lawful pursuit and gunfire of the sub-

marine, had thrown the passengers,—who were very largely Italians of the lower class,—into so wild a panic that they could not very well be rapidly and safely loaded into the boats, although more than the usual time was occupied in such an effort. Our State Department, on December 6, sent to the Government of Austria a note more challenging and brusque in its tone than is usual in diplomatic intercourse unless war is not only expected but desired. It may be that our State Department was wholly justified in assuming that it had known all the facts, and was competent to pronounce judgment. But, we must repeat, this *Ancona* case was not primarily an American incident. It concerned humanity, and it concerned all nations. The facts should have been passed upon by a competent committee of inquiry constituted of neutral nations, and notes to Austria should have followed the findings of such a committee.

*Italy's Part
in the
Affair*

On the other hand, it should have been remembered that whereas the facts touching the culpability of Austria are not admitted at Vienna, there is no question in any quarter as to the facts touching the culpability of the commander of the *Ancona*. A jury of international experts would certainly have called upon the Government of Italy to subject the commander of the *Ancona* to punishment. The loss of life was the result of his futile attempt to save the ship in plain violation of international law. If Italy had been asked to punish the captain of the *Ancona* for a wrong that cannot be questioned, we might with better grace and a finer sense of fairness have asked the Government of Austria,—as we did in our note of December 6,—to punish the commander of the submarine. This periodical has no sympathy with the game of torpedoing passenger and merchant ships, now practised freely by all the great powers that are at war. It is the Austrian contention that no lives would have been lost if the *Ancona* had not run away after warning. But this would not justify the sacrifice of innocent passengers by the premature sinking of the ship at a subsequent period, when it had given up the escape and was trying to put its passengers into boats. The very fact that American sympathy is now so preponderantly and so openly supporting the Entente powers makes it the more necessary that our Government should be both courteous and scrupulously fair to Germany and Austria.

Mr. Wilson
as a
Pan-American

President Wilson read his annual message to Congress on December 7. His opening allusions were to the war, regarding which he said, "We have stood apart studiously neutral." After showing the manifest duty of the self-governed nations of this hemisphere to "keep the processes of peace alive," he made the following observation:

In this neutrality, to which they were bidden not only by their separate life and their habitual detachment from the politics of Europe but also by a clear perception of international duty, the states of America have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together.

This led him to explain the Monroe Doctrine as being a matter of coöperation and mutual support among the republics of the Western Hemisphere. He referred with satisfaction to the method and course of events in Mexico, and praised the work of the financial and commercial conference of American republics held in Washington some months ago. It does not seem to have occurred to the President that all these other republics, whom he lauds so highly as our associates "upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence," might with great advantage have been officially consulted as to the course that American republics should take in matters of common concern arising out of the war. He claims that there is "a full and honorable association, as of partners, between ourselves and our neighbors in the interest of all America, North and South." The problems of Mexico are peculiarly ours to deal with; yet he was wise in calling the leading countries of South America into a diplomatic conference over Mexican conditions. The problems of American neutrality, on the other hand, in this time of world war, are *not* peculiar to the United States, but are common to all the republics of the Western Hemisphere. We have, therefore, lost a great chance,—to bind America together, to influence the world beneficently, and to stabilize and assure our own position.—In having failed to call the American republics together in a Pan-American council of neutrals to deal, first of all, with principles, and, following that, with occurrences having relation to the war. Even yet it would be possible to do this, and to create a strong central focus of neutral influence.



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PRESIDENT WILSON,—FROM A SNAPSHOT LAST MONTH

(Besides exceptional activities of a public nature in December, the month brought one of the chief events of his private life. He was married on Saturday, December 18, to Mrs. Galt, who was to become mistress of the White House after a brief wedding journey)

For a
Merchant
Marine

Mr. Wilson's address next took up the plans of military and naval preparation that had already been given to the country, as worked out by Secretaries Garrison and Daniels, and that he had even more fully presented in his speech before the Manhattan Club that we commented upon last month. One of the most positive and energetic portions of the message is devoted to an argument for "the purchase or construction of ships to be owned and directed by the Government, similar to those [proposals] made to the last Congress, but modified in some essential particulars." It is plain that the President intends to use all the influence and power of the Administration to bring about this project of Government owned merchant ships. He regards it as the necessary initial step towards a great merchant marine that will in due time be wholly owned and directed by private capital. In a brief summing-up of national income and outgo, the President points out the need of continuing the tax on sugar and extending the emergency revenue taxes of last year. But with the increased expenditures for the defense program he thinks that it will be necessary



DO YOU BELIEVE IN LIFE INSURANCE?
From the *Evening Express* (Chicago)

to add further taxes for the next fiscal year, to produce somewhat more than an additional one hundred million dollars. He suggests taxes on gasoline, automobiles, bank checks, and iron and steel, as indicating some possible sources of new revenue. This is evidently a subject that he prefers to leave to Congress.

In so far as the newspapers discussed the message, and showed interest in it, they confined themselves almost entirely to a passage in which the President said, among other things, "that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders." He continued in an accusatory passage so remarkable that it seems proper to quote it at some length:

There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers. America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little,

but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reaction against the Government and people who had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate Federal laws to deal with it.

I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

The Calmer Estimate

It would perhaps have been better if the President had discarded rhetoric, and told us more plainly what he meant. It is true that this country has been making munitions for Europe on a colossal scale, for the benefit of the Allies; and that there have been numerous explosions and fires in munition factories that have been due to the activity of men who are hostile to the Allies. Undoubtedly the Government at Washington is in possession of more facts than are now before the public. In view of the vast extent to which the resources of this country have been placed at the service of one side in the European war, there has been less violence on behalf of the other side than might have been expected. The man who takes a profitable contract and turns his farm-implementation factory into a factory for making rifles, becomes almost as truly a part of the war as the man who shoots those rifles from the trenches. The man in the trenches has the motive of patriotism and duty. The American contractor has the motive of private gain. The behavior of Americans of German origin has for the most part been law-abiding and highly admirable. We have not discovered any distinct element in this country that has threatened American peace or shown

disloyalty. It will be a great relief,—and a great benefit in the moral sense,—when those immensely resourceful industrial countries allied against Germany can make all of their own guns and shells, and cease to buy them here. It is a good thing to know that such a time is near at hand. There will be other work for America, and less strain upon those of opposite views and sympathies. Meanwhile order must be maintained.

*More
Diplomats
Recalled*

On December 3, it was announced from Washington that our Government had requested the Government of Germany to recall Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papen, who had for some time been the naval and military aides attached to the German Embassy in this country. The request was duly granted, and our Government secured from the British and Allied authorities the assurance of safe conduct for these officers on their return to Germany. No statements were made that reflected upon their personal or professional characters. They had been here through a period of intense difficulty and strain, trying to serve the interests of their own Government. America swarmed with the agents and representatives (secret as well as open) of the countries fighting against Germany and Austria. In the estimation of most of the newspapers, the activity of the agents of the Allies is *per se* righteous, while every movement of the diplomatic and other agents of the Teutonic governments is deemed *per se* vicious or criminal. It must be kept in mind that none of these German and Austrian personages, against whom offenses have been alleged, have done anything which in motive or intent was directly detrimental to the Government or people of the United States. They have been guilty of technical offenses, in doing things that violate our neutrality. When the Government finds that diplomatic officials have committed such errors, it becomes necessary to ask for their recall.

*Congress
at Work
Again*

In our issue for last month, we set forth the summary facts regarding the new Sixty-fourth Congress, which met for its opening session on Monday, December 6. Mr. Champ Clark was again elected to the Speakership, while the Republicans, who are greatly augmented in numbers, continued to rally around the leadership of Mr. James R. Mann of Illinois. In the Senate, Vice-President Marshall will of course be presiding officer when pres-



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CAPTAIN BOY-ED AND CAPTAIN VON PAPEN

(The German naval and military attaches who have been recalled at the request of the United States Government.)

ent. The honor of the office of president *pro tempore* has been again conferred upon Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, one of the foremost lawyers now in public life. The floor leader of the Democratic majority is Senator Kern, of Indiana, while Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, is accepted spokesman for the Republican minority. It is to be noted that Senator Gallinger and Mr. Mann, on behalf of the Senate and House Republicans, promptly paid their personal respects to President Wilson and assured him that his program of national defense would not be opposed upon any grounds of a party nature. Many matters presented in the reports of Department heads will in due time be brought under discussion in this session of Congress. We shall not anticipate them at this time, but they will be duly noted hereafter, whether they relate to farm credits, to Porto Rican citizenship, to Alaskan development, to the public lands, to post-office administration, or to reform in the system of planning public buildings.



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HON. JAMES R. MANN, OF ILLINOIS
(Again chosen to deliver the Bland Medal Lecture in the House of Representatives.)

Mr. Garrison
and the
Philippines

The principal feature of Secretary Garrison's report is its extended presentation of his plan for giving the country an enlarged regular army, and especially a trained force of citizen soldiers for service in times of emergency. His ably reasoned pages have the convincing qualities that go with his rare power to bring proposals to definite terms and to express them lucidly. Among his briefer allusions is one to the pending measure relating to the government of the Philippine Islands. It will be remembered that the Philippines come under the surveillance of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, which remains in the War Department. Mr. Garrison's usual candor fails him a little when he characterizes all the opponents of the Jones bill, and the present régime in the islands, as either ill-informed or prejudiced. Some of them certainly are not prejudiced, while many of them are conspicuously well informed. There raged in the newspapers, early in December, a most elaborate controversy between ex-President Taft and Secretary Garrison, regarding the character and efficiency of the present management of Philippine affairs. Professor Blayney, a distinguished scholar, and a Wilson Democrat from Texas, has recently visited the Philippines to find out for himself; and he writes for this number of the REVIEW (see page 83), in the most candid fashion, of what he ascertained in the islands. We do not believe that the unfortunate conditions that Professor Blayney reports are in any manner to be ascribed to the

gallant Secretary of War; and we wish he might not feel it his duty as a loyal member of the Administration to champion things that he ought rather to help correct, so that the impartial may approve.

The Secretary of the Treasury Department congratulates the country on its

business recovery with unimpaired credit. He presents a hopeful picture of industrial activity, with the cotton States prosperous, the railroads busy, and normal economic conditions following upon first an extreme collapse, and then an abnormal war-order boom. Mr. McAdoo gives a good account of the working of the Federal Reserve system. The war-risk insurance business of the Government has been operated with marked success. The Pan-American Financial Conference of last May promises to have many beneficial results. Some detailed improvements in the administration of the income-tax law are recommended. The financial aspects of the reports of Secretary Garrison and Secretary Daniels have already been anticipated, and their proposals for large additional expenditures for the army and navy have been before the country for many weeks. Only casual suggestions have come from the Administration regarding the new taxes that must be imposed to meet the expected appropriations. Congress will not have entered upon the comprehensive discussion of this problem of national finance until the Ways and Means Committee has decided what it will recommend, and has reported through its new chairman, Mr. Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina.



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DO NOT EXTRA TAXING EARLY
FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

now for a Shipping Board consisting of the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of Commerce, and three other members to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Congress is to furnish the Board with \$50,000,000, sufficient to create a naval auxiliary of suitable merchant ships to the amount of 400,000 to 500,000 tons. The Board would establish steamship lines to South America and to the Orient. It would have authority to organize a corporation and to subscribe to its capital stock in whole or in part, and this corporation would operate the ships. Mr. McAdoo believes that this device would remove the enterprise from political influence and would secure the most efficient management. As to distinctively cargo ships, the Board would have the power to lease such vessels to private parties. The plan would be to throw this fleet of steamers, for instance, into the leading ports of the Northwest when that section was suffering for a lack of shipping facilities for lumber and grain, or into the South when a large number of ships were needed to transport its cotton to Europe.

*A Boom in
Shipbuilding*

In advocating a shipping board to control our merchant marine, Secretary of Commerce Redfield calls attention to the unprecedented activity in American shipyards. He is urgent in his demand for still larger plans to reinforce our merchant fleet. Great Britain is now using about three thousand merchant ships simply as attendants upon her war fleet, and without them the great navy would be helpless. Mr. Redfield reminds us that when we sent a small fleet of battleships around the world, we had to hire foreign vessels to supply them with coal and other necessities. In our diminutive war with Spain the Government was forced to buy auxiliary vessels, many of them very unsuitable, wherever they could be procured, at almost any price, and then to resell them at a great loss. The Secretary of Commerce estimates that if we had to use our navy on the seas to-day, about nine hundred merchant ships of all kinds would be required for supply service. **There are now only five hundred altogether.**

*The Rush
of Orders*

On July 1 of this year there were seventy-six steel merchant ships building in American shipyards. In the next five months, one hundred and twenty-six were ordered, making a total tonnage building of 761,511. At Newport News fifteen ships of from 6000 to

15,000 tons are on the stocks; in the Philadelphia shipyards, over forty; at Quincy, Massachusetts, fifteen; and twenty-odd on the Pacific coast. This unprecedented rush of orders will keep the shipbuilding plants busy for several years. Three new shipbuilding companies have recently been announced as starting in business, the last being the Standard Shipbuilding Corporation with contracts already closed which enable it to open two large yards on Staten Island. It is true that only 20 per cent. of these new ships are for foreign trade, the remainder being coastwise vessels, but many of these are being built to take the place of old craft drafted into the foreign trade, while others are being constructed in a manner to enable them to cross the seas if occasion should arise.

*High Ocean
Freights the
Cause*

Mr. Frederick's article in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, with its vivid picture of the huge stream of American munitions and supplies hurrying to Europe, explains the sudden revival of our shipbuilding industry. **Just before the war there were not more than a dozen ocean-going ships building in America.** To-day there are nearly two hundred. The rush of exports from this country to Europe has for months overtaxed transportation facilities. Our Interstate Commerce Commission took nearly four years to decide that the railroads of the country should not have an increase in freight rates of 10 per cent. In eighteen months freight rates on the high seas have, in response to the law of supply and demand, increased,—first 100 per cent., then 200 per cent., and have now gone up 500 per cent. and, in some instances, 700 per cent. Germany's merchant marine trade is non-existent outside of the Baltic. Nearly a million tons of Great Britain's fleet have been sent to the bottom of the ocean, and a much larger tonnage is kept busy transporting her soldiers and supplying her navy. The world is short of ships for the emergency, and the impulse of the sky-high ocean freight rates is felt in every neutral country,—Japan, Holland, and Scandinavia, as well as America.

*The
Munitions
Business*

The round figures of the manufacture of munitions, which has had so much to do with the sudden demand for ships, are almost unbelievable. The United States has orders for over one billion dollars'—it may possibly be two billion dollars'—worth of powder, shells, rifles, guns, barb-wire, etc. Canada is pro-

ducing all of these articles her factories can turn out. Japan is extending her munitions production, for shipment to Russia, on such a scale and with such feverish haste that she has been forced to close her stock exchange because of the wild speculation in war stocks. In England alone it is said that a million workers are now employed in over 2000 Government-controlled munition establishments.

*The
Anglo-French
Loan*

The most important single device employed by the Allies to effect payment for the incredible quantities of munitions and supplies purchased in America was the loan of \$500,000,000 put out in America in the middle of October. On December 15, the syndicate agreement expired, and the new "Anglo-French" bonds were left to go on their own resources so far as price quotations were concerned. It appears that of the total issue, some \$290,000,000 of bonds were purchased outright by members of the syndicate and withdrawn. This left about \$210,000,000 to be disposed of by the selling syndicate, and at the expiration of its life of sixty days, it was found that no less than \$180,000,000 were still unsold to the public and were to be distributed to syndicate members. These members had been obliged by the agreement to maintain the original issuing price of 98, which gave the investor a yield of nearly 5½ per cent. Some days before the syndicate dissolved the bonds became very active on the stock exchange and sold for future delivery decidedly below the issuance figure, declining on December 15 to 94½. At this price the investor obtained a security backed jointly by England and France, yielding for its term of five years nearly 6.20 per cent. In view of the unprecedented magnitude of the loan, and of the fact that American investors have never acquired the habit of owning Government securities, the promoters of the undertaking considered that it was as successful as could be expected. Non-partisan bankers and financial authorities generally are a unit in judging the bonds to be safe; but few deny that their quoted price will probably fluctuate with the current ups and downs of the European war. Thus, the irresistible onslaught of the German armies in Serbia, the petering out of the Allies' Dardanelles campaign, and the rather dramatic failure of the British expeditionary force in Mesopotamia, undoubtedly came at just the wrong time for the gentlemen who were interested in maintaining the quotations of these bonds at the price of issue.

*British Mobiliz-
ing American
Stocks*

While the Anglo-French loan may be regarded, in view of all the circumstances, as a successful operation, its results certainly do not favor the flotation in the near future of a second public American loan to the Allies. In the meantime, Great Britain finds herself in the position of having to provide practically all the money needed to settle the trade balance in favor of America. This excess of exports may well reach \$1,750,000,000 for 1915. Sir George Paish thinks it not improbable that for the year 1916 America will have a favorable trade balance of not much less than \$2,500,000,000. It was this prospect which, in the middle of December, led Great Britain to take steps toward buying or borrowing for two years American and Canadian securities owned by her citizens. It is thought that she will use these American stocks and bonds as security for loans to be made by American bankers, which would have the same effect toward settling the balance of trade against Great Britain as the public loan described in the preceding paragraph. Eventually America will buy back these securities.

*A Venture
in
World-trade*

In November, announcement was made of the forming of the American International Corporation, a \$50,000,000 concern aiming to develop a world market for American products and to finance and promote enterprises in foreign countries with American capital. The chairman of this interesting new venture in world trade is Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York. Its directors include such notable figures as J. J. Hill, O. H. Kahn, J. O. Armour, T. M. Vail and P. A. Rockefeller. The corporation has secured a New York charter which permits it to engage in almost every imaginable kind of industry or business. The new concern expects to use a corps of experts to investigate various enterprises in other countries which require financing. When such are approved, the corporation will take their securities and issue its own notes or debentures against them, selling these in turn to the American public. In this way the savings of American citizens are to be used with profit to themselves to help build railroads in China or Brazil, for instance. The hope is that this process will lead America to come, as England has done for so many years, into the trade of other countries—by giving them in payment for their goods securities not only money, but our own manufactures and other export goods.



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YUAN SHIH-K'AI, WHO BECOMES EMPEROR OF THE RECONSTITUTED CHINESE MONARCHY

*Japanese-
American
Amity*

Baron Shibusawa, the Japanese banker and philanthropist, is regarded as the greatest citizen of his country in unofficial life. During November and December the Baron spent about six weeks in the United States, visiting San Francisco, New York, Boston, Washington, and other cities. He was everywhere cordially received, and, while one purpose of his visit was to speak frankly to Americans about the treatment of Japanese in California, he made it clear from the first that his chief desire was for the strengthening of the friendly relations between the two nations. As a business man the Baron is keenly interested in securing coöperation between American and Japanese capitalists in developing the vast resources of China. Most business men, East and West, will be inclined to adopt the Baron's view that economic exploitation will be helpful to China herself as well as to Japan. Industrial development will be fostered and furthered by peaceful relations, while it could only be hindered by war. Enlightened self-interest, whether Asiatic or American, demands peace in the Far East.

*New
Chinese
Dynasty*

The announcement, on December 11, that Yuan Shih-k'ai, who for the past two years has been President of the Chinese Republic, had accepted the imperial crown tendered him by the Council of State, was a distinct surprise to the world. It was known that nearly all of the provinces of China had voted in favor of a monarchy, but Japan, Great Britain, and Russia had joined in a representation to the Chinese Republic to the effect that a change in the form of government at this time would be prejudicial to the common interests of China and the powers. It was found, however, that the vote of the Chinese representatives, chosen two months before, was practically unanimous for the change from republic to monarchy, and, although Yuan himself had repeatedly declared that such a change would be undesirable, he finally accepted on condition that the actual installation of the monarchy should be postponed to a later date. In attempting to estimate the meaning of this apparent retrogression on China's part, we of the West would do well to remember that the republic itself was in no true sense a representative govern-

ment, nor is it likely that China, for many years to come, will be able to make full use of those political devices which the peoples of Europe and America have long employed. It is probable that the induction of Yuan Shih-k'ai as Emperor of China really signifies little more than an extension of the tenure of his office. In any event, whether as a republic or as an empire, China's great need, as her own leaders have seen it, was the retention of a strong man at the head of the government in these years of political tutelage and world-wide disturbance. Such a ruler they had in Yuan Shih-k'ai, and whether he bore the title of President or ascended the imperial throne, his personality was the dominant factor in the situation. He had been elected in 1913 for a five-year term as President, with the possibility of reelection for one additional five-year term. At the end of ten years, had he lived and kept office as President, Yuan would have reached the age of sixty-five years. As Emperor of China he will remain on the throne for life, and the question of succession has not yet been determined. There is no reason to believe that the transition from a republic to a monarchy marks any important change in the methods or routine of Chinese administration.

Mexico's Experiment

To many minds, recent events in China have doubtless suggested Mexico with its Diaz and its Carranza. Lawlessness has not yet been entirely checked south of the Rio Grande, and the government at Mexico City cannot yet be described as firm in the saddle. Still, most of the important European nations have followed the United States in the recognition of General Carranza as the executive head of the *de facto* government. Our own country is to exchange Ambassadors with the Carranza government, President Wilson having nominated Henry P. Fletcher, of Pennsylvania, at present United States Ambassador to Chile, for the post at Mexico City, while Señor Eliseo Arredondo, Carranza's confidential representative at Washington, has been named as Mexican Ambassador to the United States. Our State Department will proceed shortly to reorganize the consular service in Mexico. The typhus epidemic in Mexico City has grown to alarming proportions. More than one hundred deaths a day were reported last month. In the mining districts, also, there are many cases. The prevalence of the disease is laid to filth conditions due to inefficiency of the authorities.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

GENERAL CARRANZA AND HIS STAFF CONFERRING WITH AMERICAN OFFICERS ON THE INTERNATIONAL BRIDGE, NEAR BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS

National Conventions

The Republicans have fixed upon Chicago as the place, and June 7th as the date, for the holding of the National Convention of 1916, while the Democrats will assemble at St. Louis one week later, Wednesday, June 14. Contrary to an impression that seems to have been shared by many newspaper writers, the choosing of an early date by the Republicans is quite in accord with precedent and custom. Whether in power or in opposition, it has always been the habit of the Republican party to gather its clans and proclaim its slogan in advance of its antagonists. Thus, in 1896, while the Democrats were entrenched at Washington, the Republicans nominated McKinley at St. Louis in June, while Bryan became the Democratic standard-bearer at Chicago in July. Under the revised plan of delegate representation the South will make a somewhat reduced showing in the Republican Convention this year, and one of the rocks on which the Taft convention of 1912 was split from stem to stern will have been partly worn away. As between the two great parties it would be idle at this time to speak of candidates. The Progressive National Committee will meet at Chicago on January 11 to plan the party convention, and the leaders announce that a national ticket will surely be put in the field, some time after the other tickets and platforms are promulgated.



A PIECE OF HEAVY ITALIAN ARTILLERY USED AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS IN THE ALPS REGION

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

From November 19 to December 18, 1915

The Last Part of November

November 19.—A British expeditionary force in Mesopotamia arrives at Ctesiphon, within eighteen miles of Bagdad, its objective point, but is turned back by the Turks.

It is persistently reported at Washington that efforts are being made to include China in the alliance against Germany, for political rather than military reasons.

November 20.—Lord Kitchener, British War Secretary, confers at Athens with King Constantine and Premier Skouloudis.

November 24.—It is understood at Athens that the Greek Government has yielded to the demands of the Allies that in the event of withdrawal from Serbian to Greek territory the Allied troops will not be disarmed and interned, or otherwise interfered with.

November 26.—The Austrian War Office declares that Goritz (a strongly fortified town) is being systematically shot to pieces by Italian artillery.

Lord Kitchener, British War Secretary, confers at Rome with Italian military and civil officials.

November 27.—It is reported that English and French troops landed at Salonica, Greece, total 125,000 men, and that debarkation is going on at the rate of 4000 a day.

November 28.—The German War Office announces that "with the flight of the scanty remnants of the Serbian army into the Albanian mountains," and the establishment of communication with Bulgaria and Turkey, the campaign against Serbia has been brought to a close; it is

declared that 100,000 men, almost half the country's fighting forces, were taken prisoners.

The Canadian Government commandeers approximately 15,000,000 bushels of wheat stored in the Eastern and Lake region; the wheat will be paid for at the last market price, the move being designed to supply the Entente powers at normal prices.

November 29.—The Austrian War Office reports progress in an invasion of Montenegro from the north and west.

Emperor William, of Germany, visits Emperor Francis Joseph at Vienna; it is said to be the first meeting of the Teutonic monarchs since the outbreak of the war.

In an engagement at Prisrend, Serbia, Bulgarian troops capture 16,000 Serbians.

November 30.—At the opening of the German Reichstag, President Kaempf declares that financially and economically Germany has every reason to contemplate the future with firm determination and unshaken confidence.

The French Chamber of Deputies sanctions the calling of the class of 1917, for service in the spring of 1916.

An explosion at the DuPont powder works near Wilmington, Del., kills thirty-one men.

The First Week of December

December 1.—Three members of the Austrian cabinet resign,—the Ministers of the Interior, Finance, and Commerce.

It is officially stated in the Italian Parliament that Italy has joined in the agreement among the Entente powers not to consider a separate peace.

Prime Minister Sonnino declares that Italy is prepared to aid Serbia with arms and ammunition.

Rumania gives notice that the Danube has been mined, thus closing it both to Bulgarians (with their Austrian allies) and Russians.

December 2.—The Bulgarian army occupies Monastir, in southern Serbia, the Serbian army having been withdrawn the previous day.

Four officials of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line, at New York, are convicted by a jury in the federal court upon conspiracy charges growing out of attempts to furnish coal and provisions secretly to German warships at sea.

The authority of General Joffre is extended; he becomes commander-in-chief of all the French forces (except those in north Africa).

December 3.—The State Department at Washington announces that it has requested the immediate recall of Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papen, the naval and military attaches of the German Embassy, for improper activities.

December 4.—King Constantine, of Greece, declares to a representative of the American Associated Press that both he and his people desire to remain out of the war, although sympathizing with the Allies; he pledges his whole army to protect a retreat of the Allied army if driven out of Serbia, if withdrawal is then made from Greek territory.

An official statement at London admits the defeat and retirement of the British expedition in Mesopotamia, with casualties amounting to 4500.

Henry Ford, the millionaire automobile manu-



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MR. AND MRS. HENRY FORD, OF DETROIT

(On Saturday, December 4, the Scandinavian steamer *Georg* left the port of New York, having on board Mr. Henry Ford and a number of private American citizens, men and women, together with a large group of newspaper writers, who were sailing as Mr. Ford's guests with the professed object of trying to organize on neutral European soil a conference of peace lovers which might influence the belligerent governments to come to terms and end the war. Mr. Ford is the well-known automobile maker, and he and his wife had become greatly interested in the objects and results of the recent peace congress of women at The Hague, under the presidency of their friend, Miss Jane Addams of Chicago. Miss Addams was to have sailed with the Ford party, but was prevented by illness. The wholly unofficial character of this well-disposed party of pacifists is entirely understood by all governments whether neutral or engaged in war. It was the unanimous opinion of public men and newspapers in Europe that the proposed Ford peace conference could have no practical influence.)

factorer, sails from New York with more than 150 guests to visit neutral European countries and endeavor to bring about an immediate end of the war.

The Second Week of December

December 5.—An Austrian cruiser and several destroyers enter the Albanian port of San Giovanni de Medua and sink ten steamers and sailing vessels discharging war munitions.

The Italian Parliament expresses confidence in the Salandra ministry, by vote of 405 to 48.

December 6.—The United States Government dispatches a note to the Austro-Hungarian Government, declaring that the sinking of the Italian steamship *Incuna* before the passengers (some of them Americans) had been put in a place of safety, "can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants"; the note demands that the sinking be denounced, that the submarine officer be punished, and that indemnity be made for American citizens killed or injured.

Russia orders the enrollment in 1916 of the class of 1917 (thirteen-year-old youth).



DR. KARL HELFFERICH, MINISTER OF THE GERMAN TREASURY.

Addressing the Reichstag on December 14, Dr. Helfferich offered Germany's ultimatum to the Allies for peace. He said that Germany was not seeking peace for the sake of peace, but for the sake of the German people.



A RECENT SNAPSHOT OF KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA (AT THE LEFT) TALKING WITH GENERAL IVANOFF

An official British statement describes the operations of a British submarine in the Sea of Marmora, lasting three days; a Turkish destroyer and five supply vessels were sunk, and a railroad train damaged.

December 6-7.—A German attack on the French lines in the Champagne district results in the capture of trenches over a front of half a mile.

December 7.—Austria reports the destruction of the French submarine *Fresnel*.

An imperial Russian rescript postpones indefinitely the opening of the Duma and the Council of the Empire.

December 8.—Fire destroys the town of Hopewell, Va., rendering homeless the employees of the great powder plant located there.

December 9.—The German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, replies in the Reichstag to a Socialist inquiry regarding peace; he calls attention to the success of German arms and to the satisfactory economic position, declares that Germany cannot propose peace without seeming to indicate weakness, and gives assurances that if the Entente powers make proposals "compatible with Germany's dignity and safety we shall always be ready to discuss them."

Reports from the Serbian theater of war indicate that the British and French expedition is being forced by the Bulgarian army to retreat toward Greek territory, and that the Bulgarians and Austrians are continuing to press the Serbians in Albania and the Montenegrins and Serbians in Montenegro.

December 10.—Turkish reports declare that

the Italians have lost control of practically the whole of Tripoli, which is now dominated by Arabs and Senussi tribesmen.

December 11.—General de Castelnau is appointed Chief of Staff in the French army.

The Third Week of December

December 12.—The French Minister of the Interior states that sixty-four spies have been condemned to death by court-martial in France since the beginning of the war.

December 13.—It is stated at Berlin that German and Austro-Hungarian submarines have sunk 508 ships since the beginning of the war, with a total tonnage of 917,819.

December 14.—It is understood at Washington that the State Department has protested to France against the removal of Germans or Austrians from American steamships, by French warships.

Bulgarian reports indicate that the Serbian and Anglo-French armies have been driven entirely out of Serbia.

Dr. Helfferich (Secretary of the Imperial German Treasury) states in the Reichstag that a new vote of \$2,500,000,000 is required; the total already authorized is \$7,500,000,000, five-sixths of which has been raised by the three war loans.

The Greek army withdraws from Salonica and the strip of Greek territory reaching from the coast to the Bulgarian frontier, leaving the Anglo-French army in entire control.

December 15.—General Sir Douglas Haig is appointed commander-in-chief of the British

armies in France and Belgium, succeeding Field Marshal Sir John French.

December 17.—The reply of the Austrian Government to the American note regarding the *Ancona* sinking is discussed by President Wilson

and his cabinet; it is understood to be courteous but unsatisfactory.

M. Ribot, French Minister of Finance, informs the Chamber of Deputies that the war is costing France \$420,000,000 a month.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From November 19 to December 17, 1915)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 1.—The Senate Democrats meet to consider changes in rules, regarding length of debate during the coming session.

December 2.—The House Republicans choose Mr. Mann (Ill.) as leader.

December 4.—In the Senate Democratic caucus the proposal to change the rules and limit debate is rejected by vote of 40 to 3.

December 6.—The Senate Republicans reelect Mr. Gallinger (N. H.) as leader.

December 6.—Both branches of the Sixty-fourth Congress meet in the first session. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Clarke (Dem., Ark.) is reelected president pro tem. . . . In the House, Mr. Clark (Dem., Mo.) is reelected speaker.

December 7.—Both branches assemble in the House Chamber and are addressed by the President upon the state of the Union; the address is devoted mainly to recommendations for more effective national defense; the President asks for the enactment of laws to deal with disloyal residents involved in foreign intrigue, and urges an adequate merchant marine with the Government assuming initial financial risks.

December 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Smith (Dem., Ga.) offers a resolution directing an investigation of British interference with neutral trade; Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) proposes that investigation also be made of the law and facts involved in the destruction of American ships by Germans and Austrians.

December 16.—In the House, the Democratic majority adopts a resolution extending the Emergency War Revenue Act for a second year.

December 17.—The Senate, by a party vote, adopts the resolution extending the War Revenue Act; Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.) maintains that under ordinary circumstances the Underwood Tariff Act would produce sufficient revenue.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 6.—Governor Whitman removes from office Edward E. McCall, chairman of the Public Service Commission in the New York district, for retarding ownership of stock in a corporation subject to his supervision.

December 7.—The Democratic National Committee decides that the Democratic convention shall meet in St. Louis on June 14; a resolution is adopted declaring that President Wilson's record demands his re-nomination.

December 8.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, in his annual report, declares that a nation-wide business boom has set in; he recommends increases in the tax on incomes and suggests new forms of taxation.

December 8-9.—President Wilson confers with the Republican leaders of the Senate and House, and it is understood that assurances were exchanged that proposals for national defense will be considered on a non-partisan basis.

December 9.—Oscar S. Straus is appointed chairman of the Public Service Commission for the New York City district. . . . Secretary of War Garrison transmits to Congress, through the President, his recommendations for an enlarged army and reserve force.

December 11.—The annual report of Postmaster-General Burleson shows decreased postal revenues of \$21,000,000; savings in expenditures reduce the deficit to \$11,000,000. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission allows increases in passenger rates upon railroads in eleven Western States.



WILLIAM L. DYER, OF MISSOURI,
CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

He is the great question, which will come up in the coming spring of Congress, looking upon our relations with the belligerent nations, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia. The present feeling of the American people is that they



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

At their convention in Washington last month, the suffragists chose Mrs. Catt to succeed Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who retires after serving twelve years as head of the national association. Mrs. Catt has long been an active worker for woman suffrage in New York State.

December 12.—The annual report of Secretary of the Navy Daniels recommends the expenditure, during the next five years, of \$500,000,000 for new warships, aerial craft, and reserve ammunition.

December 14.—The Republican National Committee decides that the National Convention shall meet in Chicago on June 7. . . . President Wilson receives large delegations of advocates and opponents of women suffrage; the visits were apropos of the proposed national constitutional amendment.

December 15.—The report of the Secretary of Agriculture shows that the year's harvests were worth to the farmers five and a half billion dollars, an unprecedented total. . . . The Democratic Senatorial primary in Tennessee is carried by Congressman Kenneth B. McKellar.

December 17.—The President signs the measure extending the War Revenue Act through the year 1916. . . . The President nominates Henry P. Fletcher (now Ambassador to Chile) to be Ambassador to Mexico.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 30.—President Machado, of Portugal, receives Premier Costa and the other members of the new cabinet.

December 5-6.—Chinese revolutionists seize the Chinese cruiser *Chao-ho* at Shanghai, and fire

upon other warships and the arsenal; later they are forced to flee after the cruiser is bombarded and set on fire.

December 6.—The Spanish cabinet under Premier Dato resigns, having met with opposition in its plan to give precedence to military pro-

December 7.—Premier Okuma declares in the Japanese Diet that naval expansion is the first necessity before Japan; he declares that the economic and financial outlook is propitious.

December 9.—A new ministry is formed in Spain, headed by former Premier Count Alvaro de Romanones.

December 11.—Yuan Shih-kai, President of the Republic of China since its formation in 1912, accepts the throne of the restored monarchy, offered by the Council of State; it is announced that 1993 representatives out of 2042 favored the change of government.

December 16.—Vice-President Camille de Copet is elected President of the Swiss Republic by the national assembly.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 21.—The Secretary of the Interior announces that the Government's experiment station has produced radium for less than one-third the former selling price.

November 22.—Ten persons are killed in a head-on collision between two passenger trains on the Central of Georgia Railroad, near Columbus.

November 29.—An epidemic of typhus fever is reported from Mexico City, the fatalities exceeding 130 a day.

December 4.—The great Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco comes to an end; it is estimated that the total attendance was nearly nineteen million.



HON. HENRY P. FLETCHER

Former ambassador to Chile, who was last month appointed United States Ambassador to Mexico.

December 6.—An equestrian statue of Joan of Arc is unveiled in New York City, Ambassador Jusserand, of France, delivering the principal address.

December 6.—The War Department announces that a commission of ten eminent engineers, geologists, and scientists (headed by President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin) has been designated to go to Panama to investigate and report on the subject of earth slides.

December 17.—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, of New York, is elected president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, succeeding Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who retires.

OBITUARY

November 19.—Dr. Solomon Schlechter, a noted New York rabbi and authority on the Talmud, 68.

November 21.—Herbert Rucker Eldridge, a vice-president of the National City Bank, of New York, actively engaged in promoting trade with South America, 45.

November 22.—Dr. Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, for many years minister from Costa Rica to the United States, 58.

November 23.—Bishop David H. Moore, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 78.

November 24.—James Fountain Sutton, a prominent New York art collector, 70.

November 25.—Carl A. Langlotz, for many years professor of German at Princeton University, and composer of the melody for "Old Nassau." . . . Dr. George Reuling, a prominent Maryland eye and ear surgeon, 76.

November 26.—Cardinal Francis S. Bauer, Prince Archbishop of Olmütz, Austria, 74. . . . Washington Atlee Burpee, the Pennsylvania seed cultivator, 57.

November 27.—Gustave C. Langenberg, a well-known portrait painter, 56.

November 28.—Jean Marie Ferdinand Sarrien, former Premier of France, 75. . . . Carl Axel Robert Lundin, of Cambridge, Mass., noted as a maker of large telescopes, 64.

November 29.—Paul Fuller, a distinguished New York lawyer, recently special envoy to Mexico, 67. . . . William Edward Bemis, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, prominent in the development of foreign oil fields, 51.

December 4.—Augustus Pitou, a widely known theatrical manager, 73.



BRITISH OFFICIALS SEALING THE HATCHES OF NEUTRAL SHIPS LEAVING UNITED STATES PORTS

THE WAY THE BRITISH OFFICIALS SEAL WITH WIRE THE HATCHES OF NEUTRAL SHIPS LEAVING UNITED STATES PORTS

(The sealing of ships on their departure is done in order to obviate the necessity of seizing the ship on the high seas and taking it to a British port for inspection.)

December 5.—Gen. Jesus Rabi, a hero of the Cuban wars for independence.

December 9.—Rear-Admiral Nicoll Ludlow, U. S. N. (retired), 73. . . . Stephen Phillips, the English poet and dramatist, 47.

December 10.—Edward Van Dyke Robinson, professor of political economy at Columbia University, 48. . . . Prof. Hans Gross, a famous Austrian criminologist and detective, 68. . . . Abraham Gruber, long prominent in the Republican organization of New York City, 54.

December 12.—Walter Learned, compiler of anthologies of verse, 68.

December 13.—Francis Marion Cockrell, for thirty years United States Senator from Missouri, 81. . . . Viscount Alverstone, former Lord Chief Justice of England and a member of the Alaskan Boundary Commission, 73.

December 15.—Enoch Wood Perry, a well-known artist formerly United States consul at Venice, 84. . . . James J. Williamson, a member of the famous Mosby's Confederate Rangers, 81.

. . . . Auguste Germaine, the French dramatic author, 53. . . . Capt. Edward O'Meara Condon, Civil War veteran and Irish patriot, 74.

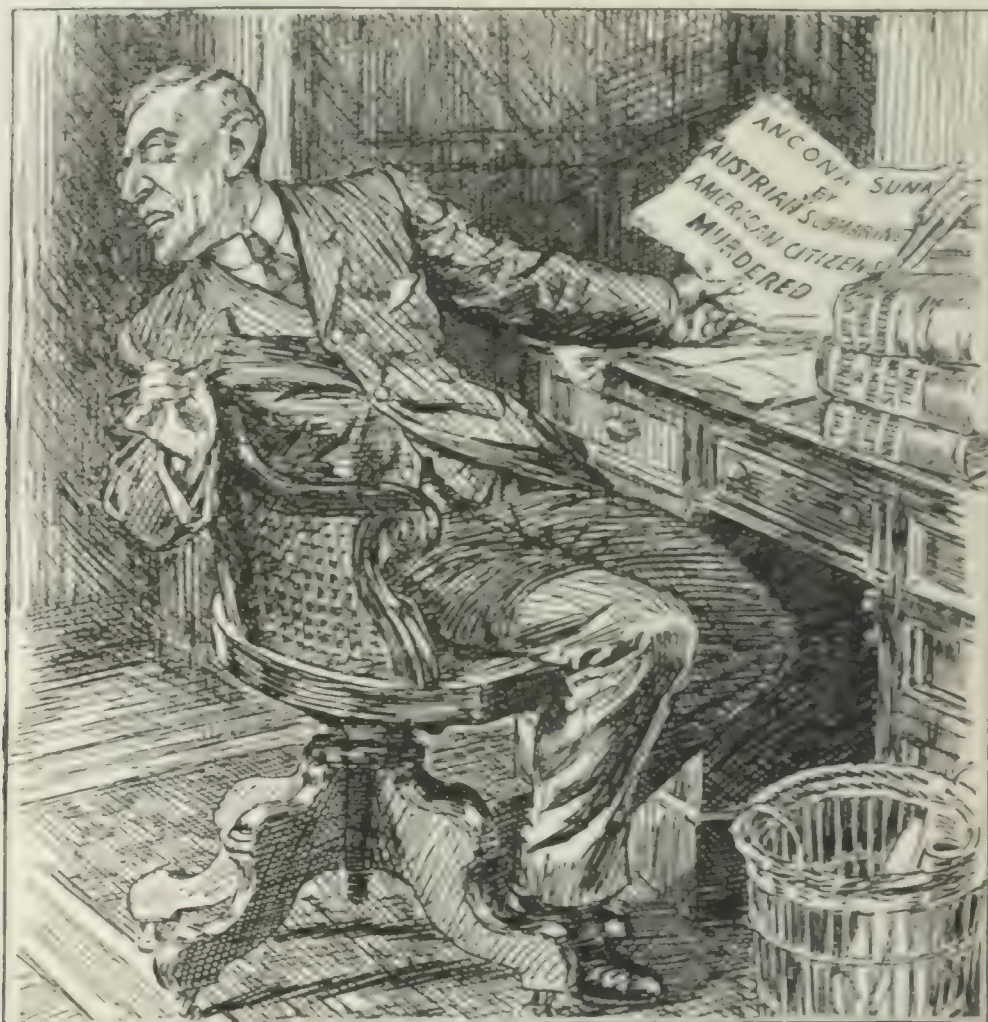
December 16.—Gen. Jephtha Garrard, a noted Ohio veteran of the Civil War, 50.



JEAN HENRI FURRER

(The distinguished French sculptor, who died in October 11, 1900, was born in 1811.)

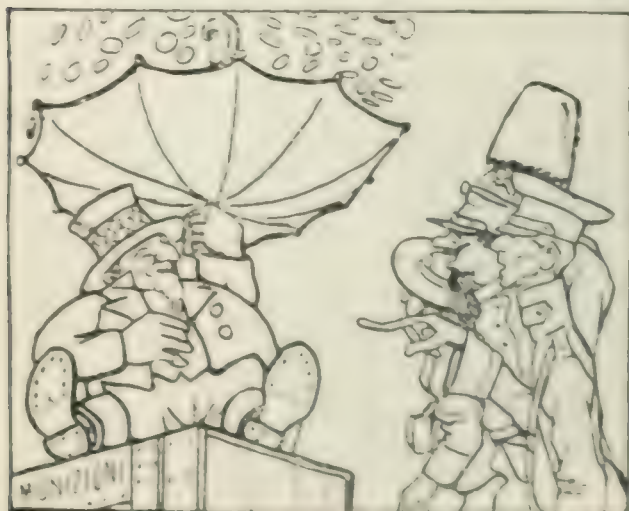
UNCLE SAM AS SEEN BY FOREIGN CARTOONISTS



A MATTER OF ROUTINE

FERDINAND WISSON: "This calls for a note—Mr. Secretary, just bring me in a copy of our No. 1 note to Germany—'Humbug' series."—*From Punch (London)*

IT is often useful to have the opinion of foreign countries.—English, French, and the neighbors when they are in candid Italian, as well as German and Austrian.—mood. The present opinion entertained in is not flattering to the vanity of Uncle Sam.



THE DISINGENUOUS SCORBLIFE OF UNCLE SAM.
THE MUMMYEN WRAPS.
From Haffner (London)



A GEMMA

Uncle Sam: "What did I do? If I want the war, I will have it in my own way, without any of the French, German, or Italian, but I will have it a good good, for my friends!"

From De Witt (London)



HOW UNCLE SAM THREATENS AND BLUSTERS

THE NATURE OF AMERICAN INTERFERENCE IN THE CONDUCT OF EUROPE'S WAR - From *Fischette*. (Turin)



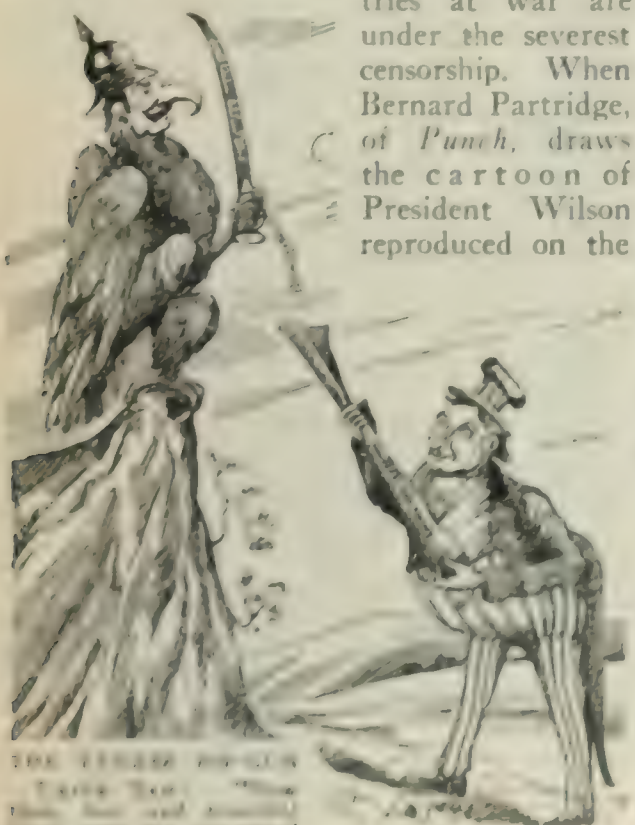
HOW UNCLE SAM REALLY PERFORMS

THE NATURE OF AMERICAN INTERFERENCE IN THE CONDUCT OF EUROPE'S WAR - From *Fischette*. (Turin)

Even the neutral countries are hardly more polite than the belligerents. While cartoonists do not always express official opinion, it must be remembered that the publications of England, Germany, and all the countries at war are

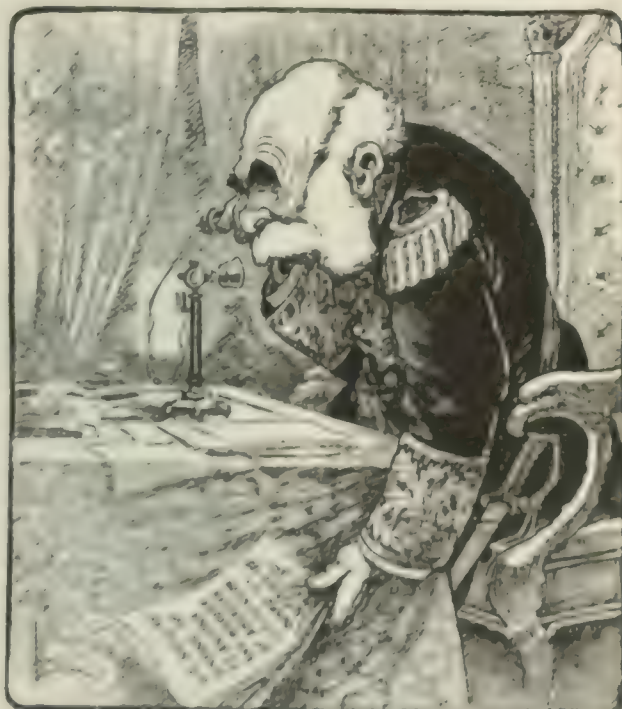
under the severest censorship. When Bernard Partridge, of *Punch*, draws the cartoon of President Wilson reproduced on the

facing page, we may be assured that its publication is not displeasing to the rulers, nor distasteful to the English public. It is intended to be disparaging,—to convey the idea



THE UNITED STATES
Takes the
line, and
from the
German
point of view

From *John Bull*
(London)



THE UNITED STATES

President Wilson, I have just received a
note from the President, stating that the
United States is not going to
enter the war.
The Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan,
will be sure to
From the *New York Times*



AMERICA'S PROTEST

"My dear John Bull, please be kind enough to act as though you were not in the world."

From *Ull* © (Berlin)

that the *Ancona* diplomacy, for instance, would be insincere.

The Italian cartoon at the top of page 31



WILSON TALKS

The Dyer, John Bull, Marconi, and Roosevelt, trying to force the United States into war. "Goddamn, please!"

The Horse (Wilson): "Hold on, I'll kick you from behind pretty soon."

From *Justice* (Berlin) © (Berlin)

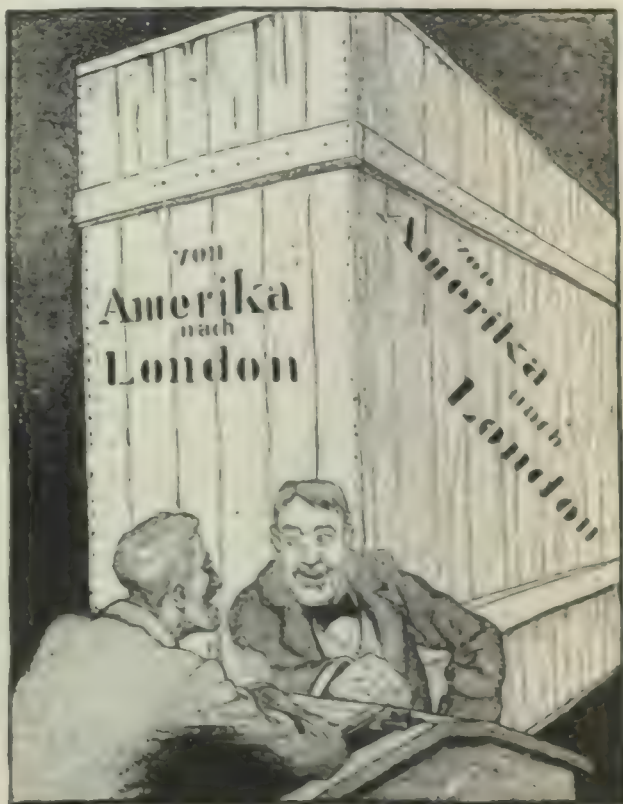


ENGLAND AND THE SHIPPING TRADE

The weak protest of the neutrals has come into the right hands, for John Bull has never yet considered the rights of others.

From *Algemeine Illustration* © (Munich)

very humorously contrasts Uncle Sam's fierce words with his mild deeds. Canadian, French, and other cartoonists of Allied coun-



THE "LOADED" NOTE

(A conversation in the French Ministry)
"What a mess, as there is no note in that package!"

"Why certainly, when Wilson sends his goods he sends a couple of millions in the package!"

From *Ull* © (Berlin)



PRESIDENT WILSON, A CARICATURE PORTRAIT
(From *Illustration* © (Munich))



FAIR PLAY

President Wilson urges Grey, the British foreign minister, and Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, to play fair with a new deck of cards. Grey apparently declines.

From *Bosszen Jankó* (Budapest)

tries, including the clever draughtsman of *Hindi Punch*, at Bombay, have a very low opinion of Uncle Sam's sincerity and moral principles.

As for the German and Austrian cartoon-



UNCLE SAM THROWS THE KEMPEL'S SLIDE WITH
METHUEN'S FOR HIS OWN PROFIT
(From *Mephistopheles* Philip & Munk)



THE SECURITIES OF THE MONTAGNE-BLANC
(MONTAGNE) With the new German this is the only
alliance, because of the new German, and I
have given to the German, and I
(From *Die Welt* (Berlin))



THE SWORD OF ISLAM—A VISION
THE BRITISH LION: "The fine old days at Suez will soon be over."
From *Kladderadatsch* © (Berlin)



THE ROYAL ITALIAN SLEEP-WALKERS
"Just a couple of steps more, Helene, we'll have it soon."
From *Lustige Blätter* © (Berlin)

the very elaborate argument sent by President Wilson against the British Orders in Council is particularly pertinent. The note is represented as arriving in a big box, containing a couple of submarines for British use. The German reader is expected to in-

fer that American protests against England's trade interferences are humbug, and that America's real concern is in the profitable business of shipping supplies to England.



"Look here, according to the last Census, 'Hans' is the most common name in Germany!"
From *Kladderadatsch* © (Berlin)



"Hans" is the most common name in Germany, and it is the name of the man who is the most common name in the world."
From *Lustige Blätter* © (Berlin)

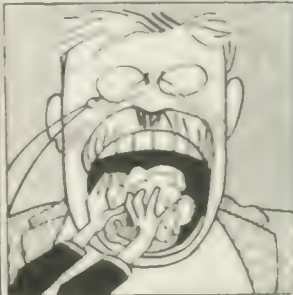
Wie kriegt man Teddys Schnauze zu?



Der deutsche Amerikaner schreit laut: Der Teufel, wenn er den Schnauze summt.



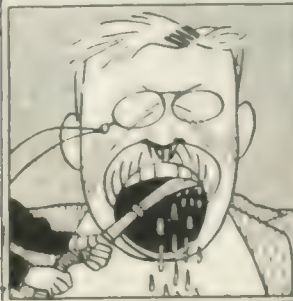
Der Baumwollhändler aus Amerika: Der Teufel, wenn er einen Baumwollhändler summt.



Der Baumwollhändler, um ihn das Teufel zu fressen, Der Teufel, wenn er einen hohen Baumwollhändler summt.



Herr Richter und die große Schnauze summt: Durch den Teufel, der glücklich zusammenkommt.



Und Mister Bryan: Schreien general: Der Teufel, wenn er einen hohen Wasserhahn summt.



Der Teufel, wenn er einen hohen Wasserhahn summt: Der Teufel, wenn er einen hohen Wasserhahn summt.

HOW SHALL WE CLOSE TEDDY'S MOUTH?

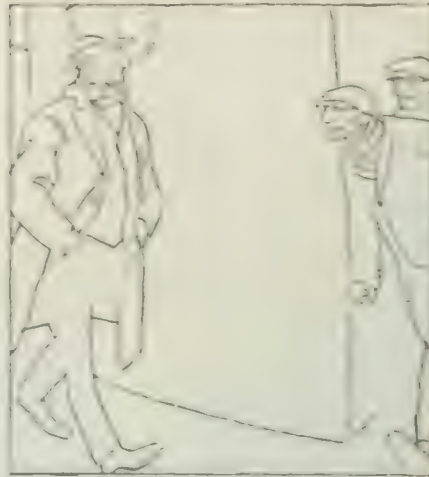
Various measures having failed to make Colonel Roosevelt cease his utterances on the European war,—including the German-American with his silk hat, the padlock of the War Secretary, the efforts of the cotton men, the Staats Zeitung and Mr. Bryan's cold water hose,—perhaps the "muzzled net" will do the job.

From Lustige Blätter © (Berlin)



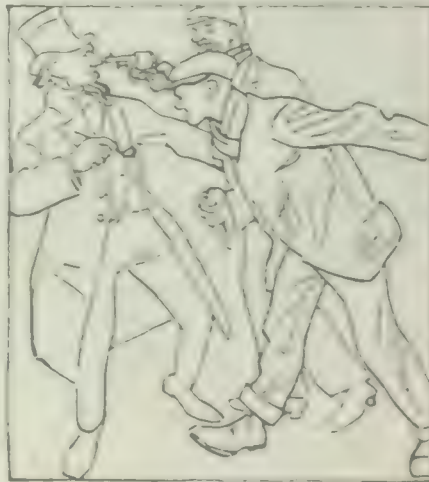
THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

(An Italian view of the way Uncle Sam should be treated in his diplomatic negotiations with Germany.) From Fischietto (Turin)

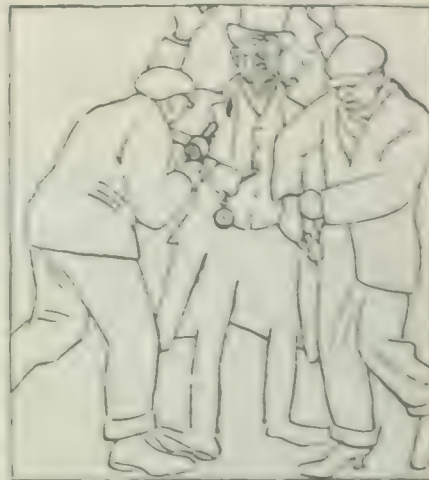


AMERICA AND ENGLAND

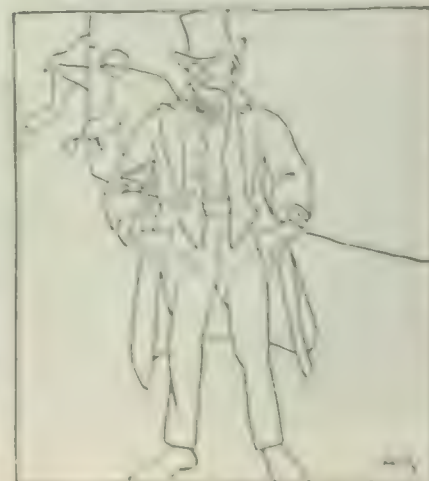
"Halt, Uncle Sam."



"You have got contraband on your person."



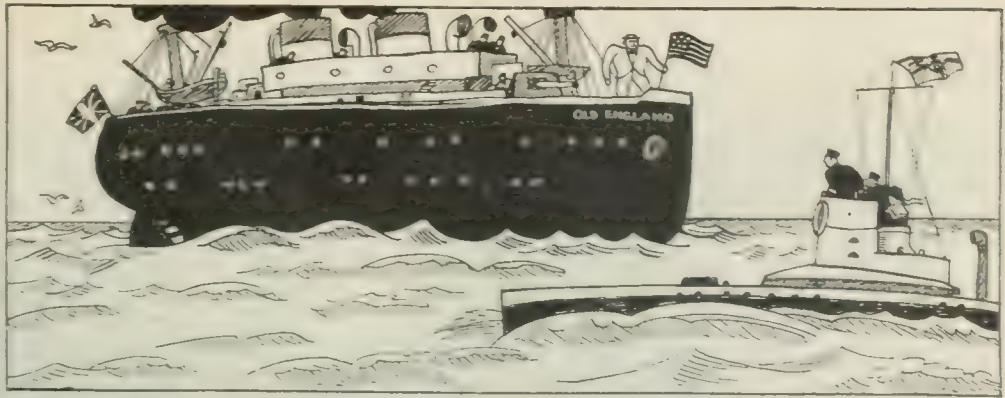
"Now give up Everything that is contraband that we may use."



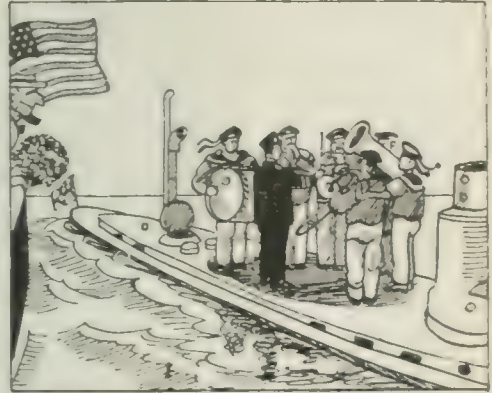
UNCLE SAM: "Thank you, thank you very much. And my countrymen, as I shall, naturally, proceed to write a note to you." From Stern (Munich)

GERMAN SUBMARINE
TACTICS ALTERED TO
SUIT PRESIDENT
WILSON

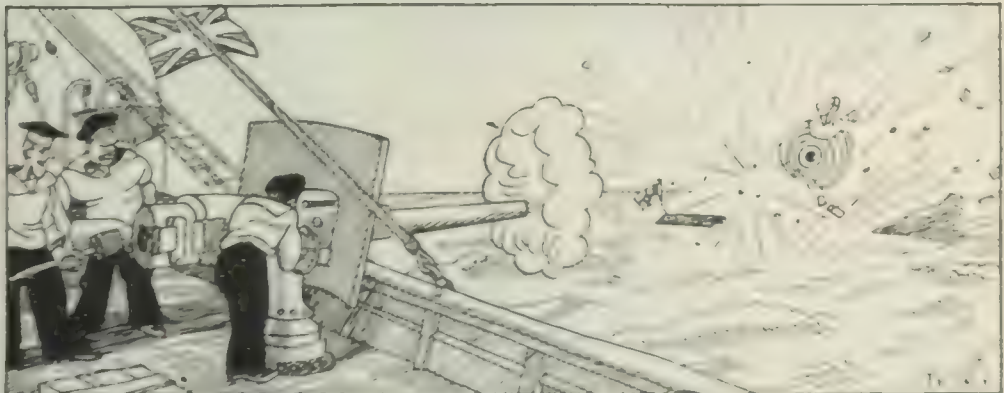
The German submarine commander, being warned to "Have a care! No targeting! Americans on board!", proceeds as follows:



"Depart me to land
you a final offering.
"And now my crew
will play 'Yankee
Doodle' for you!"



"After work we will
put up a target on our
submarine, so that you
can be sure of hitting
us!"
From *London Mirror*
© Herald



WELCOME TO THE SUBMARINE

"Welcome! This is the submarine, please! I will deliver the message to the submarine, so that you can be sure of hitting us!"

From *Manchester Guardian* © Herald



AT THE AMERICAN OFFICE

"Good night! I hope to see you in the morning. I will deliver the message to the submarine, so that you can be sure of hitting us!"

From *Manchester Guardian* © Herald

WAR SCENES—EAST AND WEST



THE MODERN SOLDIER—A QUEER-LOOKING OBJECT
A British (right) and a French (left) soldier wearing
their anti-gas helmets



Photograph Paul Thompson

"KITCHENER'S KNOCK"

(A picture that shows the recent House of Commons search
for eligible recruits in England)



GERMAN RED CROSS MOTOR AMBULANCES WAIT-
ING UNTIL AFTER THE BATTLE TO PICK UP THE
WOUNDED



© Associated Press Association, New York

AN ITALIAN RED CROSS DOCTOR ATTENDING A
WOUNDED DESPATCH RIDER WHOSE MOTORCYCLE
STANDS CLOSE BY



Photograph by the Associated Press Association, New York.

A FRENCH BATTERY IN ACTION AT THE DARDANELLES

(The empty shells can be seen stacked up in the row in the foreground.)



Photograph by the Associated Press Association, New York.

THE BLACK SEA ENTRANCE TO THE BOSPHORUS, SHOWING THE TURKISH FORTS ON EITHER SIDE

AT BOTH ENDS OF THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN,—THE LAND ATTACK ON THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA, AND ONE OF THE POINTS EXPOSED TO RUSSIAN ATTACK ON THE BLACK SEA



© International News Service, New York

BRITISH TROOPS IN CAMP AT SALONICA



First graphy by Modern Photo Service

A GROUP OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN CAUCASIA



Underwood & Underwood, New York.

LORD RITZ HENER AND GENERAL JOFFE MAKING
A TOUR OF INSPECTION OF THE ALLIES' LINES IN
FRANCE.

(Ritz Hener is looking at the German trenches through
a field glass.)



Photograph by Medtem Photo Service

SOME OF THE HUNDRED-POUND CATAPULT BOMBS
BEING TRANSPORTED THROUGH THE TRENCHES



A WARREN OF TRENCHES IN THE WEST
(French soldiers marching in the trenches in the
background.)



GERMAN SOLDIERS IN THE WEST
WEARING CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT BROUGHT
FROM THE EAST OF THE RUSSIAN FRONT.



AN UP-TO-DATE METHOD OF TEACHING GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

(Following the course of the war from newspaper reports in a Viennese school.)



A HAPPY SCENE IN THE RECOVERED PORTION OF ALSACE

(The peasant-folk of Alsace, in this portion at least, under French rule, are seen mingling contently with the soldiers of the Republic.)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A BUSY SHIPPING SCENE ON THE NEW YORK WATERFRONT

AMERICA'S BUSINESS BOOM

HOW WAR ORDERS HAVE PRODUCED AN INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL AND A
HOST OF NEW MILLIONAIRES

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

WAR, for Europe, is meaning devastation and death; for America a bumper crop of new millionaires and a hectic hastening of prosperity revival. The coming of war orders has created more value, by five times, than the war orders themselves!

When the great war began, America had about 4100 millionaires. How many will it have when the war ends? Nobody knows, but if one is willing to count those who have been made "millionaires on paper" since the war began, whether from war orders direct or not, and estimate those who logically will become millionaires if the war continues two years more, there will be a crop of at least 500 more millionaires.

The making of 500 more millionaires is a mere detail compared with the psychological brace which war orders have put into a slack and unad-paced return of prosperity. It is as though an energetic doctor had pumped oxygen or a salt solution into a limp pa-

tient and turned him into a jumping jack.

Just what have been these famed war orders? Have they been wildly exaggerated? Stripped of all the color and excitement of pussy-footed confidential agents, rumor-spreaders, and stock-manipulators, the "war orders" placed in this country comprised, nevertheless, a gigantic industrial *pièce de resistance*. A grand total of about two billion dollars in war orders of one kind and another is estimated to have been placed in this country. The DuPont powder firm and the Remington Arms people naturally secured a great slice of war orders. The DuPont firm, on excellent authority, has war orders totaling about \$120,000,000. It paid a 200 per cent. dividend on October 1 last, sending the stock up to 750. Before the war it sold at 120. Stockholders of DuPont since 1912 could not, or could do so, at 303 per cent. profit. In other words, a 100 shareholder if he chose could make \$93,000 profit!



THE GREAT POWDER FACTORIES ON THE JAMES
AND THE DELAWARE
LOADING TRUCKS AND AIRCRAFTS (BEHIND)
LOADING SHIPMENT

GREAT POWDER FACTORIES ON THE JAMES AND THE DELAWARE

The DuPont plant is really five plants in five newly-made cities.—City Point, Hope-well, and DuPont City, all three situated on the James River, near Petersburg, Virginia; and Penn's Grove and Carney's Point, both on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River, opposite Wilmington.

There are in the Virginia manufacturing center alone about 210 factory buildings. The semi-monthly payroll is about \$900,000 at this group of factories alone, and some skilled workmen make from \$10 to \$20 per day. The gun-cotton manufacturing capacity of this group of factories is now about 920,000 pounds per day, and orders are in hand sufficient to run the plants for nearly a year. The Carney's Point smokeless-powder output daily is 730,000 pounds. The cost of making it is about 50 cents a pound; the war price received for it is about \$1,—a daily profit on this one item alone of \$365,000. This means over two million dollars profit weekly, which is at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year.

The magic and the tragedy of the drama of munitions-making at the DuPont mills are alike fascinating. Ten thousand men worked to produce the additions to the mills, erected within several months and now accommodating 20,000 extra workmen. A group of corn-fields, worth at most \$15,000, were trans-

formed in eight months into a full-fledged city with every convenience, populated by 29,000, and having an assessed valuation of about \$3,000,000, all this only to be burned to the ground in a few hours on December 9, with scenes comparable only to the lawless days of '49,—men sitting on smoking ruins all night, rifle over knee; lynching of a marauder, quelling of riots by the pistol point and militia on duty. The mysterious warnings of posters, the explosion killing twenty-five or more, leaving only a crater to mark the spot,—these are the external creakings of a mammoth mill of death, probably the largest ever reared up on the face of the earth.

With clock-like regularity, ton upon ton of powder and explosives in their heavy casings, grimly marked, are stocked and shunted to ship, or by rail to Canada (where, by the way, a major part of the ammunition is forwarded for loading in English and French bottoms). The *Atlantic* sailed early in December with 18,000 tons of various kinds of ammunition. Sailing from Wilmington, Russian steamers frequently carry 2,000,000 pounds of the death-dealing stuff in one bottom.

BETHLEHEM STEEL

The Bethlehem Steel Company is in a class by itself. It is the most gigantic smithy for the forging of engines of destruction which the western hemisphere possesses, and it surpasses the Krupp and Creusot plants in many particulars. Its profits are authoritatively expected to leap to \$45,000,000 next year. The company is doing at least \$200,000,000 more business than in normal times. Charles



RAILROAD SUPPLIES FOR RUSSIA—FLAT CARS AND CAR TRUCKS



Photograph by Paul Thompson.

THE CONGESTION OF FREIGHT ON WEST STREET, NEW YORK

M. Schwab, to whose foresight in going early after war orders is attributed the entire "war bride" boom, gets not only a salary but a 10 per cent. bonus on business done. The rise of this stock from around 46 to about 600 acted like a high-tension electric current to Wall Street speculation and galvanized into life a whole string of dormant stocks. Even railway stocks and bonds, which had long gone a-begging, are now going actively forward.

Although it does not figure so prominently in speculation, barbed wire is a very great essential in modern warfare. The slaughter before the trenches would be unthinkable if they could easily be "rushed." Barbed wire, often charged with electricity, keeps opposing forces off, and it is American wire that is used. Nearly one million tons per year is the rate of export at the present time, and the prices received for it are almost \$3 per ton higher than before the war.

THE PROFIT ON SHELLS AND THE WASTE

The making of shells is a particularly important feature of war orders. One Brooklyn firm is making 15,000 per day at \$12.50, or about \$180,000 worth per day, which is at the rate of \$36,000,000 per year, if capacity orders are maintained. Scientific management experts have demonstrated that average shells can be made at a complete cost of

\$7.10 each, which leaves a profit of \$5.40 per shell to any factory, achieving maximum efficiency if price obtained is \$12.50. On 15,000 shells per day this would be a profit of \$81,000 per day! But this is very optimistic figuring, for under hectic war-time conditions the shells are costing the makers from \$9 to \$10 each. Somewhere in the neighborhood of \$2.40 is being wasted on each shell (or \$30,600 in one factory alone each day)!

It is altogether likely that from 20 to 33 1/3 per cent. of the money spent by the Allies in America has gone either to excessive commissions (to English as well as American intermediaries) or to sheer abnormal cost and waste in the factory. It is quite likely that both are almost unavoidable, for certainly it is too much to be expected in these times that business be done in the conservative, close-figured way it is done ordinarily. Productive capacity was necessary to mobilize at once and at all costs in those dark days for the Allies when the English were putting mere flesh and blood against plentiful German explosives. But to-day the situation is changed. *There are few, if any, orders for shells now coming to this country.* Quite naturally the Allies prefer to roll up no heavier trade balance here than is absolutely necessary, and have done marvels in their own countries in the way of shell production. They have even bought out small

machine shops in America and transported them bodily across the ocean in order to increase home shell production.

PUTTING THE MUNITIONS TRADE ON A BUSINESS BASIS

The buying of war munitions has also been well standardized on a business basis. The "munitions bonanza" has burst, as all bonanzas must, by their very nature. Those ambitious to sell war goods cannot longer operate the backing-and-filling tricks which were common some months ago, when mysterious manufacturers were adroitly kept in the background, and a circle of smooth agents gouged the anxious Allies for maximum price,—or quite as often "stung" them for fees to produce a "manufacturer" who proved to be something quite different.

There are now quite definite formalities to the selling of war supplies. If you wish to get even a hearing you must name the company which is going to sell the stuff, if you are posing as an agent. A commission is then sent over to inspect the plant and to see if it can qualify as to manufacture or finances. If everything passes then the commission on this side is authorized to enter into contract with the manufacturers. Prices and contracts are all agreed upon on the other side, and the agents here are instructed simply to execute them. Contracts are drawn up, bonds furnished by the manufacturer for

their faithful performance. Another bond is put up to insure deliveries. Manufacturers get 25 per cent. advance upon the amount of the order at the time placed; but a bond is put up by the manufacturer to cover this. Irrevocable letters of credit for the balance are put in the bank by the contracting government; otherwise the manufacturer would be taking a chance. American manufacturers have to guarantee only delivery to some seaboard point, free on ship-board. Thus does a sorely tried nation across the water do business at long range with a manufacturer in Oshkosh or Podunk, U. S. A. It applies to items large and small in the roster of war needs, and has quieted down the somewhat shameful intrigue and subterranean tunneling which was at first prevalent.

SPECULATION IN HORSES

Take, for example, the experience of a man who had several thousand horses to sell for use in the European armies. This man spent hundreds, even thousands, of dollars entertaining war agents to get their orders. One group after another "fizzled out." He kept on and after several expensive experiences he finally got on the track of a deal that was *bona fide*. Naturally it takes time to develop a big proposition of this kind and while it was developing his option on his horses expired. It was a case of putting up



A YARD FULL OF SHELLS AT THE BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York.

A STRING OF HORSES FOR THE FRENCH ARMY

another four or five thousand dollars and taking his chances on this proposition being a "fake," too, or losing the money he had already put up on the first option. Unfortunately he didn't put up to continue his option.

Another horse-dealer who was reported in the sensational rumors that were flying wild to have made all the way from \$2,000,000 to \$15,000,000 on a big horse deal made just \$15,000! This after he had spent thousands of dollars in chasing down all the "fake" prospects to land a "sure enough" order.

The horses were sent on from the West. Of course, all these horses had to pass the inspectors for the war agents. A horse might be perfectly sound, but have a little scar, or it might not be just the right proportion or weight.

If a horse was, say, a half-inch shorter than the standard required, it was rejected. The result was that a tremendous proportion of perfectly good horses were rejected for trifling reasons.

Not only did the dealer find that he had stood the loss in the shipment of the horses across the country, but when he turned to dispose of them in the regular channels he could not sell them. They were all right, but the buyers were afraid that the reasons stated for rejection were not the real ones, and consequently they would not risk buying the horses for fear something might be wrong

with them. These horses were practically worthless on the dealer's hands. He had to dispose of them for what he could get. The result was that after the losses on rejections were subtracted from the profits made on the horses accepted he found that instead of pocketing \$15,000,000 profit he had made clear just \$15,000!

SEVERE TESTS OF QUALITY

Many another example of the speculation indulged in might be cited,—this one, a real case, makes it graphically clear how even those who secured war orders did not secure the fabulous wealth in some way popularly supposed to be connected with war orders. As a matter of fact, since the lamentable experience of France early in the war, when an American contractor sold a large order of shoes of flimsy construction (and severely damaged American reputation in the act) the inspection standards have been very rigid. Random samples of the goods are now cautiously selected for test and the war-order fakir who tries to "put over" the familiar trick of top layers of standard quality and the rest mediocre has no chance. American reputation is now excellently safeguarded on war orders, for the irresponsibles who might enormously harm American prestige by grafting on quality are not allowed a word of war orders.

This feature of the war-order situation has not resolved the attention due it. Repu-



PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY J. PHOTODUPLICATIONS
CATTLE FOR THE MEXICAN MARKET

tion for quality and square dealing has had its reward and many a manufacturer who has not been successful in securing war orders has now an opportunity to reflect over the significant reasons.

AMERICAN CITIES AS WAR-SUPPLY CENTERS

Another curious phase of war orders' relation to reputation has cropped up in respect to cities. The enormous international spotlight in which, for instance, Bridgeport is working has been a matter of actual civic pride, gruesome as it may seem. An ancient rivalry between New Haven and Bridgeport has been spectacularly settled. Other cities, sensing the value of war-order spotlight, have sought war orders as a civic proposition. Galesburg, Ill., for instance, sent a representative to New York to bring home some of the famed war-fat, and now a proposition to make rifles stamped "Made in Galesburg, U. S. A.," is being financed at \$300,000 on



THE TERMINAL FREIGHT YARDS ARE CROWDED WITH CARS WAITING FOR AN ORDER.
(The scene at the Pennsylvania Yards in Jersey City.)

a promise of a \$27,000,000 war order. This project is criticized by rival cities as "bloody advertising," and others dub it merely a clever stock-promotion scheme; but it illustrates the hold which war orders have had on the imagination of the country.

Bluntly speaking, war orders acted like a great splash in a *stagnant* pond. The noise of the splash was exciting and was soon over, but the ripples resulting from it have been countless, far-reaching and insistent. Stupendous circles of trade have been started and the unnatural, diffident stagnation of before-the-war-orders times has been dispelled, some say, for all time in America. It is an amazing fact that war orders started the sluggish current of trade to the extent of billions of dollars. Factory windows lighted all night, the jamming of railway yards, the cry for mercy and announcing of embargoes by various freight handlers, has been just the tonic needed to



© COURTESY OF THE NEW YORK
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
SACKS OF WHEAT FOR EXPORT

bring the old-time American business temperament to its feet and set it going at something like the old pace.

People who were last spring reluctantly persuaded to buy a month's raw material ahead are now excitedly clamoring for any amount, *small or large, at a premium!* Factory workers who only last summer had three ten-hour days a week doled out to them as though it were a charity, are now working every day until ten at night on overtime, and getting overtime rates on all over eight hours! A few months ago there were 300,000 idle freight cars; now presidents of railways are losing sleep because of shortage! It is a mad world suddenly come upon us!

It is fascinating to follow these circling ripples of trade radiating from war orders.



THE FREIGHT-CONGESTED WATERFRONT ON THE EAST SIDE OF NEW YORK

EFFECT ON THE STEEL INDUSTRY

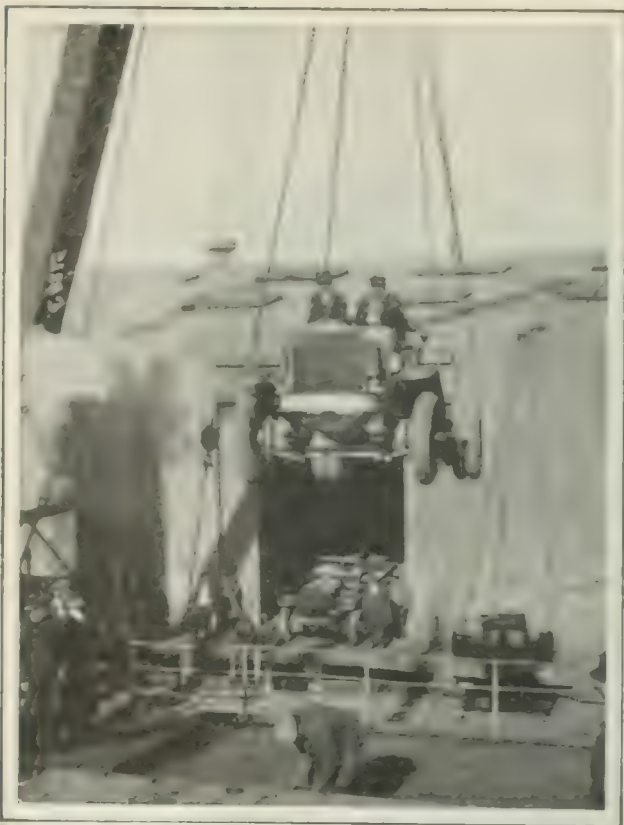
Naturally one of the most important raw materials affected by the war orders is steel. Not that the Allies are buying steel in the raw, nor that the raw-material needs of shell manufacturers are so large. But the effect of the war-order influx was first of all to swell to great proportions the demands for machinery to make shells, etc., and for structural steel for the many new additions to factories; then again for material for more cars and ships to transport the goods; more locomotives to haul them. And now, to cap it all, as the result of the war, the United States wants great quantities of steel to build warships and submarines of its own, and nations are buying goods for use *after* the war is over!

The situation in the steel industry is positively breath-taking. It is admitted that the steel market is running wild, and some say that in six months it will be almost impossible to get an order accepted. Even now orders are carefully debated before acceptance. Back in 1901 Schwab, then the first president of the United States Steel Corporation, provoked much skepticism by predicting that by 1920 the country would be

producing 40,000,000 tons of steel annually. At that time the production was about 11,000,000. Strangely enough the production of steel at the present time is at the rate of just about the predicted 40,000,000 tons,—just at the moment of Mr. Schwab's Bethlehem Steel "ten strike,"—and five years ahead of his prediction! It proves once more that the optimist is far more often right about the industrial growth of this country than the pessimist. The steel stocks have virtually become war stocks through the strong and directly sympathetic influences of war-order prosperity upon them. The United States Steel Corporation is about to spend \$15,000,000 in enlarging the capacity of its various centers; while immense enlargements, consolidations, and reorganizations are appearing among the independent companies; as a result steel stocks have fluttered upward. Midvale steel stock, for instance, rose from 50 to 97. Then, too, about eight new munitions companies have been formed, with a total new capitalization of approximately \$250,000,000.

THE BUYING OF MACHINERY

Another of the important ripples in the machinery field. With such widespread fac-



© International Film Service

MOTOR TRUCKS FOR THE RUSSIAN ARMY BEING
LOADED ABOARD A STEAMER

tory activity machinery-tool demand quickly became acute,—not only for use in America, but for France, England, Russia. It is strongly suspected that Germany got a lot of it, for Denmark imported \$245,000 worth in the last fiscal year, as compared with \$48,000 in 1914; and Sweden \$625,000 instead of \$310,000. France has bought nearly \$9,000,000 worth as against less than \$2,000,000 the year previous. England bought \$12,000,000, as compared with \$3,000,000 in 1914. Russia bought two and a half million as compared with a little over one million. Canada has also been a heavy buyer.

COPPER, RUBBER, AND COTTON

Let us take a look at some of the stimulation which war orders have pumped into various other commodities. There is copper; everybody knows how it sagged down almost to the point of complete break. One-time powerful companies were reduced to bankruptcy. Now it is the main concern of the lead-

ing copper people to prevent the market from acting like a broncho! Not only are the Allies buying copper, but it is now rumored that German agents have contracted for some \$40,000,000 worth for delivery after the war. Copper is now five cents above the average price for the past twenty years, and some producers are making 100 per cent. profit.

Then there is crude rubber, which has taken a sharp jump upward until it is now 68 cents a pound, and tire manufacturers are announcing substitutes for rubber. Even with a record crop throughout the world, corn and wheat have jumped up until Canada has had to commandeer the price.

Cotton is selling at 13 cents instead of 6½ cents a year ago, while cotton-seed, which sells normally no higher than \$22 a ton, now sells as high as \$50. The South, which has had a lean time of it, is now suddenly bulging.

Most curious and impressive of all is the way in which every nation in the world, belligerent or neutral, is converging upon this country for supplies. Chinese, Japanese, French, English, Belgian, Italian and other trade commissions have visited us, bent on trading more with us. Germany herself is reputed on good authority to have actually placed orders here for no less than \$10,000,000 worth of copper, cotton, wool, lard, wheat, farm machinery, etc., for delivery after the war.

There is obviously a realization growing of the utter congestion of orders for staples which will take place after war destruction ends and construction begins. It will likely



Phot. by Photo News Co., N. Y.

HUGE PILES OF BOXED AUTOMOBILES LYING IN THE ERIE BASIN,
IN NEW YORK READY FOR SHIPMENT



Photo by Postcard News Company

THE PIERS OF WEST STREET, NEW YORK, ARE SO CLOGGED WITH GOODS AWAITING SHIPMENT THAT THE FREIGHT OVERFLOWS INTO THE STREET

then be a peaceful contest for the materials with which to repair the monstrous damage.

THE DEMAND FOR SKILLED LABOR

The situation in labor is in keeping with the general manufacturing boom. It is a fact that not in years has there been such a positively frantic demand for skilled labor as now. I have personally seen payrolls for factory operators in a field not by any stretch of the imagination related to war orders, namely fountain pens, where machine operators were earning from \$40 to \$55 per week, including overtime, bonuses, etc. Every man who can use a pair of hands and take instruction is being commandeered in the better-known industrial centers. It is true that in the sudden sweep of labor demand some centers have been passed by and are still dull, but the pressure on the main centers of industry is compensatingly phenomenal. Farm hands are dropping shovels, washing their horny hands and offering themselves at machine shops to be miraculously turned into some semblance of skilled workmen in a few

weeks' time. Those who cannot work fast enough and are discharged merely smile and walk right into some other plant! I have seen some absolute incompetents, fresh from some remote rural districts, keep a \$4-a-day job indefinitely, though discharged every week or so. Often the same company in another department will hire the same man back several times!

As a matter of fact the most serious problem confronting industrial centers like Bridgeport or Detroit, etc., is the *housing*



Photo by Postcard News Company

MOTOR TRUCKS ON THE DECK OF THE STEAMSHIP "ALBATROSS" OUTWARD BOUND

problem. A family which decided to take in a roomer in Bridgeport and advertised was overwhelmed with nearly 100 applicants. A cot in a hallway is bringing a parlor-bedroom price. Bridgeport has added nearly 50,000 population within a short time, and Detroit 80,000. But while this housing problem is being put up to the builders and social workers, manufacturers themselves are performing Aladdin's-lamp feats in putting up new buildings. The Remington Arms Company put up a new factory a thousand by three hundred feet in thirty days and another similar one in three days. Three shifts of workmen working eight hours each,—those working at night using the glare of high-power electric lamps,—were necessary to perform this miracle. In these busy industrial centers one is now greeted with the sight of moving-picture theaters crowded in the forenoon with night workers, and stores open all night.

Detroit, as a result of the war, is one of the magic cities. Since the first automobile company started there with \$250,000 capital in 1899, the making of cars in Detroit has now reached the astounding annual total of \$350,000,000. The city is the Mecca of skilled workmen from all over the country, and only New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia are doing more building construc-

tion than Detroit. During 1915 about 250 new companies were incorporated there, and about \$20,000,000 worth of new capital raised. Facts like these explain why De-

THE WAR-ORDER SPURT TO POPULATION

City.	Before War.	Now.
Bridgeport, Conn.	90,000	140,000
Hopewell, Va.	1,000	15,000
Penn's Grove, N. J.	2,000	5,000
City Point, Va.	2,000	5,000
Du Pont City, Va.	1,000	5,000
Carney's Point, N. J.	1,000	3,500
Petersburg, Va.	25,000	32,000
Wilmington, Del.	87,411	110,000
Detroit, Mich.	600,000	682,000
Bethlehem, Pa.	12,837	14,200
Flint, Mich.	38,550	47,500

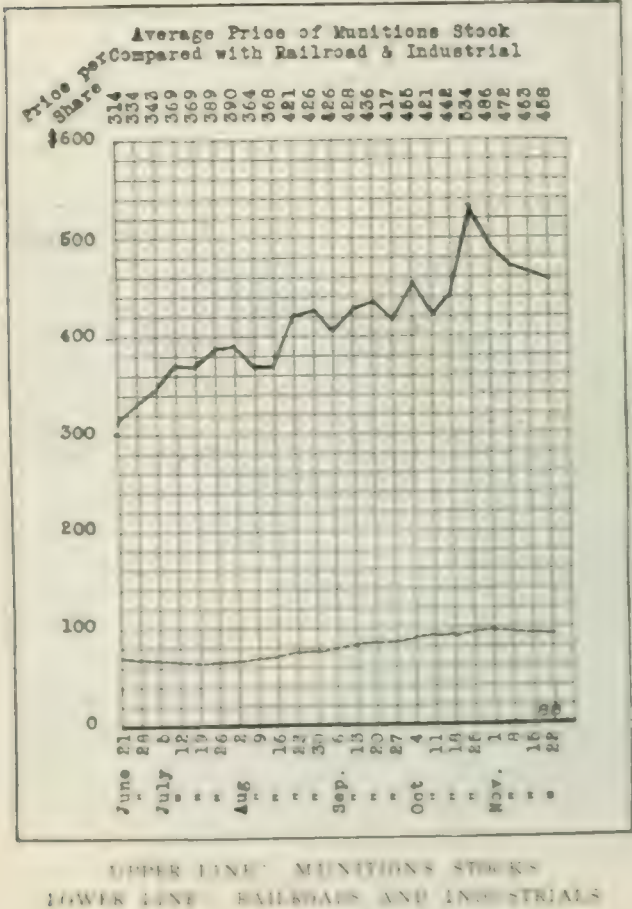
troit has been picked as a phenomenon of enough national interest to take moving-picture films simply of the town's growth.

NEW WEALTH NOT YET DISTRIBUTED

A careful estimate of the general situation throughout the country indicates that 90 per cent. of all manufacturing business in the country is sold up, or is over-sold. To explain why general business is still far from satisfactory under such conditions it is not necessary to think of the temporary nature of war orders, for I have already shown that the war-order business may now be demonstrated as a mere psychological drop in the bucket. The real explanation undoubtedly lies in the fact that while laborers and mechanics of all kinds are busy as bees, at high wages, and manufacturers of most kinds, too, yet a great proportion of salaried employees are still under the handicap of previously reduced salaries, because the sudden wealth has not yet been really distributed. The staples are doubling themselves up with activity, but the average middle-class luxuries and comforts have still to feel the impelling force of prosperity. It has thrilled only the larger arteries of the nation's business, and has still to reach the complicated network of capillaries.

INFLUENCE ON THE STOCK MARKET

As a matter of fact the most astonishing part of the whole war-munitions business,—and the most paradoxical,—is that the additional values put on stocks and bonds, general values and personal fortunes since war orders began to pour in have amounted to about five times the total amount of the war orders. This may seem almost impossible, yet the wide effect of war orders on stocks is not appreciated generally. Take





FREDERICK D. UNDERWOOD.

(President of the Erie and manager of a northern great property)



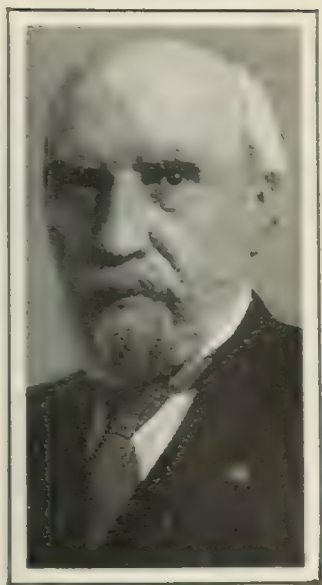
PERCY A. ROCKEFELLER

(Son of William Rockefeller and one of the active figures in the important new Midvale Steel combination)



FRANK A. VANDERLIP

(President of the National City Bank and prime mover in the organization of the world-ambitious International Corporation)



© International News Service

JAMES J. HILL

(Ruler of the Great Northern's destinies, and prominent in the Anglo-French loan negotiations)

the oil stocks, for instance, which few people have noticed. It is a fact that something like \$150,000,000 in extra value has been added to oil stocks within recent months.

What has happened to automobile stocks as a result of prosperity's stimulus to auto purchasing, is considerably more remarkable. Following are the gains in points of the automobile stocks listed on the Stock Exchange in the past year:

Willys-Overland	181
Studebaker	161
Maxwell	77
General Motors	567

Total Points Gained..... 786

Such gains in stocks mean in reality gains in the personal fortunes of, first, the underwriters who were foresighted enough to guarantee the flotation of stock and bond issues; and second, the men on the inside of corporations which either had war orders, or were indirectly affected by them, or by general improved prosperity. The underwriters of the Chevrolet Motor Company, for instance, have gained large sums, as the stock rose from 85 to almost twice that amount. Five underwriters of the Submarine Boat Stock made more than a million dollars each, without putting up one cent of cash—merely by signing an underwriting agreement. The inventor, Isaac Rice, is reported to have made \$3,000,000 himself. Marcellus Dodge, president of the Remington Arms Company, is said to have made about \$12,000,000 by selling the Midvale Steel and Ordnance stock he secured when

the company he had formed to make Lee-Enfield Rifles was merged. As Mr. Dodge must be realizing personally from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 more from the Remington company's profits and advance in value, he may be said perhaps to be the largest individual gainer of the war-order wealth.



MR. CHARLES H. KAHN

(Financially prominent of the country, through his position in many of the great corporations, and his position in the war industrial revival)



MR. C. I. KEPNER

(A prominent Wall Street figure, who is prominent in the war industrial revival)

There are about 425 names of men on my list of those known to have made money in hundreds of thousands of dollars by either war stocks directly or by the sharp general upward trend of values. There must be at least 200 more of whom I have no record, men who have taken their profits and sold



MR. JOHN N. WILLYS
(President of the Willys-Overland Company, and a big name in the automobile business)

urer of a munitions company, and they are reputed to have spent \$100,000 on their trip. This treasurer is building a \$200,000 home. To get the property he paid \$5000 for plots which had cost the owners but \$400! Automobiles of curious, fanciful individual designs are being built for individuals who wish to spend their money as whimsically as possible. Magnanimous and spectacular gifts of parks, hospitals, etc., are being made in an effort by these new millionaires to put to benevolent use their new wealth.

John N. Willys, whose entirely unique business career is the modern Aladdin's-lamp story, is worth to-day personally at least \$60,000,000. Ten or twelve years ago he was a mechanic-salesman. His factories cover seventy-nine acres to-day, and his firm takes in more money than Henry Ford's company. He has given \$300,000 to the Toledo Club, and equally lavishly elsewhere. He is but one of the new crop of millionaires, whose numbers are now rapidly growing.

As a matter of fact, however, *most of the new wealth made is as yet only on paper.* Those manufacturers who have received large war orders even with deposits of money, have had to expend all of it and more on enlarged facilities, new machinery,

nothing. Not all and readjustment. It is a curious fact that have been so reticent many of those with the largest war orders about their win- have *less ready money now than before*, for nings, however. A the simple reason that with labor making Pullman car filled more demands, and endless calls for readjust- with forty-two peo- ments and new conditions costing much ple flush with war- money, they have actually had to scurry order profits came to around for capital. It is true that the stocks New York not long of those whose securities are listed or avail- ago. They were able to the public for speculation have ad- guests of the treas- vanced largely, but as a rule the officers and

directors have naturally not desired to sell their holdings for fear of control passing from them, as well as for future profit reasons. Consequently the only satisfaction many of them have to-day is to take a sharp lead pencil and figure out how much they are worth, *on paper!* It looks fine, but as yet it does not pay for the many luxuries and other things they plan to buy after a while!

In general it may then be said that a considerable part of the country is literally stuffed with new wealth, but as yet it is comparable to bank checks either undeposited or as yet uncollected. Such a condition surely explains the spotted, expectant character of general business, which so short a time ago was prostrate. It has not yet had time to buy a new suit

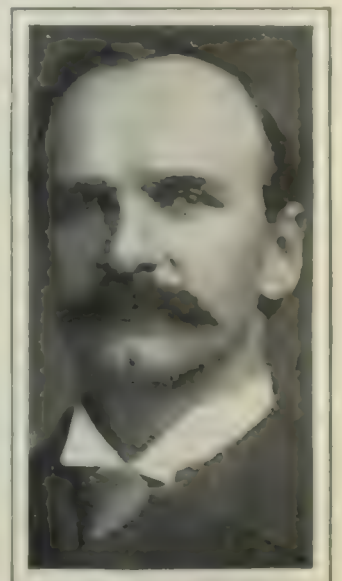


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MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB

(The President of the Bethlehem Steel Co. and a dominant figure in the large war-order business)

of clothes and get a square meal. The tailor is making a fine suit, all right, and the cook is busy preparing a big appetizing meal; but business is pacing the corridor, hungrily licking its chops, waiting to enjoy what it has achieved. More Paris gowns, for instance, than ever before are coming through the custom houses.



MR. T. COLEMAN DU PONT
(Head of the great Du Pont powder plants.)

PRINCIPAL ITEMS IN TOTAL OF ALLIES' WAR ORDERS AMOUNTING TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS

Ammunition	Automobiles	Cars, locomotives and railroad supplies
Explosive materials	Tires and accessories	Woolen cloth and trimmings
Projectiles	Copper and brass	Blankets and furnishings
Ordnance parts	Horses and mules	Barbed wire, tools, etc.
Machinery	Flour and grain	Food supplies
Aeroplanes	Boats and launches	
	Shoes and leather	

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER.—

Curiously enough no excitement is caused by the authenticated fact that no more orders for shells are coming into this country;— for the simple reason, I repeat, that we are now in a position to be indifferent to war orders. The good that they could do is now fully accomplished, and the harm that might have come from their discontinuance in the past is now a purely speculative matter. It is true that a great many business men have real fears about war order discontinuance. But the wiser ones are paying almost no serious attention any longer to such fears. Even in the matter of munitions, logic points to the fact that if peace is declared next week no nation at war will feel safe without a large store of war supplies. Munitions-making will unquestionably continue apace in this country for a period of several years after the war is over. The gradual diffusion of wealth now being effected will steady the natural momentary financial shock of the peace day (which, surely, under any circumstances, will be amply foreshadowed in time to ease the blow).

Business men of light and leading, used

to cautious weighing of words, do not hesitate to say that the country is now nearer to being bomb-proof from the depressions which have affected us than at any time in our history.

One of the signs that points unmistakably to the sure grasp and firm faith which American business men now have regarding the future of business, after the war clouds clear off, is the formation of the American International Corporation, capitalized at \$50,000,000, to finance and conduct large constructive industrial and commercial enterprises in foreign lands. Some of the brightest brains of American business are on the board of directors, and it is accepted as a foregone

UNCLE SAM'S BILL TO THE ALLIES
For War Goods Delivered
(First eight months of 1915)

Automobiles	\$65,463,000
Copper	70,000,000
Horses and Mules.....	86,000,000
Explosives	65,000,000
Leather	55,000,000
Shoes	24,000,000
Barbed and other wire.....	14,000,000
Miscellaneous (food, etc.).....	100,000,000
Total.....	\$479,463,000

conclusion that the enterprise will represent the successful entry of the United States in the great drama of world-wide commercial supremacy, for which part, by common concession, the United States is cast. It is already being said that young business men may well henceforth take upon themselves a dignity and preparation commensurate with the great commercial perspective which American business now begins to call for at the hour of its destiny and the passing of its insular point of view.





Photograph by Paul Thompson

ON THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN FRONT

Germans firing from behind a bomb-proof wall built over a destroyed farm house



Photograph by Paul Thompson

GERMANS PASSING THROUGH A RUINED TOWN IN THE VOLHYNIA REGION

THE WAR'S VAST HORIZONS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE YEAR ENDS BADLY FOR THE ALLIES

FOR the enemies of Germany the year is ending badly on the field of battle. In Mesopotamia a British army is retreating to escape destruction. In Macedonia an Anglo-French force is falling back from Serbian territory, having failed to succor the gallant Slavs and being now in danger itself. Allied prestige is shattered in the Near East and shaken in the Far East.

Looking back over the twelve months it is impossible to view them as other than months in which German success in the field has rivaled that of Napoleon or Louis XIV. Poland, Serbia, and Lithuania have been conquered, a road has been opened to Constantinople and to the Osmanli ally, and Bulgaria has been persuaded to cast her lot with the Central Powers.

On the west, half a dozen Allied attacks have been halted; and the battle-lines remain but little changed since the closing shots of the Battles of Flanders put a term to German offensive effort in France and in Belgium. In half a dozen places the Allies have made progress. They have taken villages and hills. North of Arras and east of Rheims they have progressed for several miles. But these advances have been meaningless, save as they have indicated an ever-growing Anglo-French strength and have established the conviction in Paris and London that the deadlock in the west can be broken, when ammunition is available in sufficient quantities.

But east and west it is necessary to point out that the success has been with Germany. In France and Belgium she undertook to hold her enemies in check and she has held them. In Russia she planned to take Warsaw and roll back the Russian masses from the Carpathians to the Niemen and beyond, and she has done this. Finally, she broke new ground in a campaign to the Golden Horn; and here she has accomplished with ease and rapidity that fullest measure of possible success, which was denied her in Russia as it had been in France in 1914.

As the year closes it shows Germany and

her allies still triumphant, in better military posture than a year ago and endangered only by economic pressure within their boundaries and a prospective shortage in numbers, by no means assured and not yet revealed on the firing line.

What is the Allied statement for the twelve months? First of all, the German advance in the west has been permanently checked. Neither in Paris nor Berlin is there the faintest thought that a new campaign will carry the Germans to Paris or to the Channel. The destruction of France and the approach to Britain are no longer possibilities of the war. Superiority in men and munitions on the western front is assured to the Allies for the period of the war.

The security of France and Great Britain thus made certain, the work of the British fleet has shone forth in full splendor. German commerce is a thing of the past; and Germany is to all intents and purposes a beleaguered fortress, not yet perhaps facing starvation, but plainly suffering from a shortage of certain kinds of foods, and many of the materials needed to make war. Not yet possessing on the Continent the influence or the power of Napoleon I, at the moment of the meeting at Tilsit, William II is facing the same difficulties, the same economic pressure, which brought Napoleon to his knees ultimately, because he never could reach Britain or destroy the British fleet.

Germany has indeed occupied 8400 square miles of France, a twenty-fifth of the area of the country, which before the war maintained some 2,500,000 people, but was cleared of men by mobilization in advance of the occupation. But France and Britain have cleared German colonies, have conquered Togo and Southwest Africa, and are at the point of ending German rule in the Kamerun, while Japan and Australia have lowered the German colors in the Pacific. If Germany holds Belgium and a fraction of Northern France, she holds them as a counterbalance to British control of the sea, and Anglo-French possession of her colonies.

In sum, the passing year has seen the German failure to win in the west made absolute. It has also seen the collapse of the old

fort, by submarine activity, to blockade Britain, and thus to free German commerce. It has seen the issues of the war become Polish, Balkan, and Asiatic,—not French or Belgian. It has seen the problem change from one of world-power with immediate European supremacy, to the problem of a readjustment which shall leave Germany a "place in the sun" and an open road to future world power.

II. THE NEW PHASE

It is to the new phase that is now opening in the war that I desire to call attention in my comment for this month. The war has changed wholly in the current year. It has changed quite as much in the minds of the Allies as in those of the Germans. The hope of crushing Germany and destroying her unity has perished, or should have perished. Out of the storm of seventeen months of war German unity has come unshaken; and those who still talk of a partition of Germany limit their expectation to the restoration to France of Alsace-Lorraine.

The recent words of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag revealed a necessity to convince the German people that the government would not refuse to make peace on terms that were reasonable in view of German success and outward prospects. But they revealed a similar recognition of the fact that the foes of Germany were not ready or willing to make peace on any terms compatible with German honor or present expectation.

What, then, are the enemies of Germany fighting for? What are their terms of peace? It is impossible to say, because, first of all, the Allies are fighting a state of mind. What Europe is facing is one more of the wars that have been fought to preserve the balance of power and to establish the fact that one race, one nation, cannot rule in Europe. Peace now in the minds of the French and the British, of the Russians and the Italians, would be but a truce, another pause such as that of Nimwegen or of Amiens, a breathing spell while Germany reorganized for a new attack, having harvested the profits and sought to guard against the errors of her first venture.

The year that is to come is to determine one thing. It is to determine whether Germany can bring home any profits from the great efforts she has made. Can she free Poland from Russian control and erect upon

her eastern boundary a Polish state, protected by Austro-German arms, which will act as a buffer state against Russian expansion? This is a policy of protection wholly analogous to that of Louis XIV, who sought to make Flanders and Alsace barriers against hostile advance to Paris. For the future, in Europe, Russia is the great menace to Germany, the foe who must be faced in that near time when Russian population has passed 200,000,000 and, conceivably, revolution or reorganization has made Russia strong.

But even the insurance against Russia is relatively insignificant. What Germany is now fighting for is the right to dominate Central Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea and control Western Asia. Austria has become a mere tool, Hungary an ally, whose integrity and safety depend upon Prussian protection. Serbia is conquered, and Bulgaria, having thrown herself into Prussian arms, can exist only as Germany assures it against Russian attack. As for Turkey, the Russian, Italian, British, French fleets and armies are at its doors, and without German aid its doom is sealed.

A peace now, that restored Belgium to its previous state, left France intact, turned back Russian Poland to the Czar and permitted Italy to take the Trentino and Trieste, to take Albania and the Egean islands, which permitted the British and the French to divide German colonies, would still leave Germany not merely the advantage, but far on the road to the world power of Bernhardt and to the domination of Europe for which Napoleon and Louis XIV strove in vain.

Once this mighty empire had been reorganized, Germany would be ready to retake Trieste and return to the port of Antwerp, while it could organize a new and deadly thrust at Britain both across Suez and by the Euphrates Valley and the Bagdad railroad to India.

Unquestionably before undertaking a new war Germany would seek to placate France. Between the Republic and the Empire there is no rivalry save that which grows out of Alsace-Lorraine. To-day Germany is willing to return to France Metz and the French-speaking districts of Lorraine, to buy off the French and abolish their grievance. But if France were out of the question, could Russia and Britain combined defeat the Germans? Has not the true stumbling block been the French military strength, and was not the Battle of the Marne the real defeat of German plans?

To-day Germany desires peace because there is nothing to be won that is essential to her plans, if she can but hold that portion of her conquests which she means to hold as the guarantee of her future greatness. She desires peace because the economic pressure upon her is terrific, and her people are beginning to suffer and perhaps to murmur. But by peace the Germans still mean peace with profit, with an assured future bought by the terrific losses of the last months of slaughter.

III. WHY PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE

If Germany, warned by the example of Napoleon, is now ready for peace, it is only a "victorious peace," a peace of her own sort. She recognizes that she has reached that point to which Napoleon came in 1809, when having made France great, he persisted in war and in consequence lost his throne, while his country lost his conquests and those of the Revolution. But her enemies cannot make peace on any terms that are conceivable in the premises, for such a peace would spell ruin.

Even if Germany were prepared to-day to evacuate Belgium, cede Metz and the French-speaking districts of Lorraine to France, persuade or compel Austria to give up Trieste and the Trentino to Italy, Galicia to Russia, even if she were willing to surrender her African colonies to Britain, these nations could not and would not make peace, for even with these concessions Germany would still threaten the future of all her foes.

In Paris, in London, in Petrograd the conviction persists that if the war continues Germany will be unable to endure the terrific strain; that, inferior in population, wealth, resources, deprived of ocean trade, she will presently break down as did France in 1814, despite the splendor of Napoleonic victories and the greatness of imperial conquests. They believe that another year or two of war will bring home to the German people, as the Napoleonic Wars brought home to the French, the fact that the conquest of Europe is impossible and that the price of pretending to be a supreme race is found in misery and death, in taxation and suffering, not in wealth, in happiness, or in glory.

The Allied economists and generals have figured it all out. They believe that for a price that the Allied nations are capable of paying and should pay, Germany can be defeated, worn down, brought to agree to a

peace, like that France accepted at Vienna a hundred years ago, which left the France of 1789 intact and took away only the conquests of the Revolution and the Empire. Such a peace will not merely free Belgium and Northern France, but also Serbia. It will leave the Balkan nations free to develop without peril from without. It will abolish the peril to future peace which German supremacy at Constantinople possesses.

Some time in the next year the Allied statesmen and soldiers believe that the German machine will break down. They believe that the cost in life and treasure will be beyond the resources of one nation, which with weak and burdensome allies is facing four great powers and is deprived of communication from the outside world.

When that time comes the enemies of Germany are not now looking forward to a mutilation of Germany. They do not expect, any more, as they did a year ago, that Germany will fly into a dozen parts. A year has made clear that they are fighting a nation,—not an emperor; and combating the dream of a people, not the conception of a few ambitious men. They do not expect,—certainly not those who possess any semblance of reason,—that the people of Germany will destroy their rulers or submit to outside interference with their internal life.

What the Allied statesmen and generals do believe is that the drying up of German resources in men and money will produce a German sentiment for peace,—for peace which, aside perhaps from Alsace-Lorraine, may leave Germany intact, but will take from her all her Austrian, Balkan, and Russian conquests and leave her, as France was left after Napoleon fell, still great, but deprived of all that she had won in her bid for Continental supremacy.

It is in this spirit and with this purpose that the new year is opening. The struggle is clearly circumscribed now; and the issues, which will be settled, and having been settled, will give form and substance to Europe for another century, are beginning to appear. The question to be decided is the question of German supremacy in Austria, Poland, and the Balkans. The fate of Belgium and France has been decided and the future of both is assured. Great Britain has not been scratched, and she has already gathered in most of Germany's overseas empire and swept the ocean of German ships and commerce.

We have passed from a war of conquest to a war of endurance. If Germany can out-

last her great toes, she has won the war, not as she hoped to win it, for France and the British Isles are secure. But she has restored the German Empire of the Middle Ages in all its territorial grandeur, and she will be able to give to the form the strength and unity the ancient empire never possessed. If she can endure the attack until her enemies are exhausted, she will rule from Hamburg to Aden, from Schleswig-Holstein to Arabia, and her halt at Suez and the Persian Gulf need not be long.

IV. VAST HORIZONS

Because in these pages and elsewhere emphasis has been laid on the failure of Germany to obtain a decision in any field, save only in the Balkan, which is incidental, no one should mistake the real magnitude of German success or the true grandeur of that empire within whose frontiers, mainly marked by trenches, the Kaiser rules supreme. To-day it surpasses in population and approaches in area the Rome that ruled the world.

A few months hence it may be possible to go by rail from the banks of the Scheldt at Antwerp to those of the Tigris at Bagdad on railroad trains under the direction of German military authorities. Only at the Bosphorus and the Taurus mountains will the journey be interrupted by a short trip by boat or stage. From Kiel to Mecca, the rails will presently run with but the same short breaks.

Given the wonderful German genius for organization, German efficiency, German industry, who can fail to grasp the possibilities of such an empire or perceive that in no long time it would become supreme in the whole world. Once the millions of subject races were organized into armies, could the French, the Russians, the Italians, and the British, separated by this solid block of territory and each outnumbered, collectively make head against this empire?

German naval power would then be transferred from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Behind the forts of the Dardanelles it would lie safe, while German submarines, based upon Turkish ports in Anatolia and Syria, would sweep the eastern Mediterranean. Mohammedan hopes would be harnessed to Teutonic ambitions, and the Green flag would cross Suez to take up the road of the other conquerors who advanced from Cairo to Gibraltar and beyond. Egypt conquered, not North Africa alone, but Central Africa

would lie open to German invasion. The value of sea power would be abolished, because Germany would possess an empire completely self-contained, beyond the peril of food shortage or munition deficiency.

All this, too, in the larger sense, Germany has already achieved. I dwell on these details because I desire my readers to grasp the real futility of peace proposals at the present moment, and the little bearing any terms that have yet been suggested have upon the real questions that remain to be settled. I suggest that they take an atlas and on a map of Europe and Asia trace with a black line the present frontier of the Central Powers, always recalling that in saying Central Powers they mean Germany, which has become in every sense the master of the alliance and the captain of the fortunes of the whole group.

To do this is to perceive why the Allies cannot make peace to-day, why they are fighting and why they must fight until they conquer or succumb to exhaustion. But quite as plainly they will perceive why Germany, with all this great prospective empire within her grasp, with armies still unshaken guarding every frontier, cannot on her part sign a peace which will restore the boundaries of 1914, so far as she is concerned, and in the Balkans and at the Dardanelles erect barriers which will for all time, hereafter, prevent her from again taking up the pathway of world dominion.

Not less plain are the reasons why the Allies rightly recognize that any peace now, that fell short of placing a permanent barrier to German expansion by land into Asia and Africa, would be but a truce and an illusion. To-morrow Britain would have to fight for Egypt, because the nation that holds Syria will be master of Egypt, if there remains to it power to expand. French and Italian, as well as British rule in North Africa, British India, Russian Black Sea provinces, all would be endangered.

Germany has not merely challenged Europe, she has in a measure made good her challenge. She has laid the foundations for the mightiest empire that Europe has seen since the days of Rome, and has opened the way to reproduce in no small degree the greatness and the world supremacy of Rome. Berlin is already a prospective rival of the ancient imperial city, whose claims can only be abolished by the defeat of Germany, by an Allied victory that can impose such terms as Europe imposed on France at Vienna,—terms that left France, but swept away a

world empire, both in fact and in the minds of the French people.

V. PARALLELS OF THE PAST

Now, turning back to the familiar analogies of earlier European history, it will be recalled that the efforts of Napoleon and Louis XIV failed ultimately because both were faced by a wellnigh united Continent, sustained and supplied by a Britain supreme on the sea. In the case of Louis XIV, Europe early recognized the peril, and one coalition after another sprang into existence as he made successive bids for world power in the German sense. In the case of Napoleon the several great nations were slow in coalescing. Austria was overthrown at Austerlitz, with only Russian aid. Prussia fell single-handed at Jena. Friedland was the defeat of Russia alone. But when the peril was appreciated Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden joined hands with England and the end was assured.

In the present war the coalition was mobilized with the coming of war. Only Italy stood outside, her indecision costing her future allies heavily last spring, when Rome decided a month too late, and Russian disaster came in consequence. But to-day a treaty has been signed, wholly analogous to that of Chaumont, which bound the opponents of France together and committed the signatories to war until France was restored to the limits of 1789, Italy's adherence supplying an important detail of December's news.

After seventeen months of war, too, German statements supply the clearest evidence that there is not the smallest weakening of purpose on the part of the Allies, and Bethmann-Hollweg is the best witness of the solidarity of the enemies of his sovereign. Hindenburg has supplied the phrase, "Our enemies are not yet battered enough." Hence the war must go on; even the Germans make no concealment of this.

What the end will be, when it will come,—these are things beyond the field of such comments as this to speculate upon, as they are beyond the capacity of any man alive to forecast. But it is clear, it is certain, that all other attempts such as the present German bid for supremacy on the Continent have failed for precisely the same reasons that are discoverable in Europe to-day. They have failed because Europe perceived the peril and men of all other nations combined against the men of one, as Russians, French-

men, Britons, and Italians have combined against Germans.

It took Europe forty years to lay the peril of Louis XIV. From the long series of wars France emerged greater by several provinces, but exhausted. She had added a fortress here and a few square miles there to her frontier, but within her boundaries the prosperity which Colbert had organized had vanished, and there was already in process the long, steady march to the abyss of the Revolution. In a word, the state of mind of France, of the ruling classes, and of the crown, which was responsible for the mighty venture, was dead.

The Napoleonic episode was far shorter. From the rupture of the Peace of Amiens to the abdication of Fontainebleau was little more than a decade,—perhaps the most marvelous decade in the history of any race. But from the glories of the Napoleonic period France emerged still territorially intact, but cured of the larger portion of the madness which had cost so many millions of lives and ended in disaster and defeat, in two invasions of France and the occupation of Paris and French territory for long months by alien armies.

By successes less complete, less brilliant, lacking in the tactically decisive character of Napoleonic successes, Germany has marched far on the road of the First Empire. She is now confronted by the same obstacles that overthrew Napoleon. She has now to last, as Napoleon strove to last. And she must follow the same methods. She cannot make peace, because her foes fear her too much to give her even a small fraction of her conquests. She must undertake new offensives and organize new invasions. With the spring she must resume the invasion of Russia or send new forces across Asia Minor to force a crossing at Suez and repeat in Egypt the successes of the Balkans. Cairo and Petrograd alike beckon her, as Moscow and Madrid beckoned Napoleon, sinking ever deeper and deeper in the meshes of a war that had been won if it could only have been ended.

Unless Germany conquers France or Russia, or collapses in consequence of internal weakness, there is no prospect that peace will come in the current year. There is, indeed, little prospect that before Autumn, at the earliest, German armies can be driven in upon the frontiers of Germany. But the essential thing to remember is that the war has become one of endurance, not of campaigns, always excepting the possibility of a truly

decisive campaign, of a battle like Leipzig, for example. In truth the analogy for Americans of the Civil War is unmistakable, for if Germany is to be beaten, as I believe she will be, it will be by the same process that ultimately overcame a South long victorious on the battlefield and unconquerable, while there remained men and food.

VI. AS EUROPE SEES IT

Beyond all else I am anxious that my readers should see the situation as Europe sees it at the opening of the new year. In America the casualty lists, the accounts of human misery and suffering, of lives lost, cities destroyed, provinces ravaged continue to dominate the minds and shape the emotions of those who witness the spectacle from afar and appreciate only vaguely the issues at stake. But the European point of view is wholly different. Americans should recall the attitude of Europe toward our own Civil War. For us there was no peace short of the decision that only battle could give to the question of national unity. Europe saw only the horrors and the destruction; and their own incidental hardships; and clamored for peace in the name of humanity. But, North and South, Americans knew better; and the "patched-up peace" did not come.

Now the mood of France is not different from that of the North in 1864. The question,—not now of national existence, France answered that at the Marne, but of national security, of the future,—is still in the issue. France believes no sacrifice too great to roll back the peril of the German colossus, and by retaking the "lost provinces" erect a bulwark against a new invasion. This may be possible or impossible, but it is France, from the lowest to the highest; it is the temper and the will of a nation.

In Britain the state of mind differs only in degree from that of France. German terms, the best that can be hoped for now, would mean a deadly peril for the empire, perhaps the beginning of the end. It would mean an empire threatened at Egypt, menaced in India, an empire whose prestige had been shattered on half a dozen battlefields, and still lacked the reviving influence of the victories, to the British mind assured, when their armies are at last organized and in the field. The mood that conquered Napoleon is unmistakable in Britain and the desire for peace decreases as the ultimate cost of any possible peace now becomes clear.

As for Germany, granted that she desires peace, that her people are weary of the blood-tax and suffer discomfort and hardship from food shortage, does anyone suppose that she desires peace so earnestly that she is prepared to give over her conquests in France, Belgium, and Poland without any recompense? Does anyone suppose she is prepared to withdraw from the Balkans and permit the erection of a strong Serbian state which will for all time bar the way to the Bosphorus? Does anyone believe she is ready to surrender Bulgaria to the wrath of the Czar, or consent that Austria should be shorn of the Galician province, of Trieste, and the Trentino, of Dalmatia and Bosnia?

But unless Germany is willing to consent to these things, above all to the abandonment of the Balkan hegemony, she cannot have peace now or at any time that can be foreseen now, short of the general exhaustion of Europe. For, in going to the Balkans, Germany has thrown down the real challenge to Europe; and the issue of the war will be decided in the Near East. If she can hold her gains here, her influence, her supremacy at Stamboul, Germany will threaten the future of all her opponents save only France, and even for French North Africa there will be a threat in Prussian power at Suez. If she can hold what she has in the East,—and the western gains are now regarded as nothing but territory for bargaining,—Germany will emerge from the war an empire, with only the United States and Russia as possible rivals in all the world.

The year that is opening, then, promises to be the most momentous in human history since that which saw Leipzig and the decline of the Napoleonic power. Within the next twelve months it seems likely that there will be decided the question as to whether the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations are to survive unmodified, whether the British and French ideas of liberty and national life are to persist, vindicated by successful resistance to the gravest peril they have known in centuries, or whether the German idea is to establish itself in a position that will enable it, hereafter, to resume the campaign to dominate Europe and the world. It is this that the French and the British see to be the issue of the hour. It is this vision that makes peace talk impossible, all peace unthinkable, until the German idea is banished, or France, Britain, Italy, and Russia, exhaust, abandon their task and resign their future.

VII. BAGDAD AND THE BALKANS

It remains now in the brief space that is left, merely to chronicle two Allied failures, both chargeable to British causes, the defeat before Bagdad and the retreat from Serbia upon Salonica. As these lines are written both seem not impossibly destined to end in complete disaster. In any event they have together shattered the Allied prestige in the Balkans and their story will be told in every bazaar from Cairo to Fez and from Bagdad to the banks of the Ganges.

Of the Bagdad expedition all that can be said is that a gamble, begun with perhaps 16,000 men, later reinforced to 60,000, miscarried when success was in sight. Had Bagdad fallen, the whole Arab world might have sprung to arms against the despised Turk, Islam might have been divided, Syria provoked into revolt, and the road from Constantinople to Suez permanently closed. Then the Turkish frontier would have been thrown back upon the Taurus mountains. Mesopotamia would have become a possession of the British Empire, an outpost of India, and the grandiose German dream of an advance along the Bagdad railroad to the Gulf of Sinai and to the Indian Ocean destroyed.

But the venture failed, completely. Ten miles from Bagdad the British army was thoroughly defeated by Turkish troops, hurried east over the newly constructed links in the Bagdad railroad, and then compelled to retire in hurried retreat for more than a hundred miles, with other and longer marches ahead of it, threatened by the Arab hosts rising for, not against, the Sultan and the Kaiser. The back door to the Turkish empire was thus slammed shut, soon after the front door at Gallipoli had been bolted by new German guns, provided with ammunition in sufficient quantities.

As to the Balkan episode: In my last article I pointed out that the rest of the success or failure of Anglo-French efforts to relieve the Serbs would be found in the arrival or failure to arrive at Uskub. French outposts did reach Veles, but before they could open the road for the main force, the Serbian armies had been well nigh destroyed and the remnants driven west into Albania and Montenegro. Thus the Allies were exposed to a new thrust from German as well as Bulgarian troops, the latter, passing Veles and forcing the Babuna Pass, presently arrived at Monastir and drove the Serbs across the Greek frontier.

From Monastir they threatened the rear

of the French forces in the Vardar Valley. At the same time new Bulgar and German troops began to descend the Struma Valley and to threaten to interpose between the Allies and their Salonica base. The Monastir threat was moving east along the Salonica-Monastir railroad, the Struma thrusts were coming west along the Dedeagatch line. In addition the Greek King was showing increasing hostility, and there was the grave peril that the Greek army, mobilized in the rear of the Allies and outnumbering their forces, would open fire, completing a circle of fire and iron about General Sarraïl's devoted army.

There was then nothing for it but to retreat; and the retreat is now being made. If all goes well the Allies will succeed in reaching the hills north of Salonica. There they will be in the position of the Turks in the first Balkan War, after their defeat at Yenidje-Vardar, when they were threatened by Greek forces coming east and by Serb and Bulgar columns coming south and west from the Vardar and Struma valleys.

Presumably the Allies will take over Salonica and attempt to make it a fortress, a base for future offensive operations, when their armies are strong enough. They will endeavor to imitate the example of Wellington and find a new Torres Vedras for Salonica, the Lisbon of the Balkan Peninsula. But will Greece consent? If she does not, will the Allies have to fight the Hellenic as well as the Bulgar and German armies, perhaps reinforced by the Turks? Again, if they take ship, following the Peninsular precedent of Sir John Moore at Corunna, not that of Wellington at Torres Vedras, will Greece promptly join the Central Powers? Will Rumania see in the collapse a potent argument for joining the two Kaisers?

To add to the sum total of Allied misfortune in the Near East, there is the growing conviction that the Allied armies on Gallipoli Peninsula are doomed, unless they can speedily be withdrawn. The weather conditions and the difficulties due to a lack of wharves and docks make the operation hazardous in the extreme and neither London nor Paris would be surprised to learn of a terrible and complete disaster in this field.

No portion of the whole war has been so dismal a failure as this Balkan-Dardanelles episode. The responsibility for this, both on land, on water, and in diplomacy is directly chargeable to the British. They have blundered unceasingly. They failed completely to grasp the real situation in the Balkans. They

forbade a Serbian attack upon Bulgaria, before Bulgaria began to arm. They sacrificed Serbia to mistaken notions of Bulgarian purpose and Greek conditions. Now they are reported to be anxious to withdraw from the Balkans altogether; but France and Russia emphatically oppose such a course, believing it would throw Greece and even Rumania into the arms of the Central Powers.

VIII. BRITISH FAILURE

It is no exaggeration to say that the British blundering in the Balkans, taken in connection with their mistakes in the western field, has severely taxed French and Russian patience. Those who have recently returned from Paris report a marked dissatisfaction with British methods and a disappointment over British failure unequalled since the war began. The Balkan episode has only served to accentuate the feeling stirred by similar British failures at Neuve Chapelle, at Festubert, at Loos. It is possible to exaggerate the meaning of this feeling. France recognizes that she must preserve her alliance and appreciates the value of the British fleet. But the sentimental enthusiasm of a year ago has disappeared. It will hardly return unless British high command shall soon give evidence of capacity not yet even vaguely foreshadowed.

The simple truth is that the year, in French and Russian eyes, has been a year whose misfortunes are wholly chargeable to British failure. Instead of the million that Kitchener was to contribute to the spring drive, there were but a few hundred thousand men available and the lack of munitions condemned this force to inaction, to local defeat at Ypres, and enabled the Germans to go east and batter Russia from the Carpathians to the Dvina. As recently as the Battle of Loos, British incompetence cost the Allies the possession of Lens as the Neuve Chapelle blunders lost Lille, and the British commander was obliged to call upon General Foch for French army corps to hold a portion of the ground his troops had carried, but could not hold because no supports had been provided.

The Balkan failure doomed a French ministry and produced a far-reaching change in the political organization of France. But as the French see it, there was no change in Britain, and the blunderers remained in charge. When French generals fail they go to the rear. But those who are responsible for British failure in the field, for the long

list of failures that are as yet known only in part to the world, there seems to be no punishment; and from failure there is apparently no lesson learned. For the same mistake that lost at Neuve Chapelle, cost the British the possession of the key to Gallipoli, the hill of Sari Bahr, once taken by them; and the Loos operation ended as a local success because Hill No. 70, having been taken, could not be held because the victors were not supported.

In 1915 the British have failed in the field as the North failed in the opening years of our Civil War. They have failed to develop a general, and their army still lacks the coherence and the discipline of the French or the German. If the British fleet has maintained its prestige, nothing of the sort can be said for the army. It has fought with very great gallantry, but it has added nothing to the glory of the men who won the First Battle of Ypres. It would not be an exaggeration to say that at the close of the year, the British army stands at the lowest ebb in its fortunes since the early years of the Napoleonic Wars, before it found Wellington and itself.

Again, as a new year opens, the Allies of Britain are looking to her army, which, if it has at last "arrived," should supply the decisive factor in the campaigns that are to come. But there are doubts, apprehensions, anxieties, not felt a year ago. There is criticism in France and in Russia,—a real dread lest when April comes again the British will be unprepared, as they were last spring, and Germany will be able to direct, what it is agreed must be her last bid for decision against Russia, take up the road to Moscow and Petrograd, still confident that her western lines will hold.

On all sides it is recognized that the decisive element, if the war is to be decided on the battlefield, must be supplied by the great British armies that have been raised in the past year. France has done all that she can do alone. Her splendid army can hold its present lines. In conjunction with British masses it can attack. But there are lacking French numbers to complete, singlehanded, the great work begun at the Marne. If British armies have the leaders and the munitions, there may be a rolling back of German lines in the spring. But will the British have the leaders and the munitions? France frankly fears.

Both in the east and in the west the war is turning to a duel between the British and the Germans. All the other nations have suf-



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BULGARIAN MACHINE GUNS ON THE FIRING LINE

ferred huge casualties. Britain's 500,000 are trifling compared with the 2,200,000 disclosed by the official lists of Prussia alone. England's resources in men under arms must be almost as great as those of Germany. She has the deciding element in her own hand. Can she use it?

American critics of England will do well to recall our own experience in the Civil War. The British failure has been like our own, and it has been due to the same causes. It took us three years to prepare for victory. Britain is now in her second, and the war waits upon her.



BRITISH RED CROSS CARRYING WOUNDED AUSTRALIANS TO THE HOSPITAL AT THE DARDANELLES.



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TURKISH ARTILLERY CROSSING OVER THE CELEBRATED BRIDGE OF BOATS, AT BAGDAD



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A SCENE AT BASRA, BAGDAD'S PORT ON THE PERSIAN GULF

CAN GERMANY GO TO INDIA?

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

THE English repulse at Bagdad suggests the possibility of a German attack on India. The English campaign in the Persian Gulf began over a year ago, with the occupation of Oman by a brigade, an English battalion, and Indian troops. This force made short work of the disturbance, it could scarcely be called an insurrection, in the Jebel Akhdar (Green Mountains), which catch enough of the monsoons to grow the date and the grape on unknown slopes, and the little Sultanate was added to the English Raj. Turkey joined the Teutonic cause October 27, 1914. Seventeen days later, with Kowiet as a first base,—the one port on this shore and the only blue-water terminus for the Constantinople-Aleppo-Bagdad-Persian Gulf railroad.—Basra was taken. By December 10, Kurna, the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, was occupied. The Viceroy of India visited Basra January 31, held a Durbar and told the Arab Sheiks that the region was annexed and to be forever British territory.

BAGDAD AS A GOAL

Half way to Bagdad by mid-April, when an attack in force was repulsed, heat and pestilent marshes stayed the English advance until October. The force had at least thirty English battalions. The English papers would not be allowed to print a list; but the return of the dead issued to the papers by the English war office with their regiments, followed day by day, show this number,—so censorship works,—and the Indian troops are about three to one of the English, if the usual Anglo-Indian practise was followed. In all, taking the way Eastern war wears down white regiments, there were probably 20,000 white and 60,000 to 70,000 Asiatics in the English column.

The force may be larger, but this is about all that could be spared from India. Allowing for the Basra garrison and communications, not much more than 50,000 men of all arms, could have been in the attempt to seize the railroad terminus, 18 miles from Bagdad. This force met a serious repulse and has retreated with loss. This may be retrieved, though plainly new forces from

an English advance which had moved without interruption up to Bagdad.

Why a "railroad terminus" at Bagdad? There is none on the map save for a short line, of no strategic value. No other is mentioned in any official report. I first heard of a through line to Aleppo through a wanderer from the home of my youth, Mosul. There we played together fifty-two years ago, and met at last on Manhattan Island to talk over the defeat which the Alamanni (still the Arab term for the German) were about to inflict on the Engleez (English). The new railroad was the German preparation for English defeat. The map of railroads in Turkey (see page 68) gives all that could be assembled from every source in the last *Bulletin* by the staff of the American Geographical Society. It was accurate down to August 1, 1914.

The hatched line from Aleppo to Bagdad shows what has probably been done since by the German to render Turkey efficient in the Teutonic Alliance. The line was surveyed and construction begun to Mosul before the war. When war came the work was pushed under German direction from Aleppo. Construction trains were running by last spring to Mosul, and the road should have been in some shape to Bagdad by this fall. It is in all probability the opening of this line which confronted the English expedition approaching Bagdad with an overwhelming force. The only break left, from Constantinople, was the Taurus tunnel. Work was redoubled on this gap, marked by the break each side of Bagchie, north of Aleppo. The breasts met six months ago. The tracks should be laid this spring, perhaps are now down. Meanwhile a good cart-road, fit for automobiles, has been laid over the mountains, connecting the railroad tracks on each side.

BUILDING THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

The whole work of railroad construction has been pushed with German method and energy. When the Eastern Railroad to Constantinople was opened by the capture of Nakh, it was not munitions, guns, or men that were poured into the dingy, creaking



From the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.

RAILROADS IN TURKEY

(See the legend in the lower left-hand corner of the map for explanation)

station outside of the walls of Constantine. For days, trains rumbled in, piled with railroad material of every order. It crossed the Bosphorus for Scutari (opposite Constantinople) and was sped to the line which Germany was pushing to Bagdad. Labor was abundant. The Armenians, first those called ostensibly for military service, and later those deported, in the most appalling crime known to the Mediterranean lands for three centuries, were organized into regiments of navies. These Armenians, with other Christians, ill-fed, driven by the lash, gathered from fields left without tillage and homes in which trembling women, children, and the aged awaited massacre or worse, have been carrying on the strategic railroad from Scutari to Basra, whose concession the Kaiser wrung from Abd-ul-Hamid in 1899. By way of enforcing the patent fact that he had English consent, he sent the despatch from Windsor, where he was the guest of his grandmother on that visit which left Kroeger no hope of German aid. That was England's share of his state visit. It gave Germany its Samoan island,—that was Germany's share,—and it gave us the revision of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. A railroad far-flung to the Persian Gulf, now of prime military value, this is the way one land prepared 16 years ago for "defensive" warfare.

ROUTES TO INDIA

I assume, though without knowledge, that the same energy which has pushed the railroad to Bagdad and made a railroad terminus there, the key to English defeat, has carried out the German plans of building branches to Suleimanieh and Hanukin. This brings the line to the Persian border, and opens the head of caravan routes, which converged at Hamadan last November in German hands, Russian papers assert. From there the road runs straight and fair to Kerman and by Yezd to the border of Afghanistan and Beluchistan. There are other points where Persia can be entered by an army with a base at Bagdad, but none which removes the path to India so completely from a flank attack from the Persian Gulf.

The Turkish advance to Urumiah and Tabriz, with the occupation of Azerbaijan, planted the Ottoman troops where they could take in flank a Russian movement from the Caspian intended to threaten a German march on India through Persia. The Turkish troops have moved along the Black Sea towards Batoum and Poti. They have driven the Russian back from Erzerum. The Russian advance to Van has been thrown back. It is possible that the Turkish force in North-west Persia, which is a third of the way to

wards Baku, may, in the end, drive such a thrust at this center of oil production as will force Russia to concentrate its forces to protect the Caspian coast and leave no troops for a Persian adventure. Certainly, no Russian forces have been spared in this inviting and propitious moment so to deal with North Persia that when the great war ended the northern half of Iranistan would be, beyond debate, a Russian province.

For the fan-like Turkish advance into Northwest Persia and around the Caucasus on each flank, there is no adequate explanation except as a movement masking from Russian attack a Turco-German advance on India through Central Persia.

Such a march seems madness. So would I unhesitatingly have pronounced it two years ago. A march from Bagdad to the Indus, with Delhi as the next inevitable step, is nearly equal to a march from New Orleans to the Colorado River, let us say at Fort Yuma, with San Francisco as the next objective. Of all military myths, a land attack on India has long seemed to me the mythiest. So eighteen months ago (though in May, 1914, I expected and predicted the Great War as near) would have seemed the possibility that Turkish troops, directed by German officers, 1200 miles from Constantinople and 2000 miles from the true base, Germany, would drive in headlong disastrous rout an English force sent from India to capture Bagdad and looked on as strong enough to accomplish this feat by Lord Kitchener, the best living military authority on war conditions in the East. For half a century no one has doubted that when Calcutta decided to take Bagdad, where the English Consul-General has for most of the last century exercised the powers and influence of a "Resident," had his military guard, and ruled the west coast of the Persian Gulf, Bagdad would fall because the English base was near by water and the Turkish base was over a thousand miles distant. Yet Bagdad has not been taken and the English force has met defeat for the time being.

SVEN HEDIN'S ROUTE

German opinion, however, is already on record. When a review was needed in 1910 for Sven Hedin's "Overland to India" every reviewer, informed of his achievement and interested in Asian discovery, must have won-

dered, as one did, I recollect, why a man who had long sought and won high emprise in fresh lands and deserts new, took, on his way to Tibet, the long, dull, and familiar path by Teheran, Kerman, and so the length of Beluchistan to Quettah. Now that Sven Hedin is the welcome guest at the imperial and royal headquarters, the favored herald of German victory, his choice of routes is plain enough. He took the road by which India must be invaded by land. The northern route by Cabul Alexander selected when Bactria had Hellenic sovereigns, and there were valleys with tribes that suggested to the traveler Kipling's "The Man Who Would Be King."

The Pathan does it to-day. The route along



PRINCIPAL CARAVAN ROUTES IN PERSIA

the coast of Beluchistan Alexander took on his return, with results disastrous, but it is closed by England's command of the sea, and it was taken in August, 325 B. C., only because "Philip's warlike son" commanded the sea through the fleet of Nearchus.

The route Hedin took from the mouth of the Helmund leaves Persia, as Hogarth, a foremost geographical authority, says, "where Nature has carved the easiest of her ways through the western chains." Every line of the Swedish explorer's minute narrative runs like a guide for a military march. Read now, it is plainly the brief abstract of a road-guide for the German general staff. One sentence reveals the way in which a modern army might be taken over this and other routes to India. "Why do not Englishmen travel with automobiles over this trade route," says Hedin. "They could drive in a swift, untrammelled route from Kabul to Nushki (the terminus of the Indian railroad) in a few days."

AUTOMOBILES AND PETROLEUM SUPPLY

This was written by a man who knew, five years ago, how the use of the automobile was to increase to a measure before unknown the mobility of armies. The automobile calls for gasoline. The whole Turkish campaign has been directed toward Batoum and Baku, the source of oil supply and its shipping point. Once the Turkish troops were by Russian despatches under fire of the forts about Batoum. Turkey's early advance in October and November, 1914, was driven back in January of this year by the Russian forces. The Russians retreated at the time Russian retreat was general for a common cause, the lack of munitions. The Persian forces, such as they are, are for Germany. Turkish forces move towards the Caspian supply. They are to-day still on the way to Baku. The Teutonic alliance holds again the Galician oil wells. From Kerkuk south for 200 miles to Mendeli near Bagdad is a continuous line of petroleum territory, little worked. Across the Persian boundary is another area for which England, just before the war, made a special arrangement with Persia giving English control on the ground of the value of this oil-field for naval and military purposes in the Indian Ocean and India. A pipe line runs to Basra and was attacked by the Turks at Ahwaz. Germany has today, or soon will have, a through rail route to Bagdad. A Turco-German army has driven back in rout as strong a force as India could spare.

The first run by automobile from Bagdad to Aleppo was made several years ago. The Euphrates bridged, this route is easy. With a grip on a great oil field and the Turkish forces disposed so as to threaten the Russian oil field, indispensable to the Russian forces, and protect a march across Persia, a few months would provide a road practicable to automobiles across long stretches of the 1800 miles that separate the railroad terminus of what is now a German railroad system and the terminus of the Indian railroad system.

Over this span, Alexander drove 80,000 Greeks and mercenaries, and would have brought back his victorious army,—the first from Europe to reach the Indus,—but for taking the coast-route back. A figure as attractive in Arab history, Mohammed ben Kassim, though alas! ill-fated, dead ere his prime by the base treachery of a jealous Caliph, Walid, carried an army half as large to the Sinde, in 711, beginning a rule unshaken for three centuries. In 1398, Timur, by a

harder way, through Cabul, reached India through the same gateway with 70,000 men. So did Nadir Shah in 1738. An English officer, Major Ewan Smith, who later lost the reputation he had won in settling the frontier between Persia and the Beluchees by his maladroit acts in Fez, wrote in 1871 of the Southern route through Beluchistan: "The Persians, should they think fit, may march a large army across in the direction and up to the Sind frontier, without any material obstacle, finding water and provision the whole way. The advance of Persia in this direction would seem, therefore, to present questions of grave consideration."

If Persia, without any of the modern equipment, could, in the opinion of a British officer, shared by another forty years ago, march to India, would it be strange if the German General Staff felt this military adventure to be feasible? The Turco-Teuton alliance has already a railroad which bridges nearly one-half the overland route from the Bosphorus to India. Does anyone doubt what young General Bonaparte would have done in 1798, if he could have started at Bagdad instead of Cairo? This winter, nothing but preparation can be done. By next October, when rain and grass begin, a narrow-gauge military road can, if the Japanese example in Manchuria be followed, cross part of Persia to the plains beyond. India will be 1000 miles away (New York to Chicago). With automobiles and an oil supply at hand, an army can be moved the length of Beluchistan with a celerity Asiatic warfare has never known. German troops will hold the communications. A Turkish army, led by Germans, such as fought at Gallipoli, will make the advance. Neither Russia nor England appears likely to reach the column anywhere, if England cannot now at Bagdad, before a large army is concentrated.

The march to Moscow is the parallel to which most will turn. The same collapse may come. The open odds are against success. I make no prediction. "Prophecy is the most gratuitous form of mistake." I have but marshalled the reasons which suggest that, if the Anglo-Indian forces cannot retrieve the headlong retreat from Bagdad, they may, a year from this next spring, 1917, be fighting on the line of the Indus as one Indian ruler after another has for 2200 years since Alexander defeated Porus, gave to India Hellenic art, and brought back to Europe the first words of the teaching of Buddha.

THE RUMANIAN SPHINX

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

AMID the roaring inferno of Eastern Europe there stands a land apart. Its northern borders tremble with the thunder of Teuton and Muscovite artillery; the waters of the great river which bounds its southern frontier are alight with the flames of burning Serbian villages red against the midnight sky. This land, while not a "great power" as diplomacy knows the term, bulks large in an hour when Europe bleeds from every pore. Stretching like a blunted crescent along the lower Danube, one horn thrust between battling Russia and Austria, the other pressed deeply between Austria and her Bulgarian ally, its strategic importance is patent to all. And this geographical significance is heightened by other considerations. The land itself is rich in natural resources, especially wheat and oil; it is inhabited by a hardy people, numbering nearly eight millions and capable of furnishing an army of 500,000 excellent soldiers. This land is Rumania.

Evidently, here is a factor which must weigh heavily if thrown into the wavering balances of war. The question is, Will it be thus thrown into the scales, and if so, on which side? That, however, is a query easier put than answered. Much rumor has come out of Rumania this past year, but very little news. The nation's destinies are in the hands of a strong, cryptic personality,—John Bratiano; and thus far he has answered both foreign pressure and domestic importunity with one word—"Wait!" Under these circumstances the only way to form an intelligent opinion regarding the enigma is to glance at Rumania's present position in the light of her recent past. From this we may be able to draw some inferences as to her future policy.

Rumania is emphatically a land of contrasts. Its Serb and Bulgarian neighbors are peasant democracies, with no social classes and with widely diffused agricultural well-being. Rumania, on the other hand, is intensely aristocratic. At the apex of the social pyramid stands a class of highborn landed proprietors, known as "Boyar"; beneath lies a great peasant mass, poor, uneducated, often mere landless agricultural laborers upon the

great Boyar estates. A middle class hardly exists. What in Rumania passes by that name consists of a recent mushroom-growth of officials, professional men, and numerous aspirants for those coveted posts and preferments.

In the business life of their country the native Rumanians take little part. Merchants, manufacturers, bankers, shopkeepers, even the skilled artisans, are nearly all foreigners of various kinds. Under these circumstances we must be very careful to understand what is meant by Rumanian "public opinion." As far as foreign politics are concerned, this means the opinion of the landed aristocracy and the educated élite of the towns, especially of Bucharest, the capital. It used to be said that Paris was France. It is certainly true that in most things Bucharest is Rumania. Large as all Rumania's other cities put together, Bucharest, with its 350,000 people, prides itself upon being a center of light and leading in an ocean of benighted rusticity,—*"The Paris of the East."* Here live the great aristocratic families, people of the highest refinement, who prefer the gay, modern life of the capital to their huge estates, abandoned to foreign overseers. Hither flock all the bright young men who wish to carve out a career in the political, professional, or literary worlds.

RUMBLINGS OF AGRARIAN REVOLT

From all this we can see what a vast difference there is between the articulate public opinion of Rumania and that of her Bulgarian neighbor. The shrewd, thrifty Bulgarian farmer has his own ideas about how his country should be run, and makes these ideas felt. The Rumanian peasant, accustomed from time immemorial to do the Boyar's bidding, leaves such abstruse matters as foreign affairs to the birth and brains of Bucharest. Only one thing vitally interests him,—land. He wants land for himself and his extremely large family; he wants to be freed from his oppressive dependence upon the Boyar and his harsh foreign overseers; he wants to get out of the clutches of the Greek, Jew, and Armenian peddler-usurers who infest the countryside and suck his very life-

blood whenever his improvident habits lure him into debt. Only eight years ago he rebelled against these evils. There was a regular "jacquerie"; hundreds of overseers and users were tortured to death, and it needed sharp fighting to put the rising down.

Terrified by this glimpse into the abyss, the aristocracy agreed to thoroughgoing social reforms; but just then occurred the "Young-Turk" Revolution of 1908, and the Balkan pot has boiled so furiously ever since that Rumania has had no time for internal reconstruction. This the peasants realized, and, with admirable patience, they have refrained from further agitation. Nevertheless, the promise of social reconstruction had been definitely given, and when the late Balkan Wars left Rumania triumphant and apparently secure, reform was patently on the cards.

Accordingly, early in 1914, the Liberals took office for this express purpose, the new cabinet being headed by that well-known reformer, John Bratiano. Then came the Great War. It is obvious that reform will again have to be postponed, but the peasantry are frankly impatient, and while their patriotism keeps them from weakening the Government's prestige by internal dissension, they are in no mood to welcome ambitious foreign adventures which might dash the cup of reform from their lips for many years to come. This is undoubtedly one of the main reasons why Premier Bratiano plays such a cautious waiting game. He knows that the peasantry will stand no nonsense.

AMBITIONS OF THE ARISTOCRACY

The peasants want no war. The upper classes are, however, in great part of a different opinion. Among them we find an intense interest in foreign politics. Well read in his country's history and accustomed to look beyond its frontiers, the educated Rumanian is an ardent patriot, possessed by ambitious dreams. And small wonder, when we consider the present position of his race. The Rumanian state contains about eight millions of people; the Rumanian race numbers fourteen millions. Of the six million Ru-



RUMANIA AND HER NEIGHBORS

(The shaded portions indicate districts where Rumanian families, whose people of the Rumanian race predominate. The portions of these districts so far to include part or all of this territory is the dream of the Rumanian people)

manians who thus dwell outside Rumania's political frontiers, three and one-half millions live to the west and north in Austria-Hungary, two millions in the Russian province of Bessarabia to the east. These populations are all oppressed, both the Russian and the Hungarian governments striving persistently to destroy their Rumanian race-feeling, root out their language and culture, and turn them into Russians and Magyars (Hungarians). The effect of these persecutions upon patriotic Rumanians can be imagined. Although little more than half a century has passed since Rumania became an independent State, its progress has been enormous. Especially since the late Balkan Wars, Rumania has felt itself almost a "great power"; and the desire to rescue the suffering race-brothers by uniting them with Rumania, thereby at the same time creating a really powerful nation, has become almost a passion among the upper classes.

The present war offered apparently tempting opportunities for the realization of these ambitious dreams. Both the warring coalitions have from the first been keenly alive to the importance of Rumanian aid, and Rumania has accordingly received the most flattering attentions, the Entente Allies holding out the bait of Austro-Hungarian Transylvania and Bukowina, the Teutonic Powers Russian Bessarabia, as Rumania's reward for armed intervention. Of course it is clear that Rumania cannot reasonably expect to get both these prizes. The question has

therefore been which she wanted most and which she stood the best chance of obtaining.

FORMER HATRED OF RUSSIA

If the European war had come a few years earlier, there could have been little doubt as to which side Rumania would have espoused. Up to the late Balkan Wars Russia was considered Rumania's worst enemy, and Bessarabia Rumania's chief want. The feud with Russia was of long standing. For generations the Muscovite Empire had used the Rumanian lands as a highroad to get at the Turks, and the Rumanian people had many painful recollections of these Russian occupations. Indeed, Russia long earmarked the whole of Rumania as a future Russian province, and during the first half of the Nineteenth Century she got such a grip on the country that, had not England and France broken her hold in the Crimean War, there would never have been a Rumanian nation.

The last and worst blow which Russia dealt Rumania came in 1878. When the Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1877 the Muscovite armies demanded, and received, permission to cross Rumania to fight the Turks beyond the Danube. Presently, however, the Russians suffered several unexpected defeats, and stood in deadly peril. At this critical juncture the Czar telegraphed the late King Carol, begging him as a fellow-Christian to aid against the Infidel. Carol at once crossed the Danube with his whole army, and the valor of the Rumanian infantry soon turned the tide and started the Russians on their march to Constantinople. How did Russia reward this priceless service? By forcing Rumania to cede her Bessarabia with its almost purely Rumanian population! Deep and bitter has been the grief of the Rumanian people at this loss. Their literature is full of sad references to the "accursed Pruth," the frontier river which sunders the "free" Rumans from their lost brethren.

THE PRESENT ERA OF GOOD FEELING

The result of all this was that when, in the early '80's, Germany and Austria formed their patently anti-Russian alliance, Rumania joined as a matter of course, and for many years was frankly in the Teutonic fold. Her Hohenzollern King Carol naturally did everything to confirm and strengthen this state of affairs. True, as time went on the Rumanians partly forgot Bessarabia in their growing indignation at the way the Magyars were persecuting the Rumans of Hungary. Still, no radical change in overt sentiment

occurred till the Second Balkan War of 1913. In that struggle, however, Austria openly backed Bulgaria, whereas Russia urged Rumania to invade Bulgaria and later



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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA

supported Rumania in her retention of the Bulgarian fortress of Silistria, long coveted by Rumania as an indispensable safeguard for her narrow frontage upon the Black Sea. As a result Russia became for the first time really popular in Rumania, and this era of good feeling reached its climax with the Czar's visit to King Carol in the early summer of 1914. At that time there was much talk of a marriage between the Rumanian heir-presumptive and a daughter of the Czar.

PUBLIC OPINION ANTI-TEUTONIC

The effect of all this became apparent when, less than two months after the Czar's visit the European war broke out. Hohenzollern King Carol showed a disposition to align Rumania on the Teutonic side, in accordance with the treaty made so many years before. But Rumanian public opinion quickly showed that, treaty or no treaty, it would not hear of such action. At Bucharest the feeling was that the war had been brought on by Hungarian influence, and no Rumanian



Photograph by Path News Service

PREMIER BRĂȚIANU

wished to do anything to increase the power of the hated Magyars. Indeed, during the first months of the war, public opinion was predominantly in favor of armed intervention against Austria-Hungary. Several circumstances combined to bring about this state of mind.

Besides the new friendship for Russia and the intense desire to liberate the oppressed brethren of Transylvania from the Magyar yoke, there was deep sympathy for Russia's ally, France. No one can properly gauge Rumanian psychology unless he remembers the profound influence of France upon the Rumanian upper classes. The underlying reason for this ardent Francophilism is the curious fact that the Rumanians, though sundered by hundreds of miles from the nearest outposts of the Latin world, consider themselves a genuine Latin people. They believe that they are the descendants of legionary colonies which the Roman Emperor Trajan settled upon these lands after his defeat of the primitive Dacian inhabitants.

RUMANIAN FRIENDSHIP FOR FRANCE

Whether the modern Rumanians are, indeed, the sons of Trajan's legionaries, is exceedingly doubtful. But, after all, the truth or falsity of this theory does not make much actual difference. In these race questions the essential point for practical politics is, not what people really are, but what they think they are. The Rumanians think they are Latins; think so passionately;—and one of

the practical consequences of this conviction is a positive veneration for France as the head of Latin civilization. Of course this Francophilism hardly reaches down to the peasant masses, but Rumanian upper-class life is consciously modelled on French life, Rumanian literature upon French literature, and educated Rumanians usually speak French almost as well as they do their mother tongue. The stranger in Bucharest might frequently believe himself in Paris. During the last few decades, it is true, an increasing number of Rumanian intellectuals have gone to Germany for their education instead of, as formerly, exclusively to France; and these men are to-day pro-German. But they are a decided minority. The main current of Bucharest sentiment cleaves to France.

WHY RUMANIA HAS NOT JOINED THE ALLIES

Notwithstanding this continued preponderance of pro-Ally feeling, however, the prospect of Rumania's adhesion to the Allied cause looks much less likely to-day than it did a year ago. For several months after the beginning of the European War popular pressure upon the Government to strike at Austria-Hungary and invade Transylvania increased in intensity. From January to April, 1915, when the Russian hosts stood on the Carpathian mountain crests and looked down into the plains of Hungary, the cry for action was almost irresistible. When, at the end of May, the "Latin Sister" Italy joined the ranks of Austria's enemies, Rumania would probably have followed suit had not the Teutons already begun their "Galician drive" which was to hurl the Muscovites clean out of Galicia, Poland, and Lithuania.

Why, during all those critical months, did Premier Brătianu set himself so resolutely against public opinion? For several reasons. In the first place he knew that, however loudly Bucharest might clamor for war, its voice was the voice of the educated intellectuals, and not that of the great rural masses, who were opposed to a policy of adventure. And adventurous it certainly would be for Rumania to plunge in on either side before the ultimate issue of the struggle was pretty obviously decided. For a small state like Rumania a wrong guess might mean nothing short of national death. If Rumania joined the Allies, an Allied defeat would leave her at the mercy of her infuriated Magyar neighbors,—a truly frightful picture for any Rumanian to contemplate. If she supported the cause of the Central Powers, Teu-

tonic defeat, with its correlative Russian predominance over Eastern Europe, would probably make Rumania a Russian province.

With regard to a drive against Austria-Hungary; although the Bucharest intellectuals might talk glibly of a conquest of Transylvania, Bratiano's military advisers of the Rumanian general staff could tell a very different story. Transylvania is a nexus of rugged, forest-clad mountains, easily defensible by a small garrison. Furthermore, such a garrison could count upon the vigorous support of nearly half the native population. Though Transylvania is frequently described as a Rumanian land, the Rumans really form only about 55 per cent. of the total population, the remainder being Magyars and Germans, both of whom despise the Rumanians as an inferior race and would undoubtedly fight to the death against a menace of Rumanian domination. Also, Bratiano realized that not even all Rumania's military forces could be employed in this herculean task. Just to the south lay Bulgaria, burning to avenge Rumania's seizure of Silistria in the second Balkan War. A cool-headed statesman might well hesitate from placing his country between two such fires,

even though Russia stood on the Carpathians; when the Muscovite tide swirled back, broken, into the Galician plains, a drive for Transylvania became little short of madness.

At least, that is the way most Rumanians seem to feel to-day. Even Bucharest seems to have been largely converted to Premier Bratiano's "watchful waiting." There are, of course, two extreme groups which still urge the absolute necessity of Rumania's armed intervention on one side or the other. But the awful scenes enacted for so many months upon Rumania's very borders and the appalling responsibilities involved in a positive decision, have momentarily chilled partisan sympathies and territorial ambitions in most Rumanian breasts. When the scales of victory shall have begun definitely to descend, warlike feeling may be expected to reawaken once more, and, according to the circumstances of the case, voices will again clamor for the seizure of the Transylvanian or the Bessarabian prize. Until then the Rumanian people will probably continue to hug their present safety and to indorse John Bratiano, the cautious pilot of the national destinies.



Photograph by Paul Thomson

THE PALATIAL BUILDING OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN RUMANIA

LYMAN ABBOTT AT EIGHTY

THE history of our country, which is not very long, may be studied in several different ways. But in no other way is the study so fascinating or so enlightening as by means of biography. Dr. Lyman Abbott's ancestors came to Massachusetts about twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. Doubtless his own comprehension of the growth of New England and the making of America comes very largely through the experiences of father, grandfather, and various family connections.

His own experiences in turn will have helped later generations to understand better the American life in which he has for so long a time played his active and valuable part.

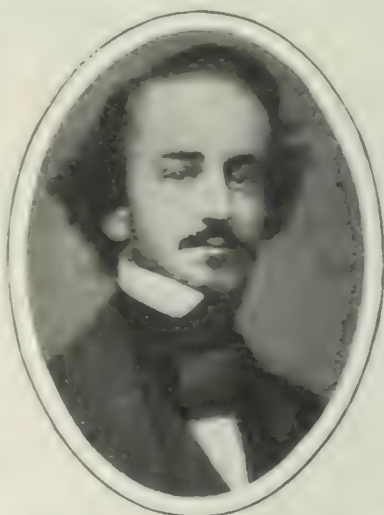
Dr. Abbott was eighty years old on the 18th of December. For more than fifty years he has been prominent before the American public,—one of its foremost teachers in the principles and practise of freedom. He has shown great diversity of talent, and remarkable skill in using the instruments of several different professions. His work as a whole, however, has been unified and harmonious; and it has always been that of a public teacher, who believes in orderly freedom of thought and action, and who aims to lift individuals and communities to that high plane of enlightenment upon which conscience and reason may safely control men in their choices and relationships.

Dr. Abbott came of a line of ministers, teachers, and authors. His father and his uncle were proficient and distinguished in those general fields of professional usefulness and service in which he and his own brothers afterwards became eminent. A few weeks ago there appeared a volume entitled "Reminiscences," from Dr. Lyman Abbott's pen. So firm a believer in free will is Dr. Abbott, that he holds without question to the view that his own life has been worked out through a series of voluntary choices, and not through the compelling forces of heredity. Yet the admirable chapters in his rem-

iscences that tell us of his father and uncle, and of other personages in an environing kinship, help us to see how remarkable in the shaping of our American destinies has been the influence of fathers upon sons through several generations.

Educational work brought the father and uncle from Maine to New York, and Lyman Abbott grew up and was educated in that city. His chapters upon the metropolis of his boyhood and college days give us intensely interesting pictures of the period, especially

in the early '50's. He went to college in the University of New York, which then occupied a building on the east side of Washington Square. He finished the course at the age of eighteen, in 1853. He was fortunate in having several men of strong personality and eminent scholarship for teachers. He was associated through these years with two brothers, a little older than himself, who were all that older brothers should be, and who became prominent lawyers. He soon joined them, and for several years practised law successfully as a member of the firm of Abbott Brothers. He was married while very young, made his home in



LYMAN ABBOTT AS HE LOOKED SIXTY YEARS AGO

("My daguerrotype, taken at about twenty years of age, shows a slim youth, with black hair and mustache and the beginnings of a beard")

Brooklyn, and came into close intimacy and association with Henry Ward Beecher, the most brilliant and inspiring of American preachers and platform orators. Outside of his law work, he was devoted to the Young Men's Christian Association, then in its early days, and to reform politics, taking his position as a Free Soiler and Anti-Slavery man, though not an Abolitionist. His account of the Fremont campaign of 1856, in which he worked as a young Republican, is of especial interest.

After about four years of law practise, Lyman Abbott decided to enter the ministry. He found himself in charge of a Presbyterian church at Terre Haute, Ind., in 1860, when twenty-five years of age. There he remained through the period of the Civil War, after which for a few years he held a pastorate in

New York City. Then came another change, and his work was henceforth to be more actively that of an editor and man of letters. For some time he was a literary worker on *Harper's Magazine*, and after several other editorial connections he became, about forty years ago, the associate of Henry Ward Beecher in conducting the *Christian Union*, a widely circulated weekly paper that now for many years has been known as the *Outlook*.

Some men who change professions do it in a way that seems to disrupt their careers. There are several prominent editors and writers in New York who seem almost themselves to have forgotten their earlier periods of pulpiteering. But Dr. Abbott has never made any such repudiations or harsh changes. He was a Young Men's Christian Association worker sixty years ago, and he is giving Sunday afternoons this very winter to addressing the members of Young Men's Christian Associations. He was admitted to the New York bar sixty years ago this year, and he is still a member of the bar of the State of New York. He was ordained a Congregational minister in 1860, and he has never ceased to be one, usually preaching on Sundays, although not held to the fixed local duties that belong to a parish priest. After the death of Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. Abbott consented to serve Plymouth Church until a permanent successor should be found; but Plymouth held him for eleven years (from 1888 to 1899), when Newell Dwight Hillis came from Chicago and entered upon the pastorate that he still continues. Through all these eleven years as preacher and pastor in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Dr. Abbott maintained his active editorship of the influential paper where he remains to-day as editor-in-chief.

His preaching for the last sixteen years has been very largely to college students. Perhaps no other man in the country has, in this or any earlier period, influenced so many students as a visiting college preacher. He has been singularly fitted to help the younger generation in the search for ethical and religious truth, because of his own open-mindedness and freedom from prejudice. He has written a large number of books in the general field of Bible study and interpretation,



DR. LYMAN ABBOTT AT EIGHTY

and of Christian ethics and theology. These books have often been disturbing to those who preferred to accept traditional views and dogmas. But they have been of great help to many who seek to find a faith consistent with the use of their own intellectual processes and powers. By mental nature and habit Dr. Abbott is a rationalist; but there is mysticism in his nature and he has the gift of imagination. These qualities, and the knowledge of men and things that comes from long and wide experience, have modified Dr. Abbott's tendency always to treat matters logically. Otherwise, his proneness to reason about things, and to generalize, might have been indulged at the expense of a less highly developed faculty of observation.

A lifetime of great and never-failing accomplishment has been due to early habits of concentration and industry. As a boy he was of slight and delicate physique, but he learned to care for his health and conserve his energies, and found that wide intellectual interest and mental work are wholesome in themselves. In the college debating society he learned to think on his feet and to express himself clearly; and he has always been one of the most finished

and impressive extemporaneous speakers of his time. His editorial articles are so excellently constructed from the logical standpoint, and so lucid and mature in their phrasing, that many readers might have thought of them as having been worked over, and perhaps rewritten painstakingly. But Dr. Abbott is a very rapid writer, and his work needs no revision. This is because his mental processes are so active and so highly trained withal, that his editorial article has formed itself,—as he takes a morning walk, or rides in the subway, or reads a newspaper or book,—before a word is written.

At the office of the *Outlook* Dr. Abbott has always had a well-organized group of associates and aides, and these for many years past have included, besides Dr. Hamilton Mabie, two of his own sons. But while he is thus relieved of office detail, he comes from his country home at Cornwall-on-Hudson for a weekly editorial council, and is in constant touch through the telephone or correspondence. His pen continues to interpret what he regards as the important movements of the time, and there is no falling off in the alertness and courage of his comments, nor in their virile force and practical wisdom. An example of his method in analysis, statement, and expression of editorial view is to be found in his article on the President's message in the *Outlook* for December 15. Through many years Dr. Abbott has not only written editorial interpretations that have helped to shape American thinking and action in public affairs, but he has also written much to make the *Outlook* a welcome family visitor by reason of its treatment of the personal and private problems of faith and conduct. And besides all this, as a lover of music and of nature

Dr. Abbott has contributed almost countless articles and notes that have the charm of exquisite literature.

We have only faintly suggested the wealth of memory and allusion to be found in his recent volume of "Reminiscences." Many, if not all, of the chapters of this book had appeared from time to time in the *Outlook*. Few men have understood so well as he how to write and print material that serves its purpose of teaching and inspiring the readers of a weekly journal, while at the same time having such qualities of permanence as to justify subsequent collection and publication in book form. Dr. Abbott has created a number of valuable books by this method.

Several weeks ago there died in Baltimore a very useful citizen whose career as business man and philanthropist had brought him great local honor and esteem. He had rounded out a full hundred years, and had maintained active connection with useful enterprises to the very last. The "elder statesmen" and the elder writers and thinkers are a priceless asset to any country when at a sufficiently early age they have, in Scripture phrase, so numbered their days as to apply their hearts unto wisdom. Most careers of usefulness that end late have begun early! We beg to commend to all students and young men the chapters in Dr. Abbott's reminiscences that tell of his boyhood and student days. He has built a distinguished career of honor and public service upon the lines of character and effort laid down in his boyhood. That there may still remain many years of so notable a life, will be the wish of scores of thousands who feel a sense of personal obligation to Dr. Lyman Abbott.

A. S.



THE OLD ABBOTT HOMESTEAD, "TEWACRES," AT FARMINGTON, MAINE.

EDUCATING THE IMMIGRANT FOR CITIZENSHIP

THE making of Americans out of the great mass of the foreign-born who come to our shores is now receiving much more careful consideration. The process has too often been both irregular and haphazard. Left largely to the initiative of the foreigner himself, or to small organizations, the fusing of the new elements in our national melting pot has not met with the highest measure of success. This has been a distinct loss to the nation as well as to the individual. Many who should have become citizens have failed to qualify because of the lack of proper encouragement and assistance. Others who have achieved citizenship have not always arrived at this position of sovereignty with increased respect for their new-found dignity.

For about a year and a half the Bureau of Education at Washington has been engaged in a nation-wide investigation into the facilities provided for the education of immigrants. It has recently begun to establish standards in subject matter and methods of instruction. Circulars and news-letters describing the most effective methods are issued, together with information regarding the most advanced facilities offered by private institutions and school authorities. A special department of the Bureau of Education, under the direction of Dr. H. H. Wheaton, is given over entirely to this work of helping to educate the foreign-born for American citizenship.

The Bureau not only deals directly with the problem from national points, but co-operates in various ways with State and local agencies. Especial emphasis is placed on the teaching of English as the fundamental requisite in the making of a citizen, for there are nearly three million foreign-born whites, ten years of age and over, in this country, who are unable to speak English. Inability to speak the language of the country is not only a bar to citizenship but a barrier to success in business. Moreover, it has been found that accidents in factories and workrooms have often been directly due to the workman's inability to understand

orders which had been given in the English language.

The Bureau of Education not only endeavors to induce the adult foreigner to learn English, but goes further back and deals with the immigrant children. By co-operation with the Commissioner of Immigration, the names of immigrant children of school age are obtained from the lists of arriving steamships. These names are sent to school authorities in the districts whither the children are bound, so that the little prospective citizens may be promptly searched out and brought into the schools. To attract the adult foreigner to the advantages of intelligent citizenship, the Bureau, in co-operation with the Committee for Immigrants, of New York, publishes a lithographed poster 30 x 20 inches in size. This poster is printed in red, white, and blue, with the boldly printed title "America First," and urgently invites the foreigner, in six different languages, to learn the language of the country. He is told that it means for him not only the honor of citizenship, but the securing of a job. These posters are being displayed in 25,000 of the principal post offices, as well as in schools and industrial establishments throughout the country.

The local agencies are also urged by the Bureau of Education at Washington to secure from the courts the names and addresses of those who have applied for naturalization papers. Letters, for which the Bureau supplies an excellent form (modeled after the one used in Cleveland, Ohio), are then to be addressed to these individuals by the local organization. These letters inform the foreigner of the importance of learning English, and give him all necessary information about the public night school being conducted in his neighborhood.

The Bureau of Education at Washington also gives advice and assistance to local educational departments as to the manner of conducting schools for immigrants. In a number of cities there is close and helpful cooperation between the courts of naturalization and the evening schools in this work

of making Americans. The courses usually include lessons in civics, talks by public officials, lawyers, judges, and trips to the city hall, the courthouse, library, and other public buildings.

Where such citizenship courses for immigrants are conducted, there is usually a public reception at the end of the course, on which occasion the new Americans are inducted into their citizenship with appropriate exercises. The ceremonies are held in halls liberally decorated with the American flag, patriotic songs are sung, appropriate addresses made, and then the citizenship papers are handed out. A number of cities have, within the past year, held impressive public ceremonies of this character.

Baltimore held its reception under the name of "New Voters' Day." In Cleveland the Community Sane Fourth Committee arranged appropriate exercises with the cooperation of the various patriotic and civic organizations. Boston held its "New Citizens' Reception" in historic Faneuil Hall, and in New York City the scene of the ceremonies was laid in the new stadium of the College of the City of New York. Philadelphia had the distinction last May of having President Wilson present to make an appropriate address on an occasion of this kind. The Fourth of July is frequently chosen as the time for these public receptions to new citizens, and in fact the movement has already become widespread for the setting apart of this national holiday as "Americanization Day."

In addition to what the Government and the cities are doing, voluntary organizations, like the National Americanization Committee, are also actively cooperating in the work of educating the immigrant. A number of simple books on civics, especially prepared for teaching new Americans, have also appeared. An excellent volume of this kind is mentioned in our book department this month.



THE GOVERNMENT'S "AMERICA FIRST" POSTER

(A reproduction of the national poster issued by the Bureau of Education, to call the attention of the immigrant to the importance of learning English and becoming citizens. Printed in English, French, Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, Bohemian, and Hungarian, this poster is illustrated for display in public offices, and schools and industrial establishments throughout the country.)

So important has this question of thoroughly assimilating and Americanizing the foreigner become, that the following article on the methods used in the City of Los Angeles for making American citizens will be found of interest. While the article in question deals specifically with Los Angeles, the other cities mentioned above have well-organized systems for carrying on this work, exercising oversight of the immigrant from the moment of his arrival at the local railroad station,—where he is protected from the rapacity of cab and taxi drivers,—to his evolution as a full-fledged citizen of his adopted land.

THE LOS ANGELES EXAMPLE

BY CHESTER FERRIS

NOT until recently has any adequate plan been advanced for training the new arrivals for worthy citizenship. Many believe that here is a work of great necessity, but are at a loss for a method to accomplish it. Germany, in accordance with its Kultur,—which is its scheme for adjusting every inhabitant to the purposes of the state,—subjects even the passing traveler to closest scrutiny and surveillance, while all citizens are enrolled, dated, located, described, and taxed with police-like authority and machine precision. Liberty worshipping America would not for a moment permit such paternalism. Now in full accord with this passion for liberty comes to the front the new provision for training the immigrants in citizenship.

Before passing to a description of the new method, it is well to remind ourselves of the utterly grotesque manner in which the nation has been accustomed to admit immigrants to the suffrage. Prof. Edward Steiner, of Grinnell College, describes his emotions when as a Jewish lad he took out his final papers. The sordidness which rolled up in the foreign quarters of our cities had not been able to overwhelm the idealism with which as chief stock in trade he had come here. The day for naturalization had arrived. As one uplifted, treading on air, he walked the ten miles to the county seat to become a citizen of America the Blest. He found the government office,—a dingy room filled with tobacco smoke, idlers hanging about, an ignorant politician to administer the sacred oath of American citizenship.

Think of a clap-trap, whiskey-smelling politician putting the test for the suffrage to this noble-souled young idealist! It was enough to make angels weep. Well, it did not spoil young Steiner. His grasp of the spirit of America was strong enough to surmount the disappointment and he has developed into one of our most enthusiastic citizens. Yet what must be the effect of such a farce upon the thousands of people from across the seas whom we should wish to think that even in their dreams of this land of the free, "the half had not been told"? True the administration is not always nor probably generally so squalid. Even many of

us natives, however, remember with shame our public reception into the family of voters. Surely here a great opportunity is refused to incite new citizens to the highest use of their privilege by a ceremony rightly impressive.

An even more disastrous neglect, of course, has been the naturalization of our millions of immigrants with absolutely no adequate preparation for citizenship. Some coaching they have received, but alack, too often the schoolroom was the back of a saloon whence some boss led them as a flock of sheep to the legal official. Then, entirely ignorant of our history and the meaning of our institutions, unable to speak or understand our language, blissfully unaware of any significance of the ballot other than its sale price of a dollar, they were given the most sacred privilege possessed by an American! Can we wonder that so many immigrants have proved undesirable, or that corruption in politics has proved so easy? Must we not rather admire the sterling qualities of those other millions from across the seas whose loyalty to America has more than survived this act of disrespect to their intelligence?

To meet the situation properly, an admirable plan is executed in the progressive city of Los Angeles. Determined that this shall continue "a city without a slum," or of slum politics, that first citizen and true friend of the immigrants, Rev. Dana Bartlett, of the Bethlehem Institutions, working with others, secured a series of measures by which to educate the immigrant in the meaning and spirit of our American institutions.

First in time and perhaps in importance is a course of instruction given in the high school during a period of ten weeks, one night each week, in charge of Prof. C. C. Kelso, of the high school faculty, who devotes himself heart and soul to his work. He thus describes the program: "It covers national, State, county, rural, and civil government. Civics is treated as a biological study. Society is a living, growing organism; new needs and new possibilities are continually arising. The citizen should know something of the framework of government, and so the constitution and its threefold departments of government are not neglected;

but the vital things of the political life of to-day are emphasized. As social justice is the great demand of our time, the great problem of American citizenship is how to meet this demand. Democracy, as never before, is on trial, and intelligent citizenship is absolutely necessary if democracy is to endure."

Only those who know Professor Kelso can appreciate the value of this training, not only in its mental quality, but in the flavor of its social idealism. Let it be said, that beginning with presiding Judge J. P. Works, other judges who deal with naturalization have been quick to see and seize the possibilities. Upon receiving certificates from the school, they waive any further educational tests. Now that the approval of the federal authorities has been heartily given, the method may be adopted anywhere in the United States. In Los Angeles, while not compulsory, the courts urge it, and large numbers avail themselves of the course in the successive classes.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the sentiment of patriotism bursts not full blown but requires cultivation. In Los Angeles a variety of means are utilized to instill love of country and the sense of brotherhood of all Americans. Thus on the Wednesday evening of each month following the admission of a class to citizenship, an open meeting is held in the high school auditorium. A judge presents the coveted papers, an address of welcome is given by a prominent resident to which some of their number respond, and there is stirring patriotic music. It is not for them to sing, "my native country thee" and "land where my fathers died," but they can join with right good will in the stanza adapted to them:

"Adopted country, thee,
Great land of liberty,
Of thee we sing,
For freedom, peace, and right,
We'll strive with all our might:
From lands not lost to sight
Our best we bring."

In this way the new citizen is made to feel his genuine welcome into the chosen country. It may be said, too, that many an old resident gains here a new sense of responsibility and privilege in his citizenship.

Still further, in Los Angeles, particular use is made of the great national holidays, notably July 4. In 1915, an International Festival was held during the greater part of a week culminating in that day. Dramatic

recitals of the contribution of various nations to American ideals, programs of national songs and folk dances were rendered. That month's class of seventy from the school were received with unusually impressive ceremony. On each of the days exhibits were made showing what America is doing and planning to do for immigrants through federal, State, municipal, and private organizations. Not least was a largely attended evening banquet to which the people of the city each brought a new citizen as guest. Finally, on July 4, celebrations were held in four high schools of the city to recognize the new immigrant citizens and also young natives voting for the first time, strong addresses being given by leaders of numerous races and various creeds.

From Ellis Island has come this suggestion to adapt the Fourth to modern uses. The old animus to the noisy and boastful celebration has been outgrown. We no longer find any exhilaration in denouncing England or crowing over ancient victories. The spread-eagle oratory has had its day. The tumult of fire-crackers is largely outlawed. Shall the day be given over to sports, pick-nicking, and idleness? No, the Los Angeles way has great values to commend it. Such an opportunity for cultivating love for country and devotion to its ideals should everywhere be enthusiastically adopted. The Athenians of old had such a holiday for the initiation of their youth into citizenship. Why not in America use the Fourth of July, rich in patriotic association, for the dedication of citizens old and new, immigrant and native, to the highest ideals of our country's service?

Another stage for the training of the new citizen may be provided in the civic centers. By State law in California, every school-house becomes a civic center. Here the neighbors may organize to promote in any way the community welfare. Much use is made in Los Angeles of this opportunity. Speakers are heard, courses of instruction given. For the immigrant particularly the centers prove a benefit. First of all, perhaps, when inducted into citizenship, the program is rendered by one of these organizations, its aim is carefully explained and he is earnestly, with his family, urged to join. At the civic center meetings, touching elbows with representatives of many nationalities of the neighborhood, his national sympathies are broadened, and a new flame is contributed to the melting pot, by which a new elemental blood is being wrought out in America.

OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BY THOMAS LINDSEY BLAYNEY

[In view of much recent and current discussion regarding the present management of public affairs in the Philippine Islands, we are publishing herewith an article by Prof. Thomas Lindsey Blayney, of the William M. Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. Professor Blayney is a distinguished scholar, a man of great experience, and an admirer and supporter of President Wilson. All the circumstances of his visit to the Philippines, as well as his relationships at home, render it impossible that Professor Blayney should have been actuated in his inquiries, and in the preparation of this article for the REVIEW, by any other than the highest and most disinterested motives. Professor Blayney was one of the professors honored by appointment during the past year by the American committee representing the Albert Kahn Foundation of Paris. This foundation sends two American university professors around the world each year, with the special object in view of having them study Oriental conditions and ideals. In correspondence with the editor of this magazine, Dr. Blayney made the following remarks:

"I had heard so many expressions of dissatisfaction from prominent Americans, both Democrats and Republicans, in various parts of the world, concerning the present policies of the administration at Manila that I determined to go to the Philippines and satisfy myself concerning the situation there.

"I talked with business men, native and foreign, educators, clergymen, army and navy officers, editors, American and British, and many Filipinos of undoubted patriotism and intelligence, and I do not hesitate to assure you that the demoralizing tendency of the policies of the present American administration in the islands is deserving of the widest publicity.

"I am an admirer of President Wilson, and do not wish to be considered as making an attack upon his policies. I have no direct or indirect interest in the islands other than that of any American citizen who has left nothing undone in the brief time allotted to him to form an unprejudiced opinion, and who cherishes a sincere desire for the prosperity, happiness, and future independence of the islands, whether this be within or without the pale of the American commonwealth."

On arriving at Manila Dr. Blayney was told that it would be impossible to induce representative natives to give their real views upon the situation on account of their fear of the political ring. He was, therefore, greatly gratified at the marks of confidence shown him by intelligent and independent Filipinos. This may be attributed to experience acquired by extended residence in Latin countries of Europe and to his knowledge of Oriental character gathered through an extensive acquaintanceship with Orientals in Morocco, India, China, and Japan. Professor Blayney suggested a well-known personage as qualified to give to the people of the United States an unbiased account of the situation. We have preferred, however, to invite Dr. Blayney to give our readers the results of his sincere effort to get at the real facts of a situation which he describes as *"bidding fair to become a national disgrace if we allow politics and sentiment to take the place of reason and justice."*—THE EDITOR.]

RUSKIN has said, "The art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues." After one has visited our own and other great colonial dependencies in the Orient, he is tempted to paraphrase Ruskin's statement and to assert that "the colonial undertakings of a country are the surest reflection of its social and political ideals." Nowhere can the best impulses born of national virtues be appreciated more clearly than when seen in perspective as translated into the administrative policies of a great nation in its control of an alien people.

A great nation,—a nation whose body politic is sound and whose greatness is measured not merely by its economic prosperity, but by

varied forms of civic and philanthropic idealism,—necessarily projects into the economic, social, and political life of a dependency (the situation being normal) the quintessence of the best aspirations of the race.

Tested by the foregoing, our own country may well be proud of the record made by its administrators in Havana, Porto Rico, Panama, and till recently in the Philippines. Both we ourselves and foreign critics have found weaknesses in our national life. Nevertheless our recent history has amply proven that in the last analysis we are both efficient and idealistic. This has been shown by the varied manifestations of our endeavors as applied to dependent peoples,—the reflection of the disinterested idealism and nonpartisan

motives of our best lawgivers at home and our experienced administrators abroad.

OUR SPLENDID RECORD

When historians of the future shall have spoken a dispassionate and final verdict upon the deeds and achievements of the first decade of our occupancy of the Philippine Islands (before some of our less thoughtful politicians and papers at home had begun to make political capital out of the so-called "independence movement" in the islands), no more inspiring chapter in our national history will be found. Nor will there be found elsewhere a finer list of names of men representing the best type of American manhood and idealism than the pages that record the first twelve years of American administration and achievement in the Orient.

The present projection of partisan politics into the administration of the Philippine Islands,—the tendency to allow party theories and sentimental notions to supersede the dictates of sound judgment and common sense,—must needs be looked upon as an incidental, though regrettable, moment in the development of our over-the-sea policies. Above motives of such a type our real statesmen of both parties, as contradistinguished from political opportunists, will surely rise. There is no phenomenon of our national life more passing strange than that which inclines many of our good people to accept the statements of paid emissaries of the Filipino political junto, or of some of our new and inexperienced officials at Manila, rather than those of our fellow-countrymen of long administrative experience in the islands. Especially is this remarkable in view of the fact that the statements of men of this last-named class could easily be either verified or disproven by appealing not only to the records, but also to residents of character. To accuse all former officers of administration of insincerity or narrow bias, and to disqualify the evidence of the best men of our own blood in the islands (whether clergymen, educators, jurists, or students of colonial policies) as being prompted by selfish motives, must of necessity be but a passing phase of party blindness and cannot continue as a fundamental defect in our national character.

Undoubtedly the overwhelming majority of the members of Congress and of the American public, irrespective of party, wants to do the right thing by the Filipinos. Nevertheless, there is an unfortunate impression abroad that much that has been writ-

ten regarding the present administration is prompted by selfish interests. The following observations made in the course of a visit at Manila are therefore submitted as disinterested evidence. These observations deal largely with questions upon which opinions differ at Washington and concerning which it is very difficult in the United States to secure first-hand information. They reflect the consensus of opinion of most representative Americans, as well as of Filipinos and foreigners in the islands, and, for brevity's sake, the opinions and arguments of the writer are allowed to obtrude as little as possible.

THE CHANGE IN SENTIMENT TOWARD AMERICANS

No greater surprise is in store for the traveler upon his arrival at Manila to-day than the realization that American ideals are now at a discount in the islands. With but one exception practically all Americans, Filipinos, and Englishmen speak of a marked lessening of respect for Americans and things American. (The exception is an American lawyer having business relations with Filipino politicians, and who, the writer understands, has represented Filipino interests at Washington.) This was explained by the fact that the politicians and public have seen courageous administrators, men whom they at heart admired, but under whose efficient administration the "politicos" had chafed and who therefore had been mercilessly attacked by them, replaced under the new administration by inexperienced officials. And when they saw these new arrivals begin to curry favor with the politicians and to call themselves "friends of the Filipinos," they became bewildered. And this bewilderment gave way to a lessening of respect for Americans in general when it was seen that these inexperienced men of the "new régime," by the frequent use of this word "friend," attributed by implication the contrary to the long list of the best administrative officers the American Government in the past had been able to send to them, and whom it seemed now the fashion to consider as little better than "carpet-baggers." And when they found some of the most important of these new "friends" at times deficient in statesman-like judgment and poise and not too careful in their utterances of the dignity of their positions, there could not but result an inevitable slump in their esteem for Americans in general. It is felt that this situation should be remedied at once; that so

long as the American flag continues to fly, our administrative officers should not fall below a fixed high standard of attainment, experience, dignity, courage, and vision; and that ample powers should be vested in them for the sake both of administrative efficiency and of the dignity of their offices. The writer concurs in believing that the early actions and pronouncements of some of our high officials of the new administration cannot be lived down. He regrets also to have to add that the personality and qualifications of two of the important American officials of the new administration are of such an order that he has never seen their names mentioned without a general smile of commiseration being called forth.

CURRYING FAVOR WITH FILIPINO POLITICIANS

All Americans and foreigners of experience agree in feeling that it is not only a serious mistake studiously to curry favor with disaffected politicians, but that it is a grave error of administrative judgment to hesitate, either at Manila or Washington, in adopting effective measures and policies for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the Filipinos. The contention seems established that the "mestizo" politician is devoid of any feeling of gratitude toward the United States. That, therefore, discarding any hope of appreciation in return, it should be our single purpose to give to the islands the kind of administration which may command, not the plaudits of the present, but rather the approbation of history and the gratitude of future generations. It is felt at Manila that anything short of this does not represent the highest and best form of American idealism; that this is what the great majority of American people want to see practised abroad, however far at times we may fall short of it at home.

On the other hand, many of the "wild tribes" are considered as having a genuine appreciation for whatever they realize as being done to help them. It is the consensus of opinion of informed persons that the government of these tribes must remain in the hands of the United States and its representatives. The Filipino has never shown, nor is he likely to show, any real concern for their welfare. And yet, they are considered to have a future full of promise under the capable and sympathetic hand of men like Mr. Dean C. Worcester. It is felt on all sides that the loss of this experienced administrator has in no wise been replaced, and

that the President could do a real service to humanity by seeing to it that men of this type be not eliminated from the service.

A HIGH STANDARD OF CIVIL SERVICE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY

And this brings us to the very heart of the question. It is the opinion of all Americans and foreigners that the inviolability of the civil service must be re-established by Governor-General Harrison or by his successor if the good name of our governmental methods is not to be irrevocably compromised. Also that the mere fact of a Filipino being an aspirant for office should not be a sufficient reason for his appointment, as has been too frequently the case under the present administration. The claim is made by the Administration that such charges are not in keeping with the facts and that only Filipinos of unquestionable qualifications have been allowed to supersede American officials. The following incident, the facts of which were received first hand by the writer, will, however, illustrate the "careful" way in which under the new era Filipinos have been appointed to offices of trust.

The post of Assistant-Director of the Bureau of Agriculture was to be filled. Without even consulting the American Director of the Bureau, the Governor-General promised the post, at the request of the Speaker of the Assembly, to a henchman of the latter, the then Governor of the Province of Pampanga. Shortly before the appointment was to be made public Governor-General Harrison at a dinner party casually informed the Director that he had "found an Assistant-Director" for him. Now, it so happened that the Filipino Governor selected for the post by the "ring" and accepted by the Governor-General had been one of the most recalcitrant of the native governors toward carrying out the hygienic orders issued by the Bureau for the prevention of the spread of rinderpest, and a man who had caused the bureau in the past endless trouble. And yet here he was being placed by the Administration in a position to enforce in an executive capacity the very regulations which he had insistently ignored. The Director endeavored to impress the Governor-General with the utter impossibility of the situation, but it was not until after a number of conversations, and until the Director had threatened his immediate resignation if a man with such a record were foisted upon him that the Governor-General made what explanations he could to the Speaker of the Assembly.

and found another berth for this "excellently recommended" official. It can readily be imagined that such an uncomplacent Director of Agriculture was not able to continue to serve the "new régime" very long and is now numbered among those who have "resigned."

This incident is cited not to insinuate that the Governor-General promised the friends of this Filipino to appoint him, knowing him to be incompetent, but merely to illustrate the "spirit" that now reigns and the happy-go-lucky and reckless manner in which appointments are promised where "politics" and not "efficiency" is the watchword. Such political theories are bad enough in some of our cities at home, but infinitely worse in our distant possessions where they bring disgrace upon our Flag under the very eyes of the efficient colonial administrations of the Dutch and British.

It is believed, furthermore, that to make a financial showing at the expense of efficiency, or to attain this end by stopping expenditures that have heretofore gone for greatly needed public improvements, is neither "making a record" in keeping with American notions of progress nor in accord with what are felt to be the views of the President of the United States as regards governmental efficiency. The loss of men like Governor Forbes, Mr. Worcester, Dr. Heiser, Captain Sleeper, Mr. Taylor, and many others who have recently "resigned," is not only a reproach to present-day methods at Manila—a matter of grave local importance—but is looked upon as a distinct setback in the development of better and more stable institutions in the entire Orient in the interest of humanity as a whole.

MORALE OF BUREAU OF SCIENCE VIRTUALLY DESTROYED

No institution has prospered more under civil service than the Bureau of Science at Manila. This admirable institution had been developed to a point where it had commanded the high respect of scientists in all parts of the world, and especially in the Orient. The ill-advised utterances of the new Secretary of the Interior upon his arrival, regarding the abolishment of certain departments of research (with the workings of which it was said he had not been familiar and which seemed to him to be "too theoretical"), has created, as might easily have been foreseen, a most unfortunate impression upon the minds of the people. It necessarily has not only lowered the prestige of the Bureau,

and discouraged men from remaining in it or attaching themselves to it, but it has reflected upon the sound judgment of American scientists. It is felt that such a thoroughly representative American institution and its corps of experienced scientists should be placed beyond the reach of the vagaries of any individual.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PHILIPPINES AT WASHINGTON

One of the greatest hindrances to a clearer appreciation of the merits of the arguments favoring a more or less immediate independence for the Filipinos consists, strange as it may seem, in the personality of Señor Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines at Washington. It is felt at Manila to be very unfortunate that Señor Quezon should have succeeded in establishing himself in the opinion of Washington as a typical representative of his race. After meeting practically all the leading native political leaders, the writer does not hesitate to assert, that in knowledge of America and of American ways, in ability to adopt our mannerisms, to play upon our feelings and prejudices, and to make himself interesting and attractive in society, there is no public man of his race who can begin to measure up to him. It is vital that this be kept in mind when our lawgivers are discussing the question of independence. For it must be remembered that, as high as he stands above his political colleagues in all those attainments calculated to influence the susceptibilities of Americans, an immensely greater and, for the present, practically impassable, gulf separates these colleagues from the great mass of the ignorant populace, even in Luzon. A great proportion of the Filipino people have no clearer notion of "independence" than that it is some sort of a tangible or intangible thing that will bring them an era of plenty with little work and no taxes.

FILIPINO POLITICAL MEETINGS NOT ALWAYS REPRESENTATIVE

Another point to be kept in mind is that meetings organized to further the measures of political leaders do not necessarily represent the feelings of intelligent, independent Filipinos. Native civilians of this latter class informed the writer that the rivalries already existing, and the taste for spoils already whetted by an ever, and too rapidly, increasing share in the offices of state, pre-
sage certain revolution as soon as a firm hand

is withdrawn; that it will require several generations of peace and prosperity to train an Oriental people into a genuine respect for stable institutions.

In this connection it should be noted, further, that one of the serious mistakes made by visitors at Manila is to form an opinion of the intelligence of an audience or delegation in the islands by its general appearance. Gatherings of this kind are exceedingly impressive, especially if large and if the visitor is a recent arrival, owing to the fondness of the men for well-tailored white suits, which give them an outward appearance of prosperity and intelligence out of keeping with their attainments and with the environment out of which they come.

INDEPENDENCE NOT DESIRED

Certainly one of the most surprising things to the visitor, if he is fortunate enough to have heart-to-heart talks with representative Filipinos who are not themselves political aspirants, will be to learn that independence is not desired at this time by men of this type. *Every one of them gave it as his opinion that revolution would certainly follow the lowering of the Flag.* Not one of them would name a time now to be foreseen when he thought independence could be safely promised or granted. Each stated, however, that, should his sentiments become known, he would be a marked man, and whether directly or indirectly, would feel the heavy hand of the "politicos."

The writer has been informed from a most unimpeachable source that even one of the two leading Filipino politicians had recently become rather skeptical about early independence in view of recent events in the Orient. He feared now he had builded better than he thought and that independence might actually be granted owing to the support of certain Congressmen not entirely in sympathy with the movement, but who, like many of their constituents, were beginning to feel that the present situation is no credit to the United States. He recognized the dangerously increasing impatience of others in Congress and in the public at seeing ourselves invited "to get out" of the islands, and yet in the same breath being requested to permit the Filipino politicians to bury, as it were, the Stars and Stripes at the foot of the flagpole, to be resurrected and run up whenever they got into international complications. His position, however, rendered it very difficult for him to back water.

CHARACTER AND WORK OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

Another matter of disillusionment for those of us who have been guided by feelings of sentiment toward the independence movement is to learn, on studying the situation on the ground, that much that we have heard about the excellent work and disinterested patriotism of the Philippine Assembly is not borne out by the facts. Space will not permit even the mention of the many accounts of the inefficiency of these lawgivers. It might be noted, however, that the last Assembly (and, by the way, the very one which, as the writer was informed, Governor-General Harrison went to the length of complimenting in a telegram to Washington) occupied, despite the more or less direct protests of the Governor, a great part of its time with questions relating to political posts and appointments, and it was with the greatest difficulty induced to discuss the budget. The statements we sometimes hear regarding "the remarkable work of the Assembly demonstrating the capacity of the people for self-government," if sincerely made, are considered at Manila as based upon information furnished by parties interested in the successful workings of the theories of the "new era."

FACTS VERSUS THEORIES

The facts tend to disprove the statements of those who would rapidly "Filipinize" the service. No clearer proof is needed of the grave risks being run for the sake of a theory than the unfortunate results following the "resignation" of Captain Sleeper as chief of the Land Office. This efficient officer had built up a remarkable department and one that had required years of labor to bring to a standard that was considered a model of efficiency. Deaf to the warnings of men of experience, the new administration appointed a Filipino to succeed him. This man was most carefully selected, since it was recognized on all sides as a test of native ability. In a short time the work of years had become but a shadow of its former self, and, however reluctantly, the administration had to remove the new incumbent. Another Filipino was ultimately appointed, but the department was in very bad shape when the writer left the islands.

REGRETTABLE REFLECTIONS ON AMERICAN ADMINISTRATORS

There is another factor which bodes for many years to come little success to a Fili-

pino administration of the islands. The ingenious lies, innuendoes, and slanderous attacks, under the very shadow of the Flag, upon the character and administration of our most highly respected officials in the past, because their rulings ran counter to special interests or prejudices of certain factions, is not considered as auguring well for the conditions that would exist when the Flag comes down, granted even that native officials would pretend to attempt to uphold hygienic or other efficient measures against the wishes of the masses. The rapid increase of the rinderpest under the régime of Governor-General Harrison after the control of the situation had been taken from the Bureau of Agriculture and placed under provincial supervision, and certain "economies" of administration had been inaugurated, should sober the most enthusiastic advocates of immediate wider autonomy.

CRITICISMS ON PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

Filipino politicians, backed by their party papers, have long made the expenditures for the construction of the Benguet Road and its terminus,—the splendid health resort of Baguio,—a favorite subject of attack in reflecting on the administration of former American commissioners. It is true there was an error of judgment on the part of the engineering expert who reported on the probable cost, but for this the commissioners should not be held responsible. Rather than being a reproach to the executive ability of former administrations, both the road and the resort are now seen to be assets of the highest value, although the road will soon lose its importance owing to the construction of a safer highway in another part of the mountains. Personally the writer feels, after visiting India and the famous British "Hill Station," Darjeeling in the Himalayas, that Baguio is one of the most creditable and enduring monuments to the foresight and forethought of former commissions. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Denison, possibly for the sake of consistency, spent the past summer in Japan and China, and therefore the government was not transferred to Baguio for the hot months. And yet, when the writer visited Baguio, it was full of Filipinos from Manila who now own residences in what only a few years ago was but an uninhabited mountain-top. This is conclusive proof that, although always ready to seek out every possible excuse to compromise the administration of American commissioners in the eyes of Congress, they are not

slow to profit by the results of the very administrative policies they have so severely criticized.

APPOINTING A PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

Since leaving the islands, the writer has learned through a copy of the *Manila Times* that prophecies he had heard made there, and which it was hoped would not be realized, had proven correct and that the presidency of the University of Manila had been given to a Filipino gentleman "for whom no other post was available but whose friends insisted that he must be taken care of." This program of Filipinization was too much even for Secretary Denison who, as a member of the board of control, at first opposed the Filipino, desiring an efficient American educator at the head of this important institution during the first and most important years of its development. His protest, however, was unavailing. This stand represents a radical change in his views as expressed soon after his arrival in the islands, in a much-criticized speech, the general tenor of which might be summed up in the since oft-quoted assertion it contained: "Why should we insist upon 'hustling' the East against its will, and at its expense, if the East itself wishes to lie placid, murmuring *mañana?*" It is felt that his other no less famous public statement in regard to a letter delayed three weeks in delivery, is typical of the sophomoric theories of government entertained by the new administration,—"If the Filipino people prefer to have their letters arrive in three weeks and do it themselves, why haven't they the right to do it that way?"

THE PRESIDENT NOT BLAMED

The majority of Americans and foreigners at Manila do not feel that the President is correctly informed concerning existing conditions, and are therefore unwilling to hold him directly responsible for the present situation. They rather attribute it to the short-sightedness and excess of zeal shown by the administration at Manila in making a "record" such as they might wish to make at home after a political upheaval. Some of these officials seem forgetful of the ignorance of the great mass of Filipinos regarding our traditional treatment of "office-holders" in this country upon a change of administration, and inexcusably forgetful of the supreme importance of maintaining in our over-the-sea dependencies the well-earned reputation of American officials, past or

present, and irrespective of party, for disinterested public service. Some of them have compromised the good name and dignity of American institutions abroad by actions and utterances which either reflect upon the sincerity of the intentions of past administrations, or else are not in keeping with the views which the American public at Manila believes to be those of the President relative to administrative decorum abroad. To mention but one example:

Only those who have been in Manila and are familiar with the various undercurrents of sentiment and with the personal histories of individuals there can form a conception of the astonishment felt by the audience when, as a number of witnesses told the writer, the distinguished guest of the occasion, a man who incorporates the dignity of American institutions by his exalted position, placed his arm about the shoulders of a Filipino politician and declared that it was "to this man" that he owed his position, and that he would not forget the kindness as long as he lived. The remark was considered, for reasons that cannot be touched upon here, not only as lacking excessively in good taste, but also as showing exceedingly poor judgment, in that it magnified the Filipino in the esteem of his countrymen at the expense of the President of the United States, from whom the appointment had come.

HOW THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS REGARDED

Señor Quezon made the public statement at the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1914 that "Governor Harrison has gained for himself and for the nation that he represents the confidence and good-will of the Filipino people." This statement, according to reliable American evidence and that of intelligent Filipinos, is not in keeping with the facts. Never since the early years of occupation has genuine respect and esteem for America and things American been at so low an ebb for the reasons mentioned above. Governor-General Harrison and his administration enjoy, quite naturally, a certain kind of popularity with the politicians and factions whose aims he seems to support. But that he has raised his country or his countrymen in the respect of the inhabitants, is an altogether different matter. Deep regret was voiced on all sides that at the very outset he had launched himself upon a campaign of "reform" from which, in spite of experience gained, it is very hard for him to turn back.

THE FEELING IN THE ISLANDS ON THE JONES BILL

The feeling of Americans and foreigners in the islands concerning the "Jones Bill" is somewhat as follows: It is considered impossible to foresee what the next twenty-five or fifty years may bring in the international situation in the Pacific, nor how essential to us and to the best interests of the Filipinos the new inventions constantly being made in aerial and maritime armament and our commercial interests in the East may render the retention of the islands in whole or in part. Therefore it is believed that, if an unnecessary preamble to such a bill *must* be formulated, sound statesmanship dictates that it should go no farther than declaring it to be "the intention of the United States to grant independence to the Philippine Islands as soon as in the judgment of Congress it is deemed to the best interests of the islands and of the United States to do so." It is further believed that the political element would make at first a bold front of disapproval, but that the great mass of intelligent and peaceful civilians would greet such a statement with sincere satisfaction. A statement of this kind would do more, it is thought, to clear the unhealthy atmosphere of uncertainty and apprehension existing at Manila and to preclude unprofitable discussion than anything that has occurred since the change of administration.

FOREIGN OPINION ON OUR PRESENT PHILIPPINE POLICY

It is a striking fact that among the many Americans and Britons whom the writer met in India, China, and Japan, and who were more or less familiar with the situation from personal observation, there was *not one* who did not feel that the almost nervous eagerness of the administration at Manila to conciliate the politicians, even at the cost of some dignity, and the excessive zeal shown in changing and "Filipinizing" the service, had proven a grave error of judgment of more than local importance. That it was destined to render the work of the white man in the uplift of dependent races very difficult in more distant parts of the Orient. It was pointed out by the British that, if, as we claimed, our interest in the islands was purely humanitarian, we should not transfer our political differences of opinion and more or less questionable party theories into the administration of our island dependencies, but rather seek to govern them along recognized

lines of administrative efficiency for their own highest welfare, and in the interest of humanity as a whole. That to transfer our own advanced theories of democratic government to an inexperienced people just emerging from a period of almost medieval darkness, many of whom have not the remotest conception of the real meanings of the words "democracy" and "independence," would be *little short of criminal*.

OUR LEGACY TO THE PHILIPPINES

The following statement was made to the writer by an intelligent and highly respected Filipino and is submitted as a final résumé of a situation which cannot possibly continue with credit to our government:

When the American flag is lowered, whether it be in one year or in ten years or in a hundred years, I feel that the United States will be remembered in our island by three principal contributions to our national life: First, by a splendid system of public instruction; secondly, by an excellent judicial system; and, thirdly, by an all-pervading system of petty Tammany politics, to the fostering of which the present administration has very largely contributed. And I feel that the last of these contributions will far outshadow in effect the results of the other two *to the everlasting misfortune of my race*.

No words of the writer could possibly add to the simple force of a statement of this character.

Such, in briefest possible form, are the opinions of the overwhelming majority of men of every shade of opinion and nationality in Manila, both native and foreign, whose opinion, the writer feels, the public would care to learn, and by whose judgment it would wish in a measure to be guided in the solemn hour so fast approaching when a courageous, creditable, and unequivocal decision should be reached,—a decision free of political bias and sentimental theories, but destined to involve irrevocably the good name of our country, the statesmanship of our lawgivers, and the future welfare of a dependent people.

AMERICAN IDEALS SHOULD PREVAIL IN THE PHILIPPINES

We are told that the islands are a menace to us; that by their retention we run the risk of grave complications. And yet, these are the very warnings that were directed

against our fathers whenever they contemplated moving our frontiers further toward the Pacific. Thus far in our history we have never recoiled from following our star of destiny because of real or fancied dangers. And it is not believed that we are going to hesitate now, when millions whom we have led toward a brighter day stand sorely in need of our strong helping hand to conduct them over the last and most difficult part of the way.

If we have not the courage of our forefathers, if the splendid work of American achievement, the self-sacrificing labors of countless men of our own race,—the scientist, the educator, the administrator, and the soldier,—are to be sacrificed to the empty shibboleth "Independence," is it not due our good name to leave the islands *now*. It is the firm belief of the writer that we owe it to ourselves, to the Filipinos, and to humanity to insist, so long as the American flag continues to fly over Manila and over the hundreds of schools, city halls, and court-houses of the archipelago, promising liberty and justice under its stars and stripes, *not to a few political aspirants, but to all that just so long American, and not Filipino*, ideals of efficiency, administration, and justice should reign at Manila. And this cannot be realized unless we cease the present methods of tearing down the laboriously constructed work of years achieved by American administrative officers, not because we feel it to be in the interest of the *people*, but at the behest of the native *officeseeker*, whose plea, "independence," seems so irresistible to our democratic ears. The individual man is "*free*" to-day wherever the Stars and Stripes float to the breeze in the islands. That *he will not be "free"* when the Flag comes down is the firm conviction of all men of broad judgment and experience in the Philippines.

Every principle of humanitarianism and of enlightened statesmanship dictates that we should jealously guard this heritage of future generations and hand it down to them in the form of an efficient, model administration unto the day when they, as an enlightened people, and not as a handful of political dictators, tell the people of the United States what they desire. The American people will then gladly give them what they want.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

IN the following pages appear brief condensations of articles on topics of timely interest gathered from a wide range of sources,—American, English, French, German, Russian, Italian, Spanish,—and representing varied viewpoints. Many of these articles deal with phases of the great war or with cognate themes. It is impossible, of course, to do more than make cursory reference to the great mass of material of this sort that is now appearing in the periodical press of the world. To speak of only a few of our popular American magazines, we may note that in the January numbers there are articles bearing the following titles: "Second Thoughts on This War," by John Galsworthy; "The Submarine in War," by Robert W. Neeser; "The West's Awake!" (Canada in war time), by Mary Synon,—all in *Scribner's*, while the *Century* carries the second instalment of Walter Hale's series, "An Artist at the Front," and *Everybody's* gives an opportunity to a score of leading British writers to tell frankly what they think about American neutrality. H. G. Wells, G. K. Chesterton, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Jerome K. Jerome, W. J. Locke, Mrs. Humphry Ward, G. Bernard Shaw, Viscount Bryce, Maurice Hewlett, William Archer, and Israel Zangwill are among the names that figure in this symposium. In the *Century*, Eric Fisher Wood continues discussion of American preparedness, covering in the January article the experience of the nation between the years 1860 and 1910. In the same number Mr. J. A. P. Bland writes on "The Far Eastern Problem," referring of course to Japan and China, and George Creel describes the immigration situation under the rather unfortunate title, "The Hopes of the Hyphenated." The French soldier's outlook on the war is interpreted for the *Century* by Mr. Arthur Gleason. In connection with Dr. Talcott Williams' article in this REVIEW on page 67, our readers will be interested in William Warfield's account of a journey over the desert from Bagdad to the ruins of Babylon, in the January *Harper's*. In the same magazine Robert Bruère answers the question, "What Does the Minimum Wage Mean?" A striking feature of the *American Magazine* is a graphically illustrated article on how the war is developing the aeroplane, by Merle Crowell.

CHINA'S VITAL QUESTION

THE monarchist movement in China is the subject of an article in the *North American Review*, by Professor J. W. Jenks, who has given much thought to the problems of modern China's government and is an enthusiastic admirer of President Yuan Shih-k'ai (who, since this article was written, has become Emperor). Like other observers of China's present situation, Professor Jenks identifies the monarchistic movement with the militaristic. He quotes the words of a distinguished English newspaper correspondent at Peking, Mr. William H. Donald:

The military party have been at the bottom of the movement for the reestablishment of the monarchical system of government from the outset. Ever since the establishment of the republic the President has been periodically approached by high military officials and urged to change the system of government. Invariably he re-

plied that as a republic had been definitely established, it would be gravely improper for him even to discuss such a step. But, while their personal loyalty to the President has in no way diminished, the military officials have of late become more and more insistent, and as they were practically unanimous, it was impossible for the President, with the solemn duty of preserving internal peace and concord always before him, to dismiss them with a blank refusal. He was faced by a powerful body holding very emphatic views, and if he had persisted in an irreconcilable attitude, the result would probably have been the inception of intrigues and the formation of secret societies to bring about by force what he refused to grant. The President, therefore, was faced by a very difficult problem. The most despotic and autocratic ruler, if all his most powerful supporters were united in a desire to compel him to take a certain course, would not be able forcibly to resist them. That was exactly the position in which President Yuan Shih-k'ai found himself. He could not openly resist the demand made by the military party, the most powerful force in the state, but he

could, and did, divert its activities into a proper and constitutional channel.

As to President Yuan's intentions, Professor Jenks claims no prophetic gift, but thinks that we may reasonably judge a man's intentions from his past. He reminds us that Yuan saved his ruler, the empress dowager, from her own kinsman by marriage, the Emperor Kwang-Shu. He saved the imperial son of his inveterate enemy, Ch'un, the regent. Furthermore, it is frequently forgotten that when the republic began four years ago in China, the little Manchu emperor was retained in his title and his civil list. He is a pensioner of the Chinese Republic.

The wisdom and patriotism of Yuan Shih-k'ai have not as yet failed China. Is there any real reason for thinking that he will fail now? Thrice during the Manchu crisis he declined a marquissate, and twice when the late Empress Lung Yu invited him to ascend the throne he refused. The elections seem to show that a crown will be

offered to Yuan Shih-k'ai; it may be that real public opinion ascertained for him in other ways will declare to the contrary. In either case it may well be that Yuan Shih-k'ai will confound those who, throughout his career, have accused him of plotting and planning for his own ambition; that he will consolidate at his back the growing strength of southern Chinese progressive opinion; and so at last find himself free to carry into effect, with the certainty of popular approval, those great practical reforms which are vitally necessary in China, in order that she may stand upon her own feet and be no longer menaced by fear of foreign aggression.

In his acceptance of the crown there is nothing fundamentally inconsistent with the conception of Yuan's character which Professor Jenks elaborates in his article. As President of China, Yuan had already defied the military cabal and he had repeatedly refused the crown. His final acceptance of it may be taken as an indication that China merely desires to give him a longer tenure of office than the Presidency.

THE PRESIDENT'S WORKING HABITS

FROM the standpoint of office routine, punctuality is the great dominating characteristic of the present occupant of the White House, if we may trust the statements of his secretaries as embodied in an article on "The Working Habits of the President of the United States," contributed to the *American Magazine* for January, by James Hay, Jr.

Not only is President Wilson punctual himself day in and day out, but he requires punctuality from others, including members of Congress and heads of departments. Senators and Representatives calling at the White House by appointment find that each conference is expected to last from three to five minutes. After each caller leaves the office, Mr. Wilson himself makes a shorthand note of the caller's business. (It is stated, by the way, that the President is himself an expert stenographer, and that a page from his notebook is "as clear and clean-cut as a piece of engraving.")

Following is the daily program of this very hard worked and very punctual man:

His personal stenographer, C. L. Swem, who was with him in New Jersey, reports to the study in the White House proper at 8:55, at which time the President dictates replies to the important letters which have been received at the White House offices the day before. At ten o'clock he takes his place at his desk in his private office in the White House offices. Between ten and ten-

thirty he attends to whatever routine work is possible before he begins to keep the appointments he or his secretary has made several days before. Each caller usually gets five minutes some of them three, and a few fifteen. He keeps a card on his desk showing the list of appointments, and checks off with his own hand each appointment as it is kept. (I saw one of these cards on which he had run his pencil through the name of a prominent politician and had written after the name in blue pencil, "He did not come." That "He did not come" looked ominous.)

At 12:59 the President, having concluded the appointments, leaves the office and goes to the White House for his one-o'clock luncheon.

At two o'clock he receives in the East Room delegations of tourists who want to shake his hand, and, if it is necessary, he has a long conference with some member of the Cabinet or a diplomat. After that, he plays golf, takes a walk through the shopping district of Washington, or goes for an automobile ride.

At seven o'clock he has dinner.

He goes to bed between ten o'clock and midnight, never after midnight.

The President's office methods are described as remarkable for accuracy and exactness. He files all his important papers with his own hands in a filing case just back of his chair in the White House study. His powers of concentration are great, and after devoting his mind entirely to a single subject, on dictating a speech or a state paper, or writing it out in shorthand and then reading it to his stenographer, practically no changes are required.

WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION IN GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA

AMERICAN women will be intensely interested in the first book to be published in English that tells concretely just what Feminism means in Germany and Scandinavia.¹ The impression that German women are hopelessly domesticated is quite erroneous. The author, Katherine Anthony, writes that it would be quite as sensible to represent the American suffrage movement by quotations from Mr. Elihu Root and Congressman Bowdler, as it is to accept the statements of the German Emperor and Empress in regard to what German women are thinking and doing.

In Germany before the war there were 800,000 more women than men, in Austria-Hungary 600,000, while in Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, the men are outnumbered by nearly 300,000. It will readily be seen that industrial and social changes in the status of women are bound to result, if for no other reason than the mere preponderance of women.

The will to organize is very strong in Germany and Scandinavia. In the last twenty years the women of Germany have built up the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, a great union of women's clubs, which has a membership of half a million women. The leader of the union is the capable editor of *Die Hilfe*, a social and literary weekly, Dr. Gertrud Baumer. The first organization for the purpose of emancipating women in Germany was the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein* (General Woman's Union), which was founded in 1865. Their program defined the goals and tasks of the woman's movement, and explained the position of this movement in the fields of education, economic life, marriage and the family, and public life in community and state.

In the matter of granting the full privileges of education to women Germany and Scandinavia are ahead of this country. At present the Scandinavian and German universities are practically all open to women. Registered in the German universities in the summer semester of 1914 were 4117 women.

Prussia, however, has opposed the feminist demand for female education by imposing exceptional rulings for the admission of women to the universities.

The protection of motherhood,—the *Mutterschutz* idea,—is the slogan of the German feminists. This movement desires to improve the institution of marriage. As the author of this book states:

The woman movement approves of its monogamic basis, but attacks its proprietary rights. Monogamy purified of proprietary rights is the ideal of the main guard of European feminism. . . . The *Mutterschutz* movement goes further. It not only demands the abolition of proprietary rights in marriage, but questions the eternal validity of monogamy itself, if not as ideal morality at least as practical morality.

The book goes to show that in Germany and Scandinavia with the entrance of women into economics the woman question really began. The industrial enslavement of women brought them the independence that relieved them from home tyranny, and this independence turned their desires toward the "triple possessions of man,—property, franchise, and education."

Education was the first storm center. It has shifted until at present the feminist movement centers around the child, and woman's admission to the franchise.

The suffrage leader, Hedwig Dohm, who has passed her eightieth year, recently wrote: "Long after I am dead and burned, my ashes will glow when the portals of the Reichstag are opened to women."

In Sweden women have the communal vote; Finland has had complete woman suffrage since 1906; Norway gives full citizenship rights to women; and Denmark on June 5, 1915, enfranchised its women, and abolished property qualifications.

The program of feminism is the development of a new science of womanhood. . . . Most of the wants of women have exactly the same justification as the wants of men, and there is nothing new about them except that the sex whose chief characteristic is "wantlessness" is beginning to acquire them. It was Luther who said that "no cloak so ill becomes a maid or wife as the wish to be clever." The founder of Protestantism would assuredly be appalled at the number of thinking women in Germany to day, women who philosophize in the open and publish their ideas over their unabashed signatures. But in the midst of a discussion which sometimes seems to be too academic and theoretical, voices are not lacking which boldly say with Anna Von Nathausius: "We have talked enough of woman's emancipation. Let us begin to live it." No philosophy carries such conviction as the personal life.²

¹ *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia*. By Katherine Anthony. Boston, 1915, pp. 316.

AMERICAN ILLITERACY

AN article contributed by Winthrop Talbot to the *North American Review* corrects at least two prevalent misconceptions: First, that the percentage of illiterates in the United States is practically negligible; and, second, that most of the adult illiteracy of the country is confined to the Southern States. Mr. Talbot refers to the figures of the last census to show that five million adult American citizens are wholly unable to read and write; that millions more read only simple words, and that still other millions able to read hesitatingly rarely do read.

It seems almost superfluous to frame an argument to show that illiteracy is a serious barrier to democracy. We have believed this so thoroughly in the United States that compulsory education was long ago introduced in most of the States, and it has always been assumed that illiteracy was a foe to representative government. Massachusetts, indeed, has restricted the franchise to those able to read the Constitution. Yet, as Mr. Talbot points out, we ignore the illiteracy of millions of unschooled men and women,—children in mind, though adult in years,—apparently forgetting that the first requisite for government by representation is literacy.

Now comes the sensational part of Mr. Talbot's article. This is his statement that there is to-day a steady increase of illiterate white people by scores of thousands in New England, in New York State, in Pennsylvania, in Illinois, and in eleven States of the Northwest. These illiterates are not negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, or Hindus, but young white parents who will rear families and will live among us for the next forty years or more. "In large degree they are herded aliens mingling foreign tongues in village outskirts and city slums, increasing accidents and disease, filling hospitals, almshouses and asylums, and, as defectives, laying bigger and bigger taxes on that community which ignores their existence."

For many years we were familiarized with the statement that nearly one-fourth of the population of the Southern States is illiterate. What are the facts to-day? Mr. Talbot shows that each Southern State has cut its percentage of illiteracy more than 25 per cent. during the last census period, from 1900 to 1910, and that in the South Atlantic, South Central, and West South Central divisions, which include all the Southern States, the number of illiterates was nearly a

million less in 1910 than in 1900. The public schools are largely responsible for this good showing. Illiteracy is still a hindrance in the South, but it can no longer be regarded as a peril. It is an actual menace only in the manufacturing States of New England, and in the States of the Middle Atlantic division, which for ten years, and in the case of New York State, for twenty years, have failed to reduce their percentage of illiteracy and have also increased enormously their numbers of illiterates. Connecticut, indeed, has actually gone backwards, having increased not only in numbers of illiterates but in percentage of illiteracy as well.

It is not in the South, then, that illiterates are steadily increasing in number, but in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, and California. The heaviest increase is in New England and the Middle Atlantic States. Here is a significant contrast: "During the twenty years from 1890 to 1910, the number of illiterates in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Florida, decreased from 2,027,951 to 1,427,063. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the increase during the same period was from 790,772 to 1,103,872."

Another fact brought out by Mr. Talbot is that the proportion of foreign-born illiterates, as compared with native whites, has lately been increasing rapidly. In thirty years there has been a marked decrease in the number of native white and negro illiterates, and a significant increase in the number of foreign-born illiterates. Indeed every class of illiterate has decreased except the foreign-born, and since the last census their increase has been so great as to out-balance the decrease of all other classes combined.

As a check to this startling growth of illiteracy among us, it has been proposed that more should be done through the public school by way of furnishing instruction to adult illiterates. As Mr. Talbot puts it: "We require the untaught child to go to school; has not the time come to insist that the untaught child of later years, the adult illiterate, shall also be required to go to school until it learns at least to read and write? Can there be any question that five

millions of illiterate adults mentally isolated from exchange of human experience with their fellows are a menace to representative government, democratic institutions, industrial prosperity, and the good of the whole United States?"

The article suggests that since this is a subject requiring special investigation and the widest publicity, knowledge concerning the extent of the evil and suitable remedies,

it can best be broached and treated through a State commission of citizens who have earned the confidence of the public. Kentucky has established such a commission, but, as Mr. Talbot suggests, no States are in greater need of such commissions than those of the Middle Atlantic division and especially the State of New York, which harbors a greater number of illiterates than any other State in the Union.

RUMANIA COMPARED WITH SPAIN AS TO MILITARY EFFICIENCY

ALTHOUGH Spain is more likely to play a part in eventual peace negotiations than to be drawn into active participation in the war, the article on her present military organization by Señor Pedro Jevénis in *Nuestro Tiempo* is interesting from its frank statement and criticisms.

As a modest standard of comparison, and in some sense as a model, he takes Rumania, noting at the outset that while Spain expends annually some \$32,000,000 on her military establishment, the cost of Rumania's army is less than \$20,000,000. And yet Spain has no properly constituted general staff, nor are the materials available for the formation of such a staff in case of war.

The writer recognizes that the young king, an enthusiast in military matters, would almost inevitably be in active command of the army, and yet the king does not know what generals are to command the different army groups, nor has any provision been made for the staffs of these groups.

The immediate military entourage of the king is formed of officers lacking definite attributions or definite missions, their service being rather ceremonial than military. They are neither expected to elaborate plans of concentration or campaign, nor to visit and study the frontier regions in order to work out the course of the initial operations.

How totally unprepared Spain now is for active participation in a great war is clearly brought out by Señor Jevénis' statement that no one knows precisely to whom the chief command, under the king, would be given, nor what officers would compose the staff. It is true that in the Ministry of War the third assistant is supposed to occupy himself with plans of campaign, but the complex routine work that falls to the charge of this ministry, and the lack of direct familiarity

with the army and with the probable field of operations, suffice to prevent the formation of effective plans. In Rumania, on the other hand, the army inspector is destined to assume the position of chief of staff in case of a foreign war, and of commander-in-chief under the king.

As to the strength of the respective armies on a peace footing, Spain has 111 battalions of infantry and 108 squadrons of cavalry, while Rumania has 130 battalions of infantry and 88 squadrons of cavalry. In light field artillery Rumania is far superior, having 153 batteries, with 612 pieces, against 87 batteries, with 348 pieces, for Spain. Of heavy field artillery Spain has nothing to show, while Rumania has 33 batteries, with 132 pieces of four to six inches (Krupp or Schneider). The same disparity exists in siege guns, of which Spain has only four batteries, comprising sixteen pieces of antiquated model, against Rumania's nine batteries formed of thirty-six modern guns. In the other branches of the service Spain is either only slightly in advance of Rumania, or inferior to the latter country.

In conclusion Señor Jevénis states his case as follows:

The Rumanian army is not perfect, it has its defects; but it is organized for foreign war, while our army at the present time is only fit to preserve order at home, or at most to engage in some colonial or African expedition. Hence though our model may have its defects, they fall far short of our own, for they do not affect the very essence of military efficiency as ours do. We have abundance of so-called commanders and officers, with their appropriate titles, but can it be said that there exists any practical difference between a civil governor and a military governor, the commander of a brigade or of a division composed of units that have never been brought together?

The worst of the matter is that we do not

even enjoy the virtues of our defects, since although we have many officers, many commanders and generals, the life they lead, one conditioned by the resources provided for them and the duties they are charged with, prevents them from being anything more than government employees in uniform. Many of them have less experience than the Rumanian reserve officers, who are at least called upon to participate in annual maneuvers.

The only advantage our officers can claim over civilian office-holders is their spirit of

self-sacrifice, their discipline, and their almost exaggerated sense of honor, but something more than the possession of these estimable qualities is requisite to make a body of officers. Nevertheless, the solution of the problem is in our own hands, all that is needed is good judgment, energy, and capacity for work. A war minister, a general or a civilian, preferably the latter, since he would be more unprejudiced, can make us strong, really independent, free from all external influence, and both respected and feared outside of Spain.

THE BOY SCOUTS

THE history of the Boy Scout organization in this country has been fully told in this REVIEW, as well as in other magazines, and it is so recent a matter that our readers hardly need to be reminded of its outlines. In the *Educational Review* for December, Dr. Henry S. Curtis, who has long been associated with the playground movement, and with other developments of outdoor life in America, describes some of the activities of the Scouts from the point of view of a student and director of outdoor sports.

Dr. Curtis is an enthusiastic believer in the principles of the Scout movement. He is naturally attracted by scouting, because it is an outdoor life, suggesting the woods, the mountains and streams. To do scouting efficiently much walking is required, but besides this necessary walking, the boys take long "hikes," and since this is almost the only way by which one can come to know a country intimately, it is the easiest way to acquire a love of nature, to know a district and its people. Another thing that is almost inherent in the idea of scouting is making camp. The Boy Scouts are taught to build their own camps, and to cook their own meals. Dr. Curtis mentions a Scout competition in which each boy was furnished with a stick of wood, a hatchet, a pail of water, and two matches. With these the boy was required to build his fire and support his pail, and the boy who could soonest bring the water to a boil won the contest.

Dr. Curtis admits that the Scout movement encounters a real difficulty in the cities. It is true that many scouting activities, such as carrying messages, can be carried on in cities, but the real work of Scouts presupposes woods, fields, and streams. The cities are beginning to establish Scout camps in the country, to which the boys are sent for

longer or shorter periods during the summer. There are also week-end camps near many cities, where the boys go on Friday night and stay until Sunday night or Monday morning. In the smaller cities there are opportunities for walks on Saturday afternoons. The best place for the organization of Scouts, however, and the place where it is most needed, is in the country village. There the country is easily accessible; there is opportunity to go out for week-end camps, and to take long walks and excursions. It seems that all the arts of scouting can be practised most easily from a village headquarters.

As to the fundamental virtues developed by scouting, Dr. Curtis places special emphasis on courage, truthfulness, friendship, kindness, democracy, and thrift. Courage, of course, was essential in the old-time scout, who was nearly every day in peril of his life. So, too, in pioneer life on the frontier, the conditions of the wilderness developed courage in both boys and girls. "Heroic courage," says Dr. Curtis, "is a racial quality that only needs opportunity and encouragement to develop." The courage of policemen and firemen in our cities is an instance in point. Since modern life offers few opportunities for the training of courage, we should the more gladly welcome the Scout movement which is giving this training.

The Scout law declares: "A Scout's word is to be trusted. If he were to violate his honor by telling a lie or by cheating, or by not doing exactly a given task when trusted on his honor, he may be directed to hand over his Scout badge." "It is one thing," says Dr. Curtis, "to tell a boy that he must not lie because it is wicked, and it is a very different thing to show him that it is not honorable or courageous to do it, and to show him that he belongs to an order



CAMPING—ONE OF THE LEADING ACTIVITIES OF SCOUT LIFE

where it is not permitted." Dr. Curtis looks upon the average boy as at about the same stage of development as the knights of the age of chivalry, and he believes that an appeal to them, like that made to the knights, will meet with equal success.

As to the democracy of the movement.

Dr. Curtis says: "There is no more rich and poor in a Scout patrol than there is in a baseball game. The leader of the patrol may be the butcher's boy, and the mayor's son one of the members. You have to 'deliver the goods' to get preferment." Distinction comes only from achievement.

ITALY'S TERRITORIAL PROSPECTS

HOWEVER great may be the determination of both the opposing groups in the present gigantic conflict to carry on the war to a successful and decisive end, the chances for a reasonable peace at no far-distant date seem to be nevertheless growing day by day, to judge by the public interest, and even insistence, upon a clearer definition of the aims of the war and of the equitable terms of a possible peace.

Italy's position in this respect has from the outset differed considerably from that of the other belligerents, in that her object, the recovery, or redemption as Italians call it, of the border territory under Austrian sway, mainly inhabited by those of Italian speech, has been openly and frankly proclaimed, without the expression of any intent to antagonize the military or political organization of either Austria or Turkey, and still less of Germany, with which country Italy is not officially at war.

In *Rivista Nazionale* (Rome), Senator

Alessandro Chiappelli gives a very convincing refutation of the charge unjustly brought against his country, that it was only waiting to see which side was most likely to gain the victory, and then "hasten to the relief of the victors," and he also presents some interesting views as to the prospects and conditions of peace. After noting that the intervention of Italy coincided with the first stages of the victorious campaign of the Central Powers against Russia, when the tide seemed to have turned against the Allies, he proceeds as follows:

But far graver for us and for our future was the other danger (not yet quite eliminated) that might arise from our remaining satisfied with the longed-for recovery of our unredeemed territory, and with carrying on a frontier campaign only. This was at first, of course, the most necessary step, but not the only one for us to take for the fulfilment of our national destiny. The danger for us of a too narrow conception and action is none the less very real and serious.



Photograph by Modern News Service

WAR ENTHUSIASM IN ITALY

(People of Rome in demonstration in front of the Mayor's house at the Place de Capital)

The sphere of action of a great nation like Italy should not be confined to the difficult and glorious task of winning the territory on the Adriatic. The war that is being fought out today on the European continent will find its realization in Africa and in Asia, as well as in the eastern Mediterranean, for the conquest of the trade routes and the markets of the world. Neither would domination over the Adriatic alone resolve this difficult problem for us, because it would open up for us but few trade routes, even should we conquer the whole Dalmatian coast.

If the war for the liberation of the Trentino, of Triest and its surroundings, and of the adjacent lands should be our only task, it might well happen, and has already in part happened, that our allies would in the meanwhile plant their flags on new and extensive colonial territory, and would open up for their own exclusive advantage new commercial outlets, so that when peace has been signed we would indeed find ourselves masters of the redeemed districts and in control of the Adriatic, but as though imprisoned in a land-locked lake, better off, indeed, as to frontiers, but in the midst of victorious nations grown stronger through the war. And already, as I have said, this has to some extent been realized.

The German domains in Africa and Asia have almost all fallen under the sway of England, France, or Japan, thus augmenting their already rich colonial possessions. It is small consolation that in the case of England and France we have to do with democratic and liberal peoples. For, although incontrovertible reasons make the civilized world willing to accept

English maritime supremacy, while it would exclude German supremacy, it is just as true that the slave is no less a slave, if his master is humane, instead of brutal and violent.

The writer admits that some of his fellow-countrymen may be convinced that Italy has ranged herself on the side of the Triple Entente against absolutism and feudalism, and in defense of liberty and democracy, but he finds that all who are familiar with history and sociology will not easily be led to believe that liberalism and democracy can ever find favor with Slavic absolutism, and that Russia can suddenly become the champion of national autonomy for the smaller peoples, after having abolished it in Poland and Finland.

The only hope for a discontinuance of the crushing armaments of the nations, in this writer's view, does not depend upon the victory of one or the other group of belligerents, but upon the use that will be made of the victory. If, as seems most to be desired, neither should prevail so decisively as to be able to impose oppressive conditions upon the other, the future peace will not probably realize the aims of either of the groups, but will be one enforced by the logic of events.



Photographs by Modern Photo Service

GROUP OF RUTHENIAN PEASANTS FROM THE VICINITY OF LEMBERG

WHO ARE THE RUTHENIANS?

THE Austrian province Galicia, which has been the chief scene of the bloody contest between Austria and Russia, and which shares with Russian Poland, Belgium, and Serbia the sad primacy in desolation and suffering, would require, from whomsoever may be destined to determine its destinies, the solution of an exceedingly troublesome ethnic problem. For Austrian Poland is only in part inhabited by Poles, over two-fifths of the population belonging to the Ruthenian branch of the Slavonic race, corresponding to the "Little Russians," of whom there are about 35,000,000 in the Russian empire.

By historic traditions and by social conditions, they differ notably from the Poles, and also in religious belief, the latter being generally Roman Catholics, while the Ruthenians belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, but not to the Eastern Catholic Church of Russia, which recognizes the Czar as its spiritual head. This vexed question is treated by Signor Giorgio d'Acandia in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). Of the dissensions which have long prevailed between these two nationalities, he says:

In Galicia the Ruthenians have often had re-

course to violent measures in their struggle for liberty, to harsh language, unjustly making the Polish régime accountable for a social status still general in Europe, and from which many of the Poles themselves suffer, thus opening an ever-widening breach between those whom common sufferings in the past and common hopes of future liberty should have brought together.

The Poles, on the other hand, though fully in the right in so far as they claim due respect for their Polish individuality in Eastern Galicia, and for their national interests, have none the less shown themselves deaf to the requirements of the future, clinging blindly to memories of a historic past, against which the newly awakened spirit of the Ruthenians voices an energetic protest. Galicia, historically one, must be divided politically according to the distribution of its ethnic elements. This is inevitable, and the Poland to which its great national poet has assigned the mission of being the cradle of the new Slavonic spirit, must make this voluntary sacrifice upon the altar raised to the alliance, the fraternity, and the civilization of the Slavonic peoples. As Herzen wrote in his "Kolokol" (The Bell): "The Ruthenian lands belong to the nation inhabiting and cultivating them; neither Russians nor Poles have the right to appropriate regions peopled by Ruthenians."

The fact that while the great mass of the Ruthenians are agriculturists, the number of seats in the Diet assigned to the rural districts is disproportionately small in regard to the population of those districts, and favors the election

of an undue and crushing majority of Polish members. The result of this is that Ruthenian institutions and societies receive only a beggarly sum in comparison with the awards freely voted for Polish institutions. As examples of this, while the Polish academies obtain subsidies of 57,000 crowns, the Ruthenian are only subsidized 10,000 crowns, the Polish theaters receive 113,000 crowns against 14,500 awarded Ruthenian theaters, and even in the case of agricultural societies, where it might be expected the Ruthenians would fare better, these are put off with 6,000 crowns while the Poles get 33,000 crowns.

These relatively favorable conditions for the Polish inhabitants of Galicia explain their lack of sympathy with Russia and their Austrian leanings. For Russian domination, or Russian control, would rob them of their supremacy, and hence the Poles do not share in the wish for Russian success that animates the hearts of the other Slavonic peoples of the Austrian empire.

The writer concludes with an eloquent statement of the part that heretofore oppressed and backward peoples may be called upon to play in future times:

In the past century Europe has witnessed the awakening among the Slavs of more than one of those peoples, sons of the soil, which, lacking a middle class, enslaved for centuries by

despotism, have acquired at last an individual physiognomy, an individual consciousness, merely through the abolition of the form of government which oppressed them, and which their social inferiority rendered them often unable to cast off unaided. The assertion that peoples which have produced little or nothing in the field of thought, of art, or of politics, are predestined to perpetual infancy and subjection, is an assertion without either ethical or political value. For if certain peoples, by an unhappy fate, have been confined within the narrow limits of a single social class, and forced to become merely **a voiceless mass of sorrow and labor, it is none the less true that the spiritual energies they have evidenced, although taking the form imposed by their rulers, have had their roots and sustenance in their own souls, giving the lie to the charge of "congenital sterility," which would if admitted, destroy all faith in the slow but progressive evolution of all the races of mankind.**

And it is perhaps in the hands of these despised peoples, which have had to await the downfall of modern feudalism to uplift their faces to the sun, in the hands of these peoples lacking as yet linguistic, intellectual, or political unity, that are held the keys of the world to come. For they bring to the world a primitive consciousness, one free from all class prejudice, and free from the insincerity of that vain and inert intellectuality which has for so long sapped the strength of Europe.

THE RUSSIAN PRESS ON THE PROROGATION OF THE DUMA

THE recent prorogation of the Russian Duma came as a surprise to those who were watching closely the trend of affairs in Russia. It is true that suspicions of a possibility of prorogation were hanging in the air for some time before the sessions of the Duma were brought to a close by the Imperial order, and that there was a strong current of opposition to the Duma in the political life of Russia, which found its best expression in the "Black Bloc" of the Council of the Empire. But those indications were not generally taken seriously. There seemed to be a certainty of a decided change in the government's policy, and any interruption of the work of the legislative bodies would have been out of keeping with this change. It is only natural, therefore, that the prorogation should have caused comments in the Russian press, the general tenor of which expresses keen disappointment.

The Moscow *Russkiya Vedomosti*, a serious and influential organ, says editorially that the prorogation of the Duma brought the country back to the conditions which obtained before the war.

We shall not take up the question of the length of the period for which the Duma has been prorogued. There is scarcely any need in proving that at the present time a month may mean more than a year. But there is a much more important aspect of this matter. It is the **significance of the event itself.**

The sessions of the Duma have been interrupted against the clearly expressed opinions of its majority, in the face of a large and important program that it had set before itself. More than that, the sessions have been interrupted at the precise moment when public opinion had made its voice heard in favor of continuing uninterrupted the work of the Duma, when in the Duma itself the different parties had come to a mutual understanding, whereby all party differences might be obliterated, and unity within the country might be effected.

The government, represented by Mr. Goremykin and his colleagues in the Cabinet, considers the assistance of the Duma unnecessary at the present moment and takes upon itself the task of organizing the victory in the world struggle, upon the outcome of which depends the **fate of Russia. At the same time it assumes the responsibility for all possible consequences of such a decision.**

The same note of stern warning to the government, which declares itself once more **strong enough to rule the country and to**



THE DUMA IN SESSION

lead it to victory, is sounded by the Kiev newspaper, *Kievlianin*:

And so, those who have remained indifferent, who saw nothing and heard nothing, have pushed aside those who have been so responsive to the needs of the army, whose hearts bled for it. . . .

Nothing can be added to this. The government has assumed a terrible responsibility. God grant that it may never regret this step.

The Moscow *Russkoye Slovo*, while realizing the seriousness of the event, appeals to the country to remember its highest aims at the present moment:

The prorogation of the Duma cannot but produce a most painful impression. Let us hope, however, that our public organizations, as well as the whole people, will find in themselves sufficient firmness and self-control to receive this intelligence without losing their self-possession, that they will not forget the chief aim which stands before Russia at the present moment: to offer the greatest possible resistance on the battle-front.

The liberal *Retch* (Petrograd) points out the fact that, from the point of view of the government itself, the prorogation of the Duma is a badly calculated step. The suddenness with which the session of the Duma were interrupted deprived the country of its only possibility of becoming united for the common aim.

What is the reason for this suddenness? What immediate danger could have compelled the government to adopt a measure which had been under consideration for several weeks and which was not considered imperative by the ministers themselves?

An answer to this question may be found in the opinions of the "Right" (reactionary) press and the declarations of the "Right" members of the Duma. They are unanimous in stating the circumstances which brought about the sudden prorogation. It was the formation of a progressive bloc, and the program adopted by it, that were found to be dangerous by "somebody." The appearance in the Duma of a considerable majority, united on demanding a very modest minimum of measures, which could have brought peace to the country, gave promise, it seemed, of productive and fruitful work. But it was this very thing that was pronounced to be a menace to the unification of the land, a menace capable of producing serious disturbances.

The reactionary organs, to which the *Retch* refers, are elated over the prorogation. They do not attempt to conceal their satisfaction at the fulfilment of their long standing desire. The Moscow *Moskovskiya Pravdomost*, one of the organs representing the reactionary movement in Russia, throws the blame for the prorogation upon the members of the Duma themselves, who have attempted the "dangerous" game of playing with the fire of liberalism. Prorogation is regarded as the logical outcome of the position taken by the majority.

WHY FATS AND OILS ARE CONTRA-BAND OF WAR

DISPATCHES appearing in the newspapers on December 10 stated that the Federal Council of Germany had authorized municipalities to issue butter and fat cards similar to the bread cards which have been in use for some time. The ordinance goes into effect on January 1, and is intended to make it possible to reserve the cheaper fats for the use of the poor. To this end large producers may be required to sell part of their output, up to 15 per cent. of the total, to municipalities where a shortage exists. Another cable appearing on the same date reported an apparently well-founded belief that Germany could not possibly continue the war for more than another twelvemonth unless she received increased supplies of oleaginous substances.

These items of news lend peculiar appositeness to an article by Francis Marre in *Le Correspondant* (Paris) of November 15 on "Fats and Oils and the War." Mr. Marre gives generous meed of praise to the magnificent efforts of German chemists to find substitutes for necessary articles cut off by the enemies' blockade of German ports.

A study of the lists of patents taken out in Germany and neutral countries reveals various triumphs of Teutonic science, but it is deeply significant that these lists report no form of synthesis of fatty bodies. Obviously, then, the Dual Powers are reduced to such supplies of these substances as their own territories can produce, plus what they can surreptitiously obtain. Mr. Marre remarks with good-humored sarcasm on the circumstance that the neutral lands in communication with Germany have suddenly developed an enormous appetite for fats and oils, demanding three times as much as in times of peace. He then proceeds to show why it is vitally important to the Allies to establish a strict embargo on the sending of such substances into Germany.

In the first place they are essential elements of human food, the minimum daily requisite being 50 grammes for an adult. Secondly, they are indispensable to the manufacture of soap and of cloth. Lastly, they are necessary for making nitroglycerine, which is the active principle of dynamite, and which constitutes 50 per cent. of the smokeless powder made by the German formula.

vegetable kingdom are most usually oils, i. e., substances rich in olein, and liquid at ordinary temperatures. These oils are chiefly contained in the seeds of plants, hemp, colza, flax, walnut, pine, castor-plant, etc.; sometimes in the fleshy part of certain fruits, as the olive and bayberry. Some vegetable oils, however, are of a consistence similar to that of butter or animal fat,—notably the cocoanut and cocoa-bean chocolate, the palm, nutmeg, etc. The fatty bodies derived from the animal kingdom are ordinarily more solid, and are called fats or tallow.

It is rather surprising to the layman to learn that, while the alimentary needs of a populace can be satisfied by 50 grammes per day per person, the industrial demands are twice as great for the making of soap, candles, cloth, etc. As for the former, we may return to the practices of our ancestors and use sodium carbonate or the lye of wood ashes. Candles may be largely dispensed with, especially since the discovery of cheap methods of producing acetylene gas. The lubricants may be obtained from crude petroleum or from natural or synthetic graphite. These may be used in factories, for automobiles, and for cars and locomotives. But the delicate motors used by airmen require castor oil.

During the first months of the war the lack of this (castor-oil) was sorely felt by our enemies. Before Italy entered the war they obtained an oil comparable to it in every way from the seeds of imported figs. At the present moment they have sown sunflowers far and wide, from whose seeds they obtain an oil which contents their aviators though not perfectly satisfactory. But for the manufacture of cloth, olein, which is extracted from vegetable oils, is difficult to replace by anything except the soluble soaps. It is used to soften and "feed" the fibers of the wool when being carded, and the cloth itself during the process of fulling. The Germans have, however, realized appreciable economies by utilizing the soluble soaps so far as possible and partially replacing the olein by the oleic acid which is extracted from it and permits the liberation of the glycerine contained in combination with it in the olein of oils.

The final section of the article deals with the question of the relation of fatty bodies to explosives. Since glycerine is obtained only from grape pomace, outside of fats and oils, and Germany has but limited territory suitable for the cultivation of the vine, it is obvious that she must depend on the latter for the base of her nitroglycerine.

The fatty bodies which are derived from the

Rigorously rectified and brought to a state of

almost chemical purity, glycerine is then subjected to nitrification, whereby after being washed and filtered it is transformed into a new product, nitroglycerine, the most energetic of all known explosives. This, mixed with inert powders, gives the ordinary dynamites; mixed with active powders it gives the nitrated, chlorated, or pyroxylated dynamites, and the explosive gelatines.

During the first months of the war Germany is said to have received formidable consignments of lard, tallow, copra, and fish oil from Holland, Sweden, and Greece. When the blockade became closer, the slaughter of two-thirds of the herds of swine sup-

plied this need. But recently Russia prohibited completely the export of fish oil bought in Sweden and probably meant for re-export to Germany. Mr. Marre says, in closing:

The allied powers have the imperative duty of remembering that our enemies can produce on their own territory scarcely half of the fats necessary to them for the preparation of their explosives of war. In the name of what culpable indifference do they tolerate it that neutrals continue to revictual the enemy who must be overthrown, and that they may supply them with the very substances the deprivation of which would hasten their defeat and ruin?

ENGLAND'S NEGLECT OF SCIENCE, AND THE PENALTY

"IT has required," says a bitter editorial in England's unrivaled scientific weekly, *Nature*, "nothing short of the most terrible war of all time to awaken the nation to its slackness in many things."

But even now, it appears, England does not fully understand to what extent her misadventures in the present war have been due to her inferiority in scientific matters.

Indeed, the nation has as yet not begun either to realize how dearly it is paying for its neglect of science, or to reconstruct on a scientific basis its politics, its statesmanship, its commerce, its education, its civil and industrial administration. Distrust of the expert, of the man who has made it his business to know, is still the fashionable, if not the prevalent, attitude toward men of science.

In fact, like another country nearer home, Britain as a whole hardly knows science when she sees it.

Occasionally the daily papers deign to insert a paragraph of what they think to be scientific news. If the public prefers its sensational tit-bit of science-gossip, culled from the pamphlet of some pseudo-scientific charlatan and served up hot by an anonymous paragraphist, to more sober and informing articles written by men whose authority is indisputable, the public has itself to thank. Editors and sub-editors do not know enough science to suppress the twaddle; and, consequently, blunders which would be thought amazing if perpetrated in a like fashion in the domains of literature or art or history are put into gratuitous and harmful circulation.

This has often been said before, on both sides of the Atlantic, but it acquires a new and tremendous meaning in the light of current events. Neither sham science nor dilettante science can help the nation through a

crisis that calls for the most intelligent and economical use of all its resources.

It is unfortunately only too well known to scientific men that for more than a generation past the trend of public opinion, at least as represented by politicians, statesmen, department officials, municipal authorities, and including even the heads of many great industrial and commercial undertakings, has been to ignore the position of science in the fabric of civilization, and to treat the development of science as though it were a matter of little moment to the national welfare.

Consider the position of science in politics and public affairs.

Apart from the handful of university members, which includes Sir Joseph Larmor and Sir Philip Magnus as the sole representatives of the most neglected branch of human activities, there is not one scientific man in the roll of the House of Commons. In the House of Lords science is, indeed, represented by two hereditary peers, Lord Rayleigh and Lord Berkeley; but there have been no scientific men called to the peerage since the deaths of Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, and Lord Avebury. The esteem in which science is held may be measured by the suggestion in Lord Dunraven's scheme for the reform of the House of Lords, that in the future it should consist of 400 members, whereof *two* should represent art, literature, and science! When this amazing proposition was put forward not one voice cried out in protest against such an insult to science; it was a much more important question whether the bishops shall continue to be peers.

It is, of course, notorious that higher education in England, while producing superb types of culture and character, not only relegates science (particularly of the practical kind) to a subordinate position, but more or less consciously feels it to be a jarring note, so far as it has established itself in the curricula.

Not one of the headmasters of the great public schools is a man of science, and very few of the heads of houses in the old universities, though the recent selection of a zoologist and a botanist to such posts of dignity at Cambridge may be a timely concession. If the headmasters and heads of houses are by training and tradition out of sympathy with science, is it astonishing that under-masters and schoolboys, as well as undergraduates, grow up ignorant of scientific method and despise that of which they are ignorant? Worst of all, in those departments of our schools where science is admitted, it is treated as an inferior study. No doubt our public school system turns out many admirable cricketers and a few scholars; but of the living men who have made their mark in science, how few can thank the public schools for that achievement! At every general election the public,—to judge from the press,—is keenly anxious to know how many of the members of the House were reared at Harrow, and how many at Eton. But no one cares how many Fellows of the Royal Society, or members of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or Fellows of the Institute of Chemistry are from Harrow or Eton.

The unsatisfied exigencies of the great war have not only thrown into strong relief the inadequate preparation of the nation for the

application of science to military affairs, but have also revealed the fact that England's industrial and commercial life is actually disorganized to a certain extent by the neglect of science.

Nearly half a century ago Disraeli warned us that the commercial prosperity of a nation might be measured by the prosperity of its chemical manufactures. He was laughed at as though his dictum had been a joke. But it ceases to be a matter for joking when the neglect of science leads to the disappearance of whole branches of those trades that are concerned with the technical applications of chemistry or physics to metallurgy. The loss of the dye-stuff industry; the decay of several branches of the glass industry; the ever-increasing pressure in the metal industries, in the varnish industry, in the watch and clock industry, in innumerable branches of the engineering industries, are serious indications. They are symptoms that something has been rotten in the administration of the state.

If the public, the nation, and its appointed rulers display such blindness, is it wonderful that national interests, civil as well as military, industrial as well as agricultural, suffer grievously when forced to compete with nations sedulously trained in the cultivation of science?

THE MOVEMENT FOR INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT

AN interesting and valuable feature of modern industrial life is the attention given by many employers, large and small, to the safety, comfort, and health of working people. The editor of *Machinery* declares that the subject of industrial betterment has become so important during the past decade that no large manufacturer or other employer can afford to neglect it.

In a recent issue of that periodical there was published an article on safety and welfare work which assumed the proportions of a small book. It was written by Mr. Forrest E. Cardullo, and dealt with safety, sanitation, housing, coöperative organizations, profit-sharing systems, pensions, workmen's compensation, and many other ramifications of the subject.

While the general movement for industrial safety is national and unified, Mr. Cardullo finds the rest of welfare work still sporadic in its nature.

We see here an effort to make workrooms and factories more pleasant for employees, and there an attempt to provide better facilities for the midday lunch. One employer will lay stress on lockers and lavatory facilities, sanitary toilets,

and such matters. Another employer is equally outspoken in advocating a mutual aid association, and in supporting it liberally, so that the sick and injured may not suffer. Still other employers concentrate their attention upon the housing problem. Some others are earnest advocates of profit-sharing. No two firms seem to entertain the same ideas in regard to the needs of their working force.

Welfare work Mr. Cardullo divides roughly into two forms: (1) Making the factory or workroom sanitary and pleasant, with safeguards for life, limb, and health; and (2) improving the community life, through leadership and cooperation in providing better homes, facilities for industrial education, and schemes for encouraging thrift.

More than half of the waking hours of a working man or woman are spent in the workroom. Mr. Cardullo cites an instance to prove the benefit, to the manufacturer himself, which results merely from the introduction of proper air-space and light. A prominent textile mill has one shop built twenty years ago and another constructed recently (both having similar machinery). The output of the modern shop is 20 per

cent. greater than that of the older one. The benefit to the employees cannot well be expressed in figures.

The most fascinating kind of welfare work is that having to do with the prevention of accidents. Workmen's compensation laws have transferred the burden of industrial accidents from the victim to the industry, and thus given stimulus to the "safety-first" movement. A thorough and systematic investigation has been made of the causes of accidents, followed by an equally thorough and systematic effort to eliminate the causes. Coöperation was given to employers' organizations by

Government bureaus and commissions, and the results made increasingly effective by interchange of ideas through such media as the American Museum of Safety. Almost as important as the introduction of protective appliances has been the work of educating the workers themselves to be careful and to avoid taking unnecessary risks.



SAFEGUARDED GEAR WHEELS

(Such simple devices as this entirely eliminate the possibility of injury to the operator. Note how close the operator's hair otherwise would be to the revolving wheel)

Regarding the future of welfare work, Mr. Cardullo believes that, while changing conditions will alter details, the fundamental principles will remain. At the basis is the idea that the employer should utilize the powers which he possesses,—capital, initiative, judgment, and executive ability,—to promote the welfare of his employees.

THE CHILD'S BODY AND THE ADULT'S BODY

ONLY a few generations ago our worthy ancestors regarded the child as merely the man or woman in miniature, an idea typified by the fact that children were dressed in replica of their parents' costumes. Nowadays we realize that there are important differences between the child's organism and that of either parent, but it is quite recently that the nature and extent of these differences have been made the object of extensive research. The subject is one of great importance, since it is obvious that it is vitally related to such questions as the quality and quantity of food and the proportions of its constituents; to physical training; to the degree and kind of labor permitted, etc. Some of the newest data upon the subject are presented by a writer in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Umschau* (Cöthen). We read:

of breathing differs from the adult's because of the barrel-like shape of the chest; because of this the child breathes more with the abdomen than with the breast. The heart-action differs also. It has another rhythm, as can be immediately noted by the difference in the pulse-beat per minute.

It is very obvious, of course, that the child's metabolism, that is, the assimilation of material from the supplies furnished by the blood, must be strikingly different, since the adult needs to assimilate only to repair waste, and the adolescent organism must not only repair waste, but continuously grow. It is not so generally known, however, that the chemical composition of the elements involved is different, and the younger the child the more does it differ in this respect from the adult. For example 74.7 per cent. of the newborn infant's body consists of water, and only 50.5 per cent of the adult's

It is commonly known that the child's mode

And these differences of chemical composition are quite as striking if we consider the skeleton. The separate bones are much softer and weaker in the child and are far richer in blood-vessels; likewise they show a comparative lack of mineral substances. This is why the child's body is more flexible and supple. It explains why certain training, as in dancing and acrobatics, can best be begun with young children, and also why certain forms of physical labor in factories and elsewhere should be forbidden by law:

The proportion of organic substances (cartilage and fatty matter) to inorganic or solid substances in the bone, for instance, is shown by the following table, taking the shin-bone as an example:

	Organic Substance.	Inorganic Substance.
2 months' old child	34.68 per cent.	65.32 per cent.
3 years' old child	32.29 per cent.	67.71 per cent.
Adult of 25 years	31.36 per cent.	68.42 per cent.

Very striking too is the difference in the proportional relationship of various parts of the body to the total weight.

	New Born Child.	Adult.
Skeleton	16.7 per cent.	15.35 per cent.
Muscles	23.4 per cent.	43.09 per cent.
Skin	11.3 per cent.	6.30 per cent.
Brain	14.34 per cent.	2.37 per cent.
Spine	0.20 per cent.	0.067 per cent.
	etc., etc., etc.	

Some of the differences given in this table appear to be insignificant; this is because they are expressed in percentages of the total weight of the body. They would look far more important if given in percentages of their own weight. For instance, the size of the heart is increased 12 to 13-fold in the course of the child's development, of the liver eleven-fold, of the lungs about 20-fold, of the brain about four-fold, etc.

As an example of the changes in the proportions of the constituents which compose the body the author takes the case of the cartilage. In the babe of six months the content of mineral salts is 2.24, in the three-year-old child 3 per cent., and at nineteen years 7.29 per cent. Similar differences may be noted in muscles, blood, bone-marrow, etc. A notable fact, too, is that the child's blood is much richer in white blood-corpuscles. The facts cited prove conclusively that childhood and adolescence are composed of preparatory and provisory states.

The provisory character of the corporeal forms of the child's body is probably best shown by the manifold alterations undergone by the bones of the head up to twenty years, when sex maturity is attained. Skull formation differs in

the child not only as regards the comparative size of the head with reference to the length of the body, but also as regards the ratio between height and breadth of the skull. In the new-born babe the skull is enormously big, about one-fourth of the entire length of the body. At two years it is only one-fifth, at six years one-sixth, at fifteen years one-seventh, and in the fully mature person twenty-five years, only one-eighth.

Furthermore, the skull is at least as broad as long in new-born babes, often broader, while in adults the breadth is only three-quarters the height. Hence the adult's face looks narrower. The size and shape of the single bones of the skull are often very different at different ages in the child. Consequently the relative position of the parts of the face constantly alters. Thus, at birth the nostril-holes are only a short distance below the lowest part of the eye's orbit. Gradually this distance widens . . . in correspondence with the continuous alteration in the relative position of the separate parts of the head; not only does the form of the face alter constantly, but also the mode of functioning in the chief sense organs of the head, i. e., the eye and the ear.

At first the new-born child sees practically nothing, and when able after a while to see it does so imperfectly. Similar conditions hold true with the ear. . . . In the little child the Eustachian tube is almost horizontal, while in the adult it bends sharply downward. It is shorter, too, in the child. This is why inflammations of the nose and oral cavity affect the middle ear much more readily than in the adult.

Very remarkable is the difference of size in the development of the thymus gland, which lies in the vicinity of the lower throat in the new-born babe, and is then almost as big as the left lobe of the lungs. It continues to grow until the third year, and remains practically unaltered until puberty, and then disappears by degrees in a very short time. It appears, therefore, to exercise definite functions for a specifically youthful metabolism.

It is of especially great practical significance that in childhood the heart is relatively small as compared to the length of the body, while the arterial system, on the other hand, is very extensive; but in attaining puberty this relationship is gradually reversed. This is why the blood-pressure in the child is so different from that of the grown person; i. e., it is essentially lower in general. It is, however, higher in the lungs because the lung artery in the child has a greater diameter than the carotid artery.

The natural consequence of this fact is that the child liberates more carbon dioxide, and breathes more rapidly. To these conditions are due the greater liveliness of the child, and knowing this we can understand the full enormity of that system of school discipline which demands rigid inactivity of small children for long periods. The child's abdominal organs also differ essentially in position, form, etc., from the adult's.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY FROM THE MANUFACTURER'S STANDPOINT

CAN manufacturers who are now working a ten-hour day change to an eight-hour basis and still produce goods in the same quantity and at the same cost? Many evidently think that they cannot do this, but Mr. C. J. Morrison, who has acted as consulting engineer for many large industrial concerns and is the author of several books on problems of his profession, has become convinced that not only can manufacturers cut their working day to an eight-hour basis, without diminution of output, but that even more goods can be produced than before and at lower costs.

In the December number of the *Engineering Magazine* (New York), Mr. Morrison cites several interesting experiments recently conducted in American manufacturing plants which seem to bear out his contention. He maintains that those manufacturers who see in the eight-hour plan only an increase of costs quite overlook the fact that the work accomplished and not time spent in the shop is the determining factor. In one instance where a plant was operated on a ten-hour basis, it was conclusively shown that the employees were not working over eight hours, that they started late, quit early, and were idle for considerable periods during the day. The proprietor was urged to put the plant on an eight-hour basis, but he replied, "We prefer to operate ten hours and let the men take it easy." Mr. Morrison holds that this is just what the men themselves do not want. They would prefer an eight-hour day and are willing to work energetically during the eight hours. Furthermore, if Mr. Morrison's observation is to be depended on, most of the so-called loafing in factories is occasioned by factory conditions and not by laziness on the part of the employees. He has not found many men who are shirkers.

The unions themselves have made rules for their members, requiring full time of a full work. The rules made by one of the strongest unions in the country, all of whose members work on an eight-hour basis, require the men to give eight hours of actual work, stipulate that the men must be in their working clothes at their assigned places for work before time for starting, and must not leave their places, clean up, or remove their working clothes until after time for quitting. Each shop has a representative of the union

who sees to it that the rules are obeyed.

It would be quite possible, as Mr. Morrison concedes, for a plant to change from ten hours to eight and, by operating under rule-of-thumb methods, increase its costs. On the other hand, if the work is properly planned and dispatched, so that the worker always has a job, the necessary delays and costs can actually be reduced. Three large concerns cited by Mr. Morrison have lately made this change from ten hours to eight hours, and their experience is worth noting. They operate in entirely different lines and employ diversified labor groups. All the well-known trades are represented among the employees.

One of these concerns was a large printing plant doing practically every line of printing. Competition was keen and the managers realized that the change to an eight-hour day could not be made unless costs could be kept from increasing. They therefore studied the situation carefully for many months, and took measures to stop leaks and wastes, giving particular attention to problems of power, light, heat, humidity, and handling of materials. New methods of planning and dispatching the work were installed, and when all these changes had been introduced, the eight-hour day was inaugurated. The result from the first was a material reduction of costs and increase of profits. The higher dividends paid on the stock have led to a marked increase in its value. Many printing plants that have been forced to an eight-hour basis have lost money, and some have gone into bankruptcy. The success of the one cited by Mr. Morrison seems clearly due to the efficient organization of the plant.

The second concern mentioned by Mr. Morrison had Government contracts and when the law was passed restricting work on such contracts to eight hours a day, this plant was operating on a ten-hour basis, and all the contracts had been taken on estimates made up on that basis. The same careful preparation was made as in the case of the printing plant that we have just outlined, and the consequences were very satisfactory to the management. Every contract came out under the estimates, and during the past "lean years" the factory has been operating at full capacity because of its ability to underbid competitors.

Manufacturers of a household article that

is extensively advertised throughout the United States and to some extent abroad, had been working two shifts of eleven and thirteen hours, respectively, because their product requires a continuous operation of the plant. Although all their competitors were operating under the same conditions, they decided to run three shifts of eight hours each. Plans were made for a continuous production at a uniform rate, regardless of the seasonable fluctuations and sales. The production would exceed the sales in most seasons, while falling short in other seasons. The advantage was to lie in steady employment and running at the same rate throughout the year. In this case, also, the costs

came out below the former figures, and the consumer has received more for his money during the past year than ever before.

Mr. Morrison further shows that in many cases it is far more profitable to run the plant in two or three shifts and thus have it productive during sixteen or twenty-four hours every day, instead of standing idle seven-twelfths or two-thirds of the possible working time. In most industries competition is steadily becoming more severe. This means that costs must be reduced and labor kept satisfied. In Mr. Morrison's view the logical solution of the problem lies in modern methods of management, combined with continuous operation of plants.

GENERAL GOETHALS ON THE PANAMA SLIDES

AT this writing the Panama Canal is closed, for an indefinite time to come, by huge landslides at Culebra, and the situation is so disconcerting, from both a military and a commercial point of view, that the Government has sent an imposing commission of scientific experts, nominated by the National Academy of Sciences, to make investigations on the Isthmus and prepare a report for submission to the President.

Two recent reports on the slides have been made by General Goethals to the Secretary of War. One, bearing date October 26, is published in the *Engineering News* (New York) of November 25; the other, dated November 15, appears in the *New York Sun* of December 5. The latter is the more comprehensive. In both the writer gives the history of the present and earlier slides, and such a forecast of the future as is possible in the light of present knowledge.

The most serious earth movements have been the Cucaracha slide of 1913, the Culebra slides of 1910, and the greater Culebra slides of 1914 and 1915. The Cucaracha slide was thoroughly cleaned up by October, 1914, and the result, under a year's test of permanent water conditions, appears to be stable.

The processes by which these slips occur are thus classified by General Goethals in the longer of his two reports:

Depending upon the causes, the slides which were encountered while excavating for the locks and the canal prism were of three distinct classes.

First, those caused by the material assuming its natural slope, in cases where the banks were left steeper than the angle of repose for the particular material through which the excavation was carried.

Second, those due to the fact that material more or less permeable reposed on relatively harder strata, which inclined toward the cutting. When the excavation reached a level near or below the intersection of the harder plane with the slides of the prism the superimposed mass moved into the excavated area.

Third, those which resulted from the breaking of weak strata underlying the banks, rupture being produced by the concentration of the weights of the banks due to the removal of the material from the prism.

The first two classes were designated "slides." With the third class the cause was the breaking up structurally of the natural material, and they were called "breaks" in contradistinction to the slides, although after the break occurred the movement of the mass above the fractured strata into the excavated area produced the same general effect as a slide of the other classes.

The third class, or breaks, were the most serious and difficult slides encountered, and our present difficulties are due to breaks, two in number, on opposite sides of the canal in the vicinity of Culebra, north of Gold Hill. While breaks occurred at various places along the line of the canal, those in Gaillard Cut, or the excavation through the continental divide, were the most serious, because of the heterogeneous masses of material which composed it and the depth of the cutting, which affected the territory adjacent to the cut for a considerable distance, and therefore brought down large quantities of material.

The history of the struggle with these slides and breaks shows how science and ingenuity, as well as patient labor, have been matched against the blind forces of Nature.



THE "BIG SLIDE". CULEBRA CUT, PANAMA CANAL, ON NOVEMBER 24, LAST

Skilled geologists spent months in examining one portion or another of the canal banks, and made well-considered predictions regarding their stability; but alas! if the geologists were right, Nature generally proved to be wrong. The engineers exhausted their repertoire of tricks for making the slippery earth "stay put," but at the end of the chapter we find them complacently letting the material pursue its way into the cut, and then laboriously removing it with steam shovels, or, after water was admitted to the canal, by the much cheaper method of dredging.

Some of the expedients employed to check the slides are thus set forth in the *Sun*:

Drainage proved ineffective. The rains, which cover a period averaging nine months of the year, so thoroughly saturate the ground that, though the surface may be dried out by the wind and sun during the remaining three months, the ground water remains. Because of the great depth of the cutting, subsurface drainage could not reach the ground water sufficiently deep to be effective, even if the excessive cost involved warranted such a procedure. It has been suggested that artificial heat be applied through pipes, but the cost precluded such a method of relieving the situation; furthermore, the relief would be temporary.

Planting the slopes with grasses and vegetation prevents to a certain extent the erosion that follows some of the heavy downpours, but even in places where this has been done the results anticipated were not secured. The trees that have been standing on the banks for years slide down, standing erect in their normal positions, with

slides of the second class, and in the movements that take place subsequent to the "breaks."

Piling was tried with the hope that with the ends of the piles in firm ground the loose or moving portion might be retained in place; this also proved a failure, and along some portions of the banks are now seen piles projecting at various angles and at different elevations, though originally the piles were driven vertically and they were properly aligned. Where the moving mass was clayey material loosened up by the movement and by the rains, a covering of heavy riprap was resorted to with the hope that their weight would carry the pieces of stone through the mass to the solid ground below and thus check if not stop the movement; much of this riprap was subsequently removed from the prism by the shovels.

It was believed that blasting was in some measure responsible for the slides, on the theory that the shaking up of the banks caused by the blast destroyed the cohesion of the particles in the banks, resulting in their breaking down, so that steps were taken to reduce the depth of the holes and the amount of explosive used, in order to lessen, if not remove, any source of trouble on this account.

It was learned that in experimenting with clays for the manufacture of pottery the Bureau of Standards had discovered a means of removing the slipperiness from the clays by inoculating the soils with a simple and inexpensive solution; with the hope that some such method of preventing the slides might prove effective with the soils on the Isthmus, samples were sent for experimental purposes along these lines; but it appears that these clays are of an entirely different character and no method of treatment has yet been evolved to secure the results desired.

The construction of retaining walls to withstand the moving masses was not possible, for stones

to the sides of the prism where the walls belonged could not be had; when access was possible the movement had ceased,—there was no evidence of any further movement and the desirability of or necessity for walls no longer existed.

Some of the sandstones and shales in the cut when exposed to the air disintegrate, but harden when kept constantly wet. Where disintegration occurred the resulting soil would grow grasses and vegetation, and steps were taken to protect the slopes and the underlying material in this way, assisting nature to some extent in a country where vegetable growth springs up and expands rapidly.

Experiments were made with cement covering to the banks by the cement gun and by concrete held in place by rods embedded in the rock; neither proved successful and they were abandoned. When the use of concrete proved a failure the geologists thought that experiment might develop a solution which applied to the face of the sandstones and shales would combine chemically with the substances in these rocks, so as to form a coating of glass. Experiments were made, but no satisfactory solution was obtained.

With the breaks, except those which occurred in the vicinity of La Pita Point, lightening the banks, where this could be done, secured good results, as did also the sluicing of the upper portions of the hills around Cucaracha slide into the valley on the opposite side of the hills from the prism; but in all other cases the only effectual method found was to allow the material to enter

the cut and remove it by the steam shovels. This procedure has resulted in bringing all the slides to a state of rest, and with the exception of those now active none of them has given any trouble since, for there has been no movement of any kind in any of them after all the material that was in motion had been removed or come naturally to rest.

The history of the Cucaracha slide testifies to the relative cheapness and celerity of dredging.—the expedient now being applied at Culebra.—combined, when the character of the topography permits, with sluicing the upper layers of soil into adjacent valleys away from the canal.

The dredges at Culebra are now handling nearly 1,000,000 cubic yards per month, at a cost of less than 30 cents per cubic yard. Here the slides are coming from both sides of the cut, and on the east side the material is breaking up into waves, which move down to the prism in succession. General Goethals estimates that something like 10,000,000 cubic yards must be dredged away before stable conditions are completely restored. This does not mean, however, that the canal will be closed to navigation until the whole amount of material is removed.

HOW THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD WORKS

THE country was unanimous in commendation when Secretary Daniels created the Naval Consulting Board, with the object of giving our Navy the benefit of the scientific and technical talent of civilians. But many persons wondered how such a board would perform its functions; and their curiosity remained, in most part, unsatisfied even after the first meetings had been held.

One of the members of the Board, Mr. L. H. Baekeland (a prominent research chemist of Yonkers, N. Y.), last month addressed a joint meeting of chemical societies which recommended his appointment to the Secretary of the Navy. He recognized the "hazy conception in the mind of the public regarding the Board's work and plans," and gave much interesting information. His complete address will be published in technical periodicals. We quote his account of the first session:

When the announcement was made that on the first day of our meetings we were to board the yacht of the President to proceed to the Indian

Head Proving Ground, some of us were inclined to think that formalities and social affairs might interfere with the efficient distribution of our time. But this idea also was soon dispelled, as during this entire trip the time was taken up with the discussion of subjects directly related to our work, while becoming acquainted with the other members of the Naval Consulting Board, as well as with the Chiefs of the different departments of the Navy. So little time was given to formalities that even a regular lunch was dispensed with, beyond the distribution of a few sandwiches, while discussing various matters. Our visit to Indian Head gave us an excellent opportunity to get some direct practical information upon matters of ordnance and ammunition.

They landed in Washington after dark, met again immediately after dinner, and it was past midnight when the first day's sessions were over. Early next morning they met again.

At first it seemed as if a Board of twenty-two men was to be much hampered by cumbersomeness and by long deliberations; but this fear vanished after our first meetings. If any member felt inclined to use unnecessary oratory or rhetoric, he soon changed his mind after he noticed how the

other members displayed mutual respect for each other's valuable time, how discussions of secondary importance were eliminated. . . .

No time was spent upon side matters; everything was transacted in a practical direct way. For instance, when the rules of procedure for further meetings had to be discussed, a sub-committee was immediately organized with instructions to leave the room and report "not later than thirty minutes" so as not to impede other deliberations which were going on.

Regarding the method adopted for dealing with specific matters, Mr. Baekeland tells us:

The general opinion of the members of the Board is that its scope of usefulness can best be fulfilled by acting as a "go-between" or a "short-cut" to information between the heads of departments of the Navy, and any individual member of the different societies they represent. This carries into practise the idea of "mobilization of inventors and engineering talent" of Mr. Daniels. The Board mainly puts its services at the disposal of the chief officers of the Navy, as fast as the latter feel the necessity of coöperation of advice. For instance, a subject relating to improvements in the manufacture or the composition of a certain explosive would be referred to the sub-committee on Chemistry and Physics, as well as to the sub-committee on Ordnance and Explosives. The matter is discussed in these two committees and the members of these two committees decide whom to select among their fellow members of the chemical or engineering societies who are best qualified to help them in this task, and who, at the same time, are willing to cooperate without any other compensation than the feeling that they are working for the good and the security of our republic.

The Board recommended the expenditure of \$5,000,000 for research and experimental laboratory work, engineering as well as chem-



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

CAPT. WILLIAM S. SMITH, U. S. N.

(Who will pass on naval inventions, before submission to the Naval Consulting Board)

ical, covering a period of five years. Mr. Baekeland argues convincingly that experimentation work, of the kind proposed by the scientific men and successful manufacturers who make up the Board, would soon result in savings greater than the total expenditure.

FABRE, THE VIRGIL OF INSECTS

ONE of the most remarkable lives of our era was that of the humble, yet famous, French entomologist, J. H. Fabre, who died at Sérignan on October 11, last. The Virgil of the insects, as he has been aptly called, spent by far the greater part of his ninety-two years in the modest domicile at Sérignan whose door-yard was the scene of those marvelous epics of winged and creeping life which he has celebrated in those ponderous volumes entitled "Entomologic Souvenirs."

We quote some paragraphs from a sympathetic account of the distinguished savant's career which appeared in a late number of *Le Correspondant* (Paris). Born at St. Léons on December 22, 1823, in a modest family, he attended the college of Rodez till his studies were interrupted by paternal

reverses. After leaving the normal school at Avignon, where he was distinguished as a hard student, he became master of a primary school at Carpentras.

Then, desirous of escaping from a rut, he studied mathematics and physics by himself, acquired his baccalaureate in science, his license, and a professorship at the Lycée of Ajaccio. From there he went to the Lycée of Avignon, and here, in order to meet the family expenses which were accumulating, he undertook some researches in industrial chemistry which led him to discover the alizarine, the coloring matter of madder.

Unfortunately it was just at this time that a method was discovered by others of extracting artificial alizarine from coal tar. However, he had meantime succeeded by supplementary work in becoming first a licentiate and then a doctor of natural science. Up to this time he had succeeded in nothing, apart from getting university titles,—that might give him sufficient financial



FABRE IN HIS STUDY

ease to permit him to devote himself to that study of nature for which he had felt such an irresistible passion since his earliest youth. However, his talents as a teacher and popularizer of scientific matter were to furnish him with a sum which, though small, sufficed to satisfy his modest tastes. He published a series of little classics, models of their kind, treating in turn of chemistry, physics, botany, and astronomy, which enjoyed a well-merited vogue. His daily bread being thus assured, he could devote himself to the subjects of his choice.

Being thus set free he acquired a modest property at Sérignan and there installed his simple and indeed primitive laboratory. As we have said, the very wildness and unkemptness of the surrounding land would tend to make it a happy hunting ground for the tiny creatures whose habits he delighted to observe and explore. It is thus charmingly described:

The demesne is unkempt, and of mediocre comfort, but as peaceful as one could wish, and above all, the wild flowers which surround it are propitious to the sports of those insects whose indefatigable historian he was to become. Days and years passed. Without growing weary or discouraged, without allowing even age to dampen his ardor, he devoted himself to the intoxicating mystery of nature, scrutinizing the lives of the tiniest creatures with an unequalled faithfulness, tenacity, and minuteness. At the cost of fatigues and pains without number, a butt for the jests of the simple, but sustained by the ceaselessly renewed love of his labor, he interrogated these

little guests of plants, of brambles and stones and sands. He tore from them the secret of their acts, the mystery of their existence, of their food, of their amours, and of their death.

And all that he discovered is so new, so unexpected, that in beginning to read his *Souvenirs* one feels as if a magician of science has opened before one the gates of an unsuspected world. In the face of such a revelation, the reader, whose mind has been made conquest of from the first pages, can do no other than continue to the end of the work, so well has this fascinating painter understood how to render attractive to every one the study which he pursued to his latest hour.

Despite this charming style, however,—or, rather, because of it, Fabre did not fail to find critics among the captious. The writer of the present article, Dr. Bouquet, quotes the great scientist's own words in answer to their sneers in the following passage:

Others have reproached me with my language, which is lacking in academic solemnity, or better said, in academic dryness. They fear that a page which can be read without fatigue will not always be the expression of truth. To believe them, one is profound only on condition of being obscure. Come hither all of you, such as you are, bearers of stings or of wing-shields, take up my defense and bear witness in my favor. Tell in what intimacy I live with you, with what patience I observe you, with what scrupulousness I record your acts!

Though Fabre's observations and records are unassailable, his philosophic conclusions have been attacked. This was natural, since he was a declared adversary of the Darwinian theory. He expressed this view succinctly in these words: "Has the world been subjected to the fatalities of evolution from the time of the first albuminous atom which coagulated into a cell? Or has it rather been ruled by an intelligence? The more I see, the more I observe, the more does this intelligence shine beyond the mystery of things." But Fabre was more than a patient and painstaking observer. He was a brilliant and ingenious experimenter, forcing the little subjects of his scrutiny to meet new conditions, that they might thus be forced to yield the secrets of their marvelous and complex acts.

It is gratifying to learn that the house and grounds of this gentle nature-lover are to become a permanent museum, thanks to certain generous admirers. Dr. Bouquet well says: "I know some who will be more moved in crossing this modest threshold than in penetrating the most sumptuous palaces. In presence of the simplicity of the dwelling and the mediocrity of means, the grandeur of the work will shine the brighter."

THE NEW BOOKS

FROM WORLD-STRIFE TO HARMONY

AS the great war in its second year brings increasing calamity to the nations and races, men of thought-power are everywhere trying to understand better what is wrong with the world and how remedies may be found and applied. Some of them are stating their views crudely; some are waiting to express themselves later on; and many are saying things in print that are valuable, as far as they go, even though the expressions are in few cases other than fragmentary or from a single viewpoint. Some of those who write about the remedies for war deal with the more immediate substitutes,—the growth of international institutions and the settlement of differences by tribunals. Others deal rather with the underlying causes of strife, and seek to find what things are essentially evil in our modern life, that must be eliminated.

Planning World Government

An excellent representative of the first type of book is by John A. Hobson, a well-known English writer, his title being "Towards International Government."¹ Mr. Hobson is associated with Lord Bryce and other broad-minded Englishmen in seeking the best fruits of civilization, not only for his own country but for all others. He believes in some kind of organization of peoples that will prevent war, reduce armaments, and promote harmony. He is opposed to secret diplomacy and to all those ideas that are associated with militarism and that have brought into use the term "power" as a synonym for "nation" or "people." Like Mr. Hirst, of the London *Economist*, whose book we noticed last month, Mr. Hobson deals unsparingly with certain forms of big business (especially war munitions) that he regards as conspiracies against the welfare of nations.

"Big Business" and Its Public Aspects

A book of the other type is by an American writer, Mr. Charles Ferguson, entitled "The Great News,"² but also carrying on the cover as a more specific indication of its character "The Relations of 'Big Business' to the Governments of the World." Mr. Ferguson has not written a treatise, nor an easy primer for the man in the street. His style is brilliant, but a little difficult and obscure. Yet his book, like Mr. Hobson's, is worth a careful reading; and the one does not contradict the other.

Mr. Ferguson tells us that permanent peace will not be secured by setting up high courts, if we do not also create the conditions which will give everybody predominantly the peace motive. In private circumstances, as he well shows, peace is kept by pursuing a real and commanding community of interest, rather than

by "the submission of disputes to an unquestionable and irresistible tribunal." The great fact of our modern life is the development of business on an immense scale of production and distribution, with the machinery of banking, and capital-control, that operates the business organism. Mr. Ferguson believes that the real function of business in relation to government is to make *things* cheap, and *men* dear. Mr. Ferguson plows deep, where writers like Mr. Norman Angell scratch the surface of the obvious. He is capable of writing another book, of concrete applications, working out in practical ways the ideas and suggestions with which this book abounds.

Poultney Bigelow Interprets the Prussians

Nothing could be more unlike the legal style of Mr. Hobson or the abstract dicta of Mr. Ferguson, than the reminiscences of Mr. Poultney Bigelow, published as "Prussian Memories,"³ though they roam untrifled over many lands. Yet Mr. Bigelow's book, apart from the extraordinary fascination which its frank statements of things personal and political must hold for the well-informed reader, is a sincere contribution towards an attempt to diagnose the state of the world. Mr.

John Bigelow, eminent as journalist, man of letters, and diplomatist, gave his boys the opportunity of knowing much of European life. As a little lad, Poultney Bigelow was a playmate of the present German Emperor and his brother. Through long years he held a close personal friendship and association with the Emperor. He has written serious volumes



MR. POULTNEY BIGELOW

of German history. He knows intimately from the inside the method and motive of the rise of Germany as a military power, as an industrial and commercial entity, and as an empire with naval and colonial programs.

This new volume by Mr. Bigelow is a testimony for real democracy; a warning against ruthless force; a fearless comment upon recent events and tendencies at home as well as abroad. Mr. Bigelow made this informal book evidently without realizing that the pressure of amazing events had impelled him to a fullness and

¹ *Towards International Government*. By John A. Hobson. Macmillan. 216 pp. \$1.50.

² *The Great News*. By Charles Ferguson. New York: Marshall Kieffer, 248 pp. \$1.00.

³ *Prussian Memories*. 1914. By Poultney Bigelow. Putnam. 180 pp. \$1.00.

frankness of utterance that would not otherwise have been possible. It will live long after some of the formal books of the day have been forgotten.

It is worth while to note the announcement that there is now in the press a formal study of the problem of world government and world peace, by Major John Bigelow, another of the sons of the great citizen and publicist whose European training of his boys in early life helped to give them the international and comparative point of view. Major Bigelow is exceptionally qualified to bear an influential part in the discussion of world relations and substitutes for the resort to war.

Three Interpretations: Biologist, Moralist, Historian

Three small volumes are at hand which may be read together with advantage. They are all thought-provoking and meritorious, although they are not entirely convincing. Dr. George W. Crile gives us "A Mechanistic View of War and Peace."¹ He has returned from important hospital work in France. He views phenomena as a surgeon and a biologist. The evolutionary forces that have operated through many ages are, for Dr. Crile, as completely in charge of the issues of war and peace among men as they dominate the behavior of wild beasts in an African jungle.

This little book is profoundly interesting, and it presents a phase of truth that a certain school of so-called "pacifists" might well consider. For example, the Rev. Gaius Glenn Atkins and Dr. Crile should exchange books and then come together in an informal attempt to find a common ground, first, of belief, and, second, of practical action.

Dr. Atkins publishes the prize essay of the Carnegie Church Peace Union. He calls it "The Maze of the Nations, and the Way Out."² He makes a good running review of war conditions, and sets over against the causes of war the forces that can be marshaled in behalf of permanent peace. Dr. Atkins believes as strongly in ethical and spiritual forces as Dr. Crile believes in the blind pressure of biological instincts.

A third book, entitled "Is War Diminishing?"³ is written by Dr. Frederick Adams Woods, with

the assistance of Mr. Alexander Baltzley. These men write as historians, rather than as moralists or biologists. They take the last four or five centuries, and attempt to answer the question how much of the time Europe has been more or less at war. They seem to have convinced themselves that war is the rule, peace the exception, and that future wars are to be expected because history repeats itself. The little book has its uses, although it is wholly lacking in the qualities of discriminating analysis.

Women Workers for Peace at The Hague

There was held last year a notable gathering of women of many countries, who came together at The Hague to see what might be done from the feminine standpoint to make this world a more secure place in which to live. The congress was agreed in advance on two points,—namely, a belief in the future use of peaceful means for settling disputes between nations, and, second, a belief in the enfranchisement of women. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, was made chairman of the congress, and after its adjournment she visited a number of capitals, including Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and London, where she and her colleagues were cordially received by prime ministers and foreign secretaries. Two other American women,—Emily G. Balch, of Wellesley College, and Alice Hamilton, a sani-



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MISS JANE ADDAMS

tary specialist in the Government employ at Washington,—were members of the congress, and they are joint contributors with Miss Addams to the little book entitled "Women at The Hague."⁴ To read this book is to believe that women have a great part to play in the shaping of the future relationships of governments and peoples. It belongs to women to assert themselves strongly against war, and to promote with energy the friendship and cooperation that should supersede the appeal to brute force.

How Secret Diplomacy Endangers Nations

A very important book that may fail to obtain its full meed of recognition is entitled "How Diplomats Make War."⁵ It is published anonymously in the United States, although it was originally written for an English public. We are told that its author is a prominent English statesman. It makes an analysis of England's relation-

¹ A Mechanistic View of War and Peace. By George W. Crile. Macmillan. 194 pp., ill. \$1.25.

² The Maze of the Nations, and the Way Out. By Gaius Glenn Atkins. Revell. 128 pp. 75 cents.

³ Is War Diminishing? By Frederick Adams Woods and Alexander Baltzley. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.

⁴ Women at The Hague. By Jane Addams, Emily G. Balch, and Alice Hamilton. Macmillan. 171 pp. 75 cents.

⁵ How Diplomats Make War. By a British Statesman. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 376 pp. \$1.50.

ships in other countries during the past two decades, with particular reference to the genesis of the secret understandings which led England into the present war. It is a terrific indictment of the diplomatic game as played by all the great European governments. It shows how dangerous is the survival of a diplomacy that is not only removed from contact with public opinion, but is even beyond the knowledge and reach of the people's representatives in Parliament. Since this book shows so ably the nature of one of the great evils and dangers of the world, it must be regarded as contributing in a high degree to the reforms so ably demanded in England by the so-called Union of Democratic Control, though it was not written by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald or one of his associates.

A casual but suggestive volume dealing with the same theme, entitled "The Stakes of Diplomacy,"¹ comes from the fluent pen of a New York journalist, Mr. Walter Lippmann. The reader of the two books gets the impression that Mr. Lippmann must have had the advantage of an early reading of the work by the British statesman. In any case, the American book sets forth, with many timely allusions, the manner in which the game of diplomacy is played. We are made to see the forces that impel the highly developed commercial countries to compete with one another for supposed advantages of exploitation in less developed regions. There are several chapters in Mr. Lippmann's book that are strong, pertinent, and lucid, and that might be read with profit by every Congressman and newspaper editor in the land.

Making Friends with the Neighbors

In many spheres of life vigorous action has an admirable influence upon the forming of

normal opinions. For example, Mr. Robert Bacon undoubtedly believes that there are practical ways to prevent war and promote peace. His name is attached to a volume entitled "For Better Relations with Our Latin-American Neighbors."² Mr. Bacon was in the State Department as First Assistant Secretary, then as Secretary, succeeding Mr. Root. Like his eminent predecessor, he is by nature a conciliator. He has made a trip to South America on behalf of the work carried on by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was everywhere received with honor and good will, and the best interests of all the American republics were advanced in consequence of Mr. Bacon's mission. We are on the verge of helping to secure the permanent peace of the world at large by working out a system for maintaining and developing good relations in the Western Hemisphere.

The Adjusted Case of Cuba

The story of "Cuba Old and New,"³ as written by Mr. Albert G. Robinson, gives us in a simple, unpretentious way the record of a particular region of the earth in the process of passing from a condition of chronic strife, due to international maladjustment, to a condition of comparative equipoise and prosperity as a result of changed political structure and foreign relationships. A book like this has a timeliness beyond the immediate intention of its author. It helps one to realize that the settlement of things in detail may contribute much towards the settlement of things in general. The new status of Cuba, for instance, gives Spain opportunity for a very large future of amicable and profitable relationships with all Spanish-speaking countries. Mr. Robinson's book will be helpful to all who intend to visit the chief island of the Antilles.

National Defense, Patriotism

The Military Obligation of Citizenship. By Leonard Wood. Princeton University Press. 76 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

This little book contains three addresses delivered by General Wood during the past year at Princeton University, the Lake Mohonk Conference, and St. Paul's School, respectively. An introduction to the volume is contributed by President Hibben, of Princeton, who asks that special consideration be given to General Wood's opinions on this subject, since he possesses expert knowledge, and has himself done more than merely talk and write about national defense, having begun with great success the work of general military education through the summer camps.

The Military Unpreparedness of the United States. By Frederic L. Huidekoper. Macmillan. 73 pp. \$4.

General Wood himself strongly commends to the general reader this volume by Mr. Huidekoper. Here will be found a complete statement of our military record as a nation, from the first campaigns of the Revolution to the middle of

1915. It is a history of all the fighting in which the United States has been engaged, written from the viewpoint of readiness for war. Unlike the histories that are studied in our schools, it makes no attempt to minimize the disasters that have repeatedly befallen us because of deficient preparation. These facts make the best argument for a definite policy of military preparedness.

Naval Handbook for National Defense, and for the European War. By T. D. Parker. San Francisco: John J. Newbegin. 88 pp. Ill. \$1.

This little manual is intended to answer a few questions like these: "How far can a big gun shoot?" "What is the battle cruiser?" "Can an aeroplane sink a battleship?" The book does not pretend to be a scientific or technical treatise. It is designed avowedly for "the man in the street."

Introducing the American Spirit. By Edward A. Steiner. Revell. 274 pp. \$1.

In this clever and piquant bit of writing Dr. Steiner tells us how he helped to make his friends

¹The Stakes of Diplomacy. By Walter Lippmann. Harv. 200 pp. \$1.00.

²For Better Relations with Our Latin-American Neighbors. By Robert Bacon. Washington: D. C. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 116 pp. Cuba Old and New. By A. G. Robinson. Longmans, Green & Co. 161 pp. Ill. \$1.00.

from Germany, the Herr Director and his wife, acquainted with American ways and things, and thus enable them to appreciate the American spirit. Although himself an enthusiastic partisan of his adopted country, Dr. Steiner is by no means blinded to her faults, and the conversations with the Herr Director that he relates in this volume afford an excellent medium for conveying several rather searching criticisms of American ways.

Civics for Americans. By Philip Davis and Mabel Hill. Houghton, Mifflin. 178 pp. 80 cents.

Recent developments in this country have emphasized the necessity of giving immigrants who seek naturalization a thorough knowledge of what American citizenship means. Mr. Philip Davis and Mabel Hill are joint authors of a helpful volume, "Civics for Americans," written in the hope of bringing new citizens to understand democracy and to affiliate themselves with the forces of good government. They have

acted wisely in keeping the book simple enough to serve the purpose for which it is intended. The subject matter is treated as a series of lessons with questions and answers. Language, work, schools, public facilities, industry and industrial protection, pure food, housing and politics are included in these useful lessons that embrace the higher ideals of citizenship.

Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad. By Mabel T. Boardman. Lippincott. 333 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This is a history of The Red Cross in general, and The American Red Cross in particular. It has chapters, of course, on the European War and the latest activities of the Red Cross at home and abroad, but the main value of the book lies in its connected account of the system of relief that has grown up in all civilized lands under the familiar Red Cross flag. President Wilson has written a foreword for the book.

Books Relating to the War

The Undying Story. By W. D. Newton. E. P. Dutton & Co. 383 pp. \$1.35.

A vivid account of the famous "fighting retreat" of the British Expeditionary Force on the Continent, from August 23 to November 15, 1914. The author is regarded in England as the greatest descriptive artist discovered by the war.

Belgium Neutral and Loyal. By Émile Waxweiler. Putnam. 324 pp. \$1.25.

This work, written by an eminent Belgian sociologist, was originally published simultaneously in French at Lausanne, and in German at Zurich. The book made a deep impression in Germany, where the leading socialist paper, *Forwärts*, advised all German socialists to read it, and it has been highly approved by the leading Swiss papers, German as well as French. It is an authoritative statement of Belgium's defensive case against the accusations brought by Germany.

Between the Lines. By Boyd Cable. E. P. Dutton. 258 pp. \$1.35.

An unadorned statement of what war on the Western front has come to mean, written from the viewpoint of the Allies.

Colors of War. By R. C. Long. Scribner's. 306 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Long, who for many years before the war had made a special study of Russian affairs, has followed the movements of the Russian armies from the outset, and is probably more familiar than any other Englishman with the story of what has been going on along the Eastern front.

Fighting France. By Edith Wharton. Scribner's. 238 pp. Ill. \$1.

In this book Mrs. Wharton describes her own impressions and experiences at the front in France. She tells what she saw in Paris, in Argonne, and in Alsace and Lorraine. Portions

of Mrs. Wharton's narrative have already appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*. The illustrations of this book are from unusually striking photographs of war scenes.

Kings, Queens, and Pawns. By Mary Roberts Rinehart. Doran. 368 pp. \$1.50.

Mrs. Rinehart is one of the few women who have had an opportunity to see the fighting in this war at close range. Readers of Mrs. Rinehart's novels will readily understand that the dramatic aspects of the war would appeal strongly to her and that no picturesque feature would be likely to escape her observation. Mrs. Rinehart had the unusual experience of talking with King Albert of Belgium in the trenches, under fire, and she saw much of Red Cross work.

The Protection of Neutral Rights at Sea. Documents on the Naval Warfare. Sturgis & Walton. 129 pp. 25c.

This is a collection of important state papers taken from the publications of our own State Department and from newspaper print. The more important acts and policies of Great Britain and Germany are illustrated by these documents. In an introduction to the pamphlet, Professor William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, points out that under the plea of military necessity both Great Britain and Germany have committed violations of international law and have injured neutral rights accordingly, while the United States has protested against these violations directly on its own behalf, and indirectly on behalf of other neutrals.

The Neutrality of the United States in Relation to the British and German Empires. By J. Shield Nicholson. Macmillan. 92 pp. 25c.

The writer of this pamphlet, who holds the Chair of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh, presents a comparison of British and German interests and asks the United States to choose between the two.

Social Progress: Practical and Applied Economics

Inventors and Money-makers. By F. W. Taussig. Macmillan. 138 pp. \$1.

A fresh treatment of some of the relations between economics and psychology by the eminent Harvard professor of economics. The topics considered are "The instinct of contrivance": "The psychology of money-making": and "Altruism, the instinct of devotion." These matters are discussed from the point of view of the workman as well as of the employer.

The Relation of Government to Property and Industry. By Samuel P. Orth. Ginn. 664 pp. \$2.25.

This volume represents the recent literature of the subject as embodied in books and magazine articles. It has been prepared primarily for college classes, but will be found useful as a book of reference for business men. The law journals have been drawn upon for the distinctively constitutional and legal aspects of the discussion.

Russian Sociology. By Julius F. Hecker. Longmans, Green & Co. 309 pp.

This university thesis is the first thoroughgoing treatment of the subject in the English language.

Cost of Living. By Fabian Franklin. Doubleday, Page & Co. 162 pp. \$1.

Dr. Fabian Franklin, of the *New York Evening Post*, is a journalist of much experience and unusual erudition. This little book by him on the cost of living is the fruit of wide and discriminating reading and clear economic thinking. The object of the book is not to propose any panacea, but rather to point out the basic truths that must underlie any helpful discussion of the subject and to stimulate sound and useful economic reasoning.

Socialism. By E. C. Robbins. H. W. Wilson Co. 223 pp. \$1.

This is a book of readings in the Handbook Series. It serves to give the reader a general knowledge of socialism.

Economic Principles. By Frank A. Fetter. Century. 521 pp. \$1.75.

A new text-book of modernized economics for the use of college students.

The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation. By W. Jethro Brown. Dutton. 319 pp. \$2.25.

This is the third edition of a work which refers especially to British politics, but the author has drawn illustrations from other countries. After a statement of the principles, as abstract theories, he proceeds to give an exposition of the same principles in their application and concludes with a chapter on "The Problems of To-day and To-morrow."

A History of Economic Doctrines from the Time of the Physiocrats to the Present Day.

By Charles Gide and Charles Rist. Translated by R. Richards. Heath. 672 pp. \$3.

The work of Charles Gide, of the University of Paris, has been closely followed for many years by American economists. The present volume is the authorized English translation from the second revised edition of 1913. The author begins with a discussion of the doctrines of the Physiocrats of the eighteenth century and takes up in turn the various French, English, and German schools of economic thought down to the present day.

Darling on Trusts. By Joseph R. Darling. Neale. 258 pp. \$1.50.

This is an exposition of the trust problem from the legal standpoint. It contains important documentary material, such as the Sherman law and amendments, the Federal Trade Commission law, the rules of practise, as fixed for the courts of equity of the United States, and a list of cases instituted by the Government under the Sherman law.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for Year Ending September 30, 1914. Albany: State Department of Labor. 359 pp.

The annual reports of the New York Commissioner of Labor are regarded as among the most important of State documents in this field. In the current volume 300 pages are devoted to the New York State laws relating to labor.

Labor in Politics. By Robert Hunter. Chicago: The Socialist Party. 202 pp. 25 cents.

A socialist's survey of the political methods employed by organized labor in the United States in contrast with the methods of labor in Europe. Needless to say, in a comparison of this sort the American labor movement appears at a decided disadvantage.

Letters from Prison. By Bouck White. Badger. 163 pp. 50 cents.

These letters of a socialist have to do with a variety of topics, many of which are of transitory interest. They are the outgivings of an intensely earnest and sincere fanatic.

The A B C of Socialism. By I. G. Savoy and M. C. Teck. Badger. 140 pp. 50 cents.

The socialistic gospel contained in this little book is voiced in the sentiment that appears on the title page: "The A B C of socialism means the X Y Z of capitalism." The book is designed to equip workers with a scientific knowledge of the principles of socialism. I. G. Savoy is the pen-name of the editor of the *New England Socialist*. M. C. Teck is one of the organizers of the Massachusetts Young People's Socialist League.

The Marriage Revolt. By William E. Carson. Hearst International Library Co. 481 pp. Ill. \$2.

A frank statement of the objections that have been brought against conventional marriage with an attempt to discover to what extent new conceptions are finding acceptance, concluding with a forecast of probable future results.

Marriage and Divorce. By Felix Adler. Appleton. 91 pp. 75 cents.

A stanch defense of the marriage institution by the well-known president of the Ethical Culture Society, of New York.

Elements of Record Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations. By Georgia G. Ralph. New York: Survey Associates, Inc. 195 pp.

One of the publications of the Russell Sage Foundation designed to help standardize and improve institutional records.

The Helper and American Trade Unions. By John H. Ashworth. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 134 pp. \$1.

Population: A Study in Malthusianism. By Warren S. Thompson. New York: Columbia University. 216 pp. \$1.75.

Railway Problems in China. By Mongton Chih Hsu. New York: Columbia University. 184 pp. \$1.50.

The Recognition Policy of the United States. By Julius Goebel. New York: Columbia University. 228 pp. \$2.

A Message to the Middle Class. By Seymour Deming. Small, Maynard. 110 pp. 50 cents.

A suggestive essay on present-day social conditions.

The Use of Money —How to Save and How to Spend. By Edwin A. Kirkpatrick. Bobbs-Merrill. 226 pp. \$1.

National Floodmarks: Week by Week Observations of American Life from "Collier's." Edited by Mark Sullivan. Doran. 391 pp. \$1.50.

A reprint of the succinct, homely, human editorial paragraphs that have made *Collier's* famous from ocean to ocean.

The Taxation of Land Values. By Louis F. Post. Bobbs-Merrill. 179 pp. Ill. \$1.

The fifth edition of the excellent summary of the single tax doctrine which was prepared some years ago by Louis F. Post, who is now Assistant Secretary of Labor at Washington.

The Criminal Imbecile: An Analysis of Three Remarkable Murder Cases. By Henry Herbert Goddard. Macmillan. 157 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The Director of Research at the Vineland Training School analyzes in this book three remarkable murder cases believed to be typical of a large number. In these three cases the Binet tests were used, accepted in court, and the accused adjudged imbeciles. Three types of defectives are illustrated in these cases.

Industrial and Business Life

The Executive and His Control of Men. By E. B. Gowin. Macmillan. 349 pp. \$1.50.

This is a novel and successful attempt to present the methods followed by hundreds of American executives as those methods are conceived by the executives themselves. The author is less concerned in this book with the results sought through the application of these methods than with the methods themselves. While he admits that the latter in some cases seem crude and harsh, he reminds us that in times past they were even more crude and harsh. In the first part of the book, Professor Gowin tells how personal efficiency is developed. He then considers how the executive "motivates" his men, discussing in this connection personality, emulation, awards, etc. Finally, he analyzes the limits upon the executive's power.

Short Talks on Retail Selling. By S. R. Hall. Funk & Wagnalls. 170 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

Practical suggestions to salespeople from a man who has had much experience in vocational educational work.

Scientific Management: A History and Criticism. By Horace Bookwalter Drury. New York: Columbia University. 222 pp. \$1.75.

Scientific Management and Labor. By Robert F. Hoxie. Appleton. 302 pp. \$1.50.

Professor Hoxie made a special investigation of scientific management in its relations to labor for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. The leaders of the movement, Mr. Harrington Emerson, Mr. H. L. Gantt, and the late Frederick W. Taylor, designated the shops to be studied, and Professor Hoxie endeavored simply to discover and set forth the facts of scientific management as he found them. He sees in scientific management "a constant menace to industrial peace."

Learn to Earn. J. A. Lapp and Carl H. Mote. Bobbs, Merrill. 421 pp. \$1.50.

This book sums up the reasons for vocational education and shows how such a system of train-

ing is entirely feasible in our modern life. The authors have considered the subject from many angles, and in the plan that they offer practical difficulties are given due weight. Secretary Redfield, of the Department of Commerce, contributes an introduction.

Voting Trusts. By Harry A. Cushing. Macmillan. 226 pp. \$1.50.

A scientific study of one of the important developments in American corporations.

A History of Currency in the United States. By A. Barton Hepburn. 552 pp.

This new edition of a standard work contains the author's comment on the Federal Reserve Act. There is also incorporated in the book an explanation of the emergency currency measures, adopted by European nations to meet the exigencies of the great war.

The Tin-Plate Industry: A Comparative Study of Its Growth in the United States and in Wales. By Donald Earl Dunbar. Houghton, Mifflin. 133 pp. \$1.

An interesting comparative study of the growth of the tin-plate industry in the United States and in Wales. This involves questions of tariff policy, trusts, and labor. The author has done field work in both countries and has obtained much information from manufacturers and trade editors.

Some Problems in Market Distribution. By Arch Wilkinson Shaw. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 119 pp. \$1.

A well-informed statement based on actual personal knowledge of market conditions throughout the United States. The author, as lecturer at Harvard and editor of *System*, has been engaged for years in dealing with the various problems involved in American selling methods.

Essays and Speeches. By Charles G. Dawes. Houghton, Mifflin. 427 pp. Ill. \$3.

Mr. Dawes, who was Comptroller of the Currency under President McKinley, and for the past

fourteen years has been at the head of a leading Chicago bank, began very early in his career to write and speak on financial topics. He has given many addresses at bankers' gatherings, and of late years his utterances on questions of banking and currency have been awaited with great interest and respect by business men throughout the country, and particularly in the Middle West. The present volume brings together many of these addresses, with articles contributed to the periodical press, reports of hearings before Congressional committees, and other statements of his views on economic problems of the day. The volume also fulfils in a measure the office of a family memorial since it contains a tribute to the author's son, Rufus Fearing Dawes, who was drowned in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1912, and an address on the Army of the Potomac by the author's father, General Rufus R. Dawes, of the famous Iron Brigade. Thus, in a way, the book serves to recall the striking services of a family noteworthy in the history of the Middle West.

Uncle Sam, Banker, 1910-1940. By James A. Fulton. McKeesport: Hutchison & Broadbent. 287 pp. Ill. \$2.

How to Deal with Human Nature in Business. By Sherwin Cody. Funk & Wagnalls. 488 pp. Ill. \$2.

This work differs from many others in the same field in that the author seeks first a scientific basis for business methods and proceeds to build on that systems of correspondence, merchandising, advertising, and personal salesmanship. Such a work could have only a limited value unless it were written by a man who had actual knowledge of his subject and its limitations. We infer that Mr. Cody has gained his business psychology by hard knocks.

Thoughts on Business. By Waldo Pondray Warren. Chicago: Forbes & Company. 260 pp. \$1.

Suggestions to business men, tersely and epigrammatically stated.

Travel, Adventure, and Description

Chained Lightning. By Ralph Graham Teller. Macmillan. 273 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

A vivacious account of experiences in Mexico just before the recent disturbances in that country. The descriptions, for the most part, apply to conditions to-day.

Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt. By Lewis Spence. Stokes. 270 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The latest conclusions regarding Egyptian religious ideas, formed in the light of the modern science of mythology.

Aspectos Nacionales. By Carlos de Velasco. Havana: Libreria "Indiano." 120 pp. \$1.

Discussions by a Cuban of current social and

political topics in the republic—the negro problem, divorce, the tendencies of the Cuban congress, the manifestations of public opinion. The author is a member of the Academy of History of Cuba and an honorary member of the Royal Spanish-American Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Isles of Spice and Palm. A. H. Verrill. Appleton. 204 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

This book deals with the Lesser Antilles, which to Americans are perhaps less known than any other of the West Indian group. All these little islands, from St. Thomas to Trinidad, are fully described and many facts are given which make the work a real Baedeker for the purposes of the intending traveler. There are numerous photographic illustrations.



STREET OF CORK
(From "The Famous Cities of Ireland")

India and Its Faiths. By James Bissett Pratt. Houghton, Mifflin. 483 pp. Ill. \$4.

The fact that Professor Pratt is neither a Sanskritist, nor a missionary, nor a convert to some Oriental cult is set forth as one of his qualifications for writing on India. His point of view at least is different from that of most writers who have contributed to the world's knowledge on this subject. He has tried to present Indian religious life as it is to-day, without partisanship or bias. His preparation for this task has been, as he himself states, not in Sanskrit or missionary literature, but in the study of the general problems of religious psychology.

Highways and Byways of New England. By Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 299 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Chapters on characteristic regions in States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, with notes giving helpful information about motoring routes and suggestions of interest to travelers.

The Famous Cities of Ireland. By Stephen Gwynn. Macmillan. Ill. 352 pp. \$2.

With Irish cities Americans are possibly less familiar than with Irish villages and rural districts. This book describes Waterford, Dundalk, Galway, Maynooth, Kilkenny, Derry, Limerick, Dublin, Wexford, Cork, and Belfast. The illustrations by Hugh Thomson are characteristic.

English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. Lippincott. 286 pp. Ill. \$2.

Interesting facts about the home land of the Washingtons, Penns, Franklins, the Pilgrim Fa-

thers, and other Englishmen who helped to lay the foundations of the United States.

Romance of Old Belgium. By Elizabeth W. Champney. Putnam. 432 pp., ill. \$2.50.

An entertaining narrative of the history and tradition associated with many of the characteristic art treasures of desolated Belgium.

Travels in Alaska. By John Muir. Houghton Mifflin. 325 pp., ill. \$2.50.

No writer on Alaska has ever succeeded as well as John Muir in combining accuracy of description with colorful word-painting. His writings are likely to remain for a long time the classics of the subject. At the time of his death he had almost completed the account of his three journeys to Alaska from journals written on the spot. His travels began in 1879 and the events recorded in this volume end in the middle of the journey of 1890. His notes on the remainder of the journey have not been found. His manuscript ends with a remarkable description of the Northern Lights, which he had elsewhere described as "the most glorious of all the terrestrial manifestations of God."

Quaint and Historic Forts of North America. By John Martin Hammond. Lippincott. 309 pp. Ill. \$5.

In the survivals and ruins of former American fortifications it is possible to trace the military history of the nation. Mr. Hammond has located most of the important posts in the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Civil wars, and has delved into their records sufficiently to present vivid pictures of the life and achievements of other days. Many illustrations from photographs are given.

Old Concord. By Allen French. Boston: Little, Brown. 180 pp. Ill. \$3.

The name Concord suggests to Americans two distinct groups of associations—one historical, the other literary. In this volume Mr. French has written of both. He has depended for historical accuracy on the standard authorities, while as for literary tradition there is no lack in the writings of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, and the Alcotts. Lester G. Hornby contributes to the volume a series of admirable drawings.

The Story of Wellesley. By Florence Converse. Boston: Little, Brown. 284 pp. Ill. \$2.

The Story of Wellesley College is not a very long one, measured in decades, but one learns from this volume that it has been a very crowded record in point of achievement for the higher education of women. There are chapters on "The Founder and His Ideals," "The Presidents and their Achievements," "The Faculty and their Methods," "The Students at Work and Play," "The Fire: An Interlude," and "The Loyal Alumnae." The gifts that have come to Wellesley since the burning of its oldest and largest building, in March, 1914, have shown that the college has a nation-wide constituency.

History and Biography

Men of the Old Stone Age. By Henry F. Osborn. Scribner. 545 pp. Ill. \$5.

This book pictures a race of men who lived in Western Europe at least 25,000 years ago. From a careful study of all the known data, Professor Osborn has concluded that these men of the Old Stone Age had developed the rudiments of all the modern economic powers of man: the guidance of the hand by the mind; the inventive faculty; the adaptation of means to ends in utensils, in weapons, and in clothing; the sense of form, proportion, and symmetry. There is evidence of a religious sense among those men of the Old Stone Age, and we cannot doubt that the mind of that race was capable of a high degree of education. Western Europe, even in that ancient day, was the scene of the rise and fall of industries and cultures. There was a Battle of the Marne even in those times, but the weapons were of stone instead of steel.

Ireland: Vital Hour. By Arthur Lynch. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co. 388 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Lynch has made a praiseworthy effort to write a book on Ireland that "shall not hesitate to probe and test, yet shall be fraught with good purpose." His view is directed to the future and he has taken from the past only what seems to him necessary to explain the present and to point the way of progress. The recent development of Ireland in the fields of industry, education, and finance renders obsolete most of the Irish histories of the past generation. A book like this is needed and will be appreciated in America, where interest in the subject is perennial.

Battleground Adventures. By Clifton Johnson. Houghton Mifflin Co. 422 pp. Ill. \$2.

This book is a collection of personal interviews with noncombatant observers of twelve of the great battles of the Civil War. The people who tell these stories were actual dwellers on the battlefields. Mr. Johnson sought them out and talked with them about two years ago, when almost half a century had elapsed since the close of the war. Several of these observers were children at the time of the events that they described, and naturally had no broad knowledge of the military movements a part of which they saw. Their individual experiences are of slight value in themselves, but add a note of actuality to the narrative of the war.

The Construction of the Panama Canal. By W. L. Sibert and J. F. Stevens. Appletons. 339 pp. Ill. \$2.

It is in every way fitting that the story of the building of the Panama Canal should be told authoritatively by engineers for the benefit of the general public. Mr. Stevens was Chief Engineer of the work during the preparatory period. Later Brigadier General Sibert was in charge of the construction of the Gatun Locks and Dam, and all of the work on the Atlantic Division. Both these men have written their accounts of the work in non-technical language, and for the



RESTORATION OF THE HEAD OF A MAN OF THE CRÔ-MAGNON RACE, WHO LIVED 25,000 YEARS AGO
(From "Men of the Old Stone Age," by Henry Fairfield Osborn)

benefit of the general reader many photographs and maps have been inserted.

The Mikado: Institution and Person. By William E. Griffis. Princeton University Press. 346 pp. \$1.50.

Apropos of the coronation of the Japanese Emperor, Dr. Griffis, who has repeatedly placed American readers under obligation to him for his books and articles about Japan, has written an informing account of Japanese imperialism, including not only a discussion of the institution and person of the Mikado, but a study of the internal political forces of Japan in general. The late Emperor, Mutsuhito, gave repeated audiences to Dr. Griffis, who also had the advantage of many conversations with those Japanese soldiers and statesmen who were leaders in the so-called Restoration of 1868. Dr. Griffis himself lived many years in Japan and acquired perhaps as intimate a knowledge of Japanese institutions as was possible for a non-Oriental.

Spies and Secret Service. By Hamil Grant. Stokes. 320 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The scheme of this book was no doubt suggested to the author by the keen interest in espionage that has been developed since the outbreak of the great war. The author narrates historic episodes of spy service, some of which have been already widely published, while others have long reposed in secret archives of European governments. American readers will be especially interested in the chapters on Nathan Hale, Mack and the Molly Maguires, Major Andre, and the American Secret Service.

Medieval Italy. By H. B. Cotterill. Stokes. 506 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This is an historical narrative of the thousand years from 305 to 1313 A.D. Special chapters of the volume are devoted to great episodes and personalities and to subjects related to religion, art, and literature.

Reminiscences. By Lyman Abbott. Houghton Mifflin. 509 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

For more than sixty years Dr. Abbott has had an important part in shaping public opinion in this country in the fields of religion, politics, education, and humanitarianism. His intimate association with other American leaders, from Henry Ward Beecher to Theodore Roosevelt, has put him in possession of a great mass of interesting and valuable historical material. All this is drawn upon to good purpose in this book of "reminiscences," which pretends to be neither biography nor history, but really includes the vital elements of each.

The Story of Canada Blackie. By Anne P. L. Field. Dutton. 157 pp. \$1.

This is a remarkable, perhaps the only, instance of the "life and letters" of a convicted criminal being published in the interest of prison reform. Canada Blackie, who was long regarded as one of the most dangerous of New York State's large convict population, died a few months ago at Sing Sing after having received a pardon from Governor Whitman because of his efforts to promote good conduct and responsibility among prisoners. His efforts were made in response to the appeal of Warden Osborne, who

first came in contact with Blackie at Auburn prison. In these letters is summed up the whole motive of such organizations as the Mutual Welfare League of Sing Sing Prison, from the prisoners' viewpoint.

The Life of Clara Barton. By Percy H. Epler. Macmillan. 438 pp. \$2.50.

This volume is based largely upon the letters and journals of Miss Barton, who is remembered chiefly as the founder of The American Red Cross organization, but whose career included thrilling experiences in the Civil War, as well as active and fruitful endeavors in the field of relief and other forms of philanthropy for a period of more than half a century. This is the first biography of Miss Barton, who died in 1912.

Thomas A. Edison. By Francis Rolt-Wheeler. Macmillan. 201 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

This is a lively, stimulating sketch of America's great inventor as a great American. The keynote of the book is expressed in the concluding chapter, which represents Edison as sounding a call to arms, a summons to American industry not to destroy life, but to make life richer for coming generations.

Wall Street and the Wilds. By A. W. Dimock. Outing Publishing Company. 476 pp., ill. \$3.

The author of this work, who is fond of outdoor life, has been a successful photographer of wild animals and birds,—far more successful, it appears from his story, with these creatures of the wild than in his relations with the bulls and bears of Wall Street.

POETRY AT HOME AND ABROAD

THERE have been single poems written throughout the past from time to time, to which one may ascribe a profound influence in molding the spiritual temper of an age. But if one looks throughout the new volumes of poetry of the year 1915 for a poem of sufficient power, passion, and moral beauty to alter perceptibly the thought of the age, he will be disappointed. There are no towering single poems, but American poetry as a whole moves with unslackened inspiration toward the shaping of a new civilization.

There are still poets who write swaying, fragile lyrics that exist solely for the beauty of subtle, swift flights of word, but most of our poets have left their "magic casements" to walk with the world of Everyday, and to explore "Earth's greatest venture, man." The work of Robert Frost, Lincoln Colcord, Edgar Lee Masters, Percy Mackaye, Vachel Lindsay, Margaret Widdemer, and many others reveals how essential, how vital to human progress in America is the vision of our American poets.

Those fortunate persons who knew and loved the late Alice Freeman Palmer, and those to whom her gracious fame penetrated, will grant reverent welcome to the sheaf of lyrics "A Mar-

riage Cycle,"¹ now given to the public by her husband, Professor George Herbert Palmer. During the happy years of her married life, Alice Palmer projected a volume of poems, a "marriage cycle," which should be a tribute to her husband. Before they were completed she died, leaving much of the manuscript in an unfinished and fragmentary state. It is now thirteen years since her death, and in order that we may again hear her voice Professor Palmer has prepared the poems that were completed for publication. They are delicate, spontaneous lyrics, filled with the joy of a perfected human life. It is good to know such love and faith have been in the world.

Students of American history and all who are interested in the growth of our nationalism will enjoy "Hugh Glass,"² a fine epic poem by John G. Neihardt. The poet begins his narrative after the military fiasco known as the "Leavenworth Campaign against the Aricaras," which took place at the mouth of the Grand River in the region now known as South Dakota. The episode upon which the epic is founded is related in Chittenden's "History of the American Fur Trade." Mr. Neihardt has succeeded in making a stirring tale. Old Hugh Glass, the

¹ *A Marriage Cycle.* By Alice Freeman Palmer. Houghton, Mifflin. 71 pp. \$1.25.

² *The Song of Hugh Glass.* By John G. Neihardt. Macmillan. 126 pp. \$1.25.

rough man with the "mother heart," is a distinct creation, a type of the men who, following the far-flung frontiers oblivious of danger and hardship, laid the foundations of our commonwealth.

"Songs of the Workaday World,"¹ by Berton Braley, is a collection of swinging, vigorous verse written by an American for Americans. It is a part of the great Iliad of labor and embodies the sturdy ideals that some persons have feared were vanishing from our literature and from our national life. Mr. Braley writes good poetry on commonplace subjects, such as the telephone and the phonograph, and gives us rousing songs about miners, sailors, stokers, tramps, "Wops," and "sand hogs," the men who burrow the way for our tunnels and subways. He knows the heart of labor, the brains of labor, and the temper of the men who do the dangerous everyday work of the world. He has ranged from Panama to Alaska as a worker and newspaperman, and Montana and Wyoming know him better than New York. His poems are excellent for reading aloud.

Margaret Widdemer has the distinction of being a poet's poet and also a poet of the people. In her collection of verse, "The Factories, with Other Lyrics,"² she turns her extraordinary talent for lyricism to sing the wrongs of the age, and to voice the awakening of women to the knowledge that they must stand shoulder to shoulder with men and bear their share of responsibility for the life that exists on the planet. She has great range; her poetry is now the spurt of a bitter fountain and again the cry of spontaneous, joyous life. Many of these poems have been published and widely quoted. The title poem protests against the toil of young girls in underpaid industries that rob them of time for play and of health for mating and motherhood.

Last year Miss Jessie Rittenhouse prepared for publication "The Little Book of Modern Verse," a collection of the work of the so-called "Younger Choir." The book met with instantaneous appreciation. This year Miss Rittenhouse has made a no less delightful anthology from the work of the poets of the nineteenth century, "The Little Book of American Poets."³ Together they form a compendium of American poetry from the time of Philip Freneau to the present. The poetry-lover who has not ample leisure to range over the many books of poetry past and present cannot do better than to own these two volumes. They are distinguished by Miss Rittenhouse's unerring judgment of lyricism, and her deep feeling for the emotion expressed in the more simple forms of poetry, that touch and comfort the human heart.

"The Quiet Hour,"⁴ selected and arranged by Fitzroy Carrington, gathers in a tasteful volume a garland of romantic and pastoral song that seems, as its editor writes, "the far, faint echo of

enchanted dream." It is illustrated with facsimiles of portraits of a number of celebrated poets.

Edith M. Thomas, who has been considered for several years the foremost woman-poet of America, offers a remarkable book, "The White Messenger and Other War Poems."⁵ The title poem pictures a village in the great country far to the East—presumably Russia—and the time is "some years hence." The White Messenger is a noble woman who has laid aside her rank and position to journey up and down the earth as the God-appointed evangel of peace. The lesson of her poem is that only the realization of individual responsibility will ever make an end of war.

Dana Burnet's first volume of verse contains some of the best war poems that have been inspired by the present European conflict.⁶ "The Return," "Albert of Belgium," "In a Village," "Ammunition," "Christmas in the Trenches," "The Forge of God," and "The Dead" are poems that will live. Behind their exterior form, which is shaped to picture a present crisis, abides the fire that kindles true poesy. He writes in "The Dead":

"Their hands are empty cups,
No dream is in their hearts.
Their eyes are like deserted rooms
From which the guest departs.

Ah, living men are fair,
Clean-limbed and straight and strong,
But dead men lie like broken lutes
Whose dying slays a song."

The collection also includes "Poems of Panama," "Gayheart," "Miscellaneous Poems," "Poems About Town" and "Dialect Poems." "In a Death House" (spring) voices the best thought that men are giving to the matter of prison reform. This stanza holds the pith of the argument:

"A death-doomed man may sometimes dream
Beyond life's little door;
And, dreaming, come at last to see
His matter to the core,
And know himself more fit to live
Than e'er he was before."

The "Imperial Japanese Poems of the Meiji Era" have been translated by Frank Manson Lombard, Professor of English Literature and Education, Doshisha University; Lecturer in English Literature, Imperial University, Kyoto, Japan. The *tanka* are selected from many of those written by the sovereigns of the Meiji Era, and keep to the original syllabic structure of thirty-one syllables divided into lines of five, seven, five, seven, seven. The poems are crystallizations of the best thought of the period (1868 to 1912), gathered as it were in little flawless vases of jade.

¹ Songs of the Workaday World. By Berton Braley. George H. Doran, 1916. pp. 81.

² The Factories, with Other Lyrics. By Margaret Widdemer. John C. Winston, 1916. pp. 81.

³ The Little Book of American Poets. Edited by Jessie Rittenhouse. Houghton, Mifflin, 1916. pp. 218.

⁴ The Quiet Hour. Edited by Fitzroy Carrington. Houghton, Mifflin, 1916. pp. 16 cents.

⁵ The White Messenger and Other War Poems. By Edith M. Thomas. Richard B. Young, 1916. pp. 60 cents.

⁶ Poems. By Dana Burnet. Harper, 1916. pp. 24.00.

⁷ Imperial Japanese Poems of the Meiji Era. Edited by F. S. Lombard. Kyoto, Japan.

The poem to the skylark is one of the most lovely in the collection—

"High in the heavens,
Above all earth-born shadows,
Soareth the skylark,
With music sweet alluring
The hearts of longing mortals."

The Emperor Mutsuhito was born in 1852. Now, when the coronation of his son, Emperor Yoshihito, has become so recently a matter of history, it is of interest to find in these *tanka* a revelation of "His Revered Father." The book is exquisitely bound, and illustrated with Japanese drawings.

A "Vision of War"

MR. LINCOLN COLCORD has written a remarkable book, "Vision of War."¹ His argument minimizes the physical suffering of war and exalts its spiritual glory. He has written with fresh impulse, originality, and power. Technically, the book follows the unrhymed rhythmic forms of Walt Whitman's poesy. Mr. Colcord arraigns all the facilities of civilization, the nations of the world, and the particular civic development of his own country before the bar of conscience. He warns each nation in turn of the gnawing worm of materialism. The best he can hope for America is a succession of desperate wars for the sake of her spirit. He perceives that America is "bound for war," and yet he writes toward the end of the book:

"I believe in giving up, rather than holding, possessions;

"I believe that men can be brought both to vote, and to run for office, in unselfishness.

"I believe that a democracy can be governed by love."

"Democracy of the World, I see! Republic of Humanity! The Brotherhood of Man!"

While there would seem to be a contradiction between the theory that peace brings about the decay of the soul, and of nations, and the prophecy of an era of universal brotherhood, nevertheless "Vision of War" will set people thinking because of its splendid and courageous appeal to individuals and nations to stem the tide of selfishness and fight,—if fight they must,—"for renunciation, endurance, forbearance, fortitude, self-control," the imperishable possessions of the human soul.

Lincoln Colcord was born at sea off Cape Horn in 1883. He has had an interesting and a varied life. Nearly his entire boyhood was spent at sea with his father on voyages to China and trading in Eastern Waters. His books, "The Drifting Diamond," and "The Game of Life and Death," a volume of sea tales, have been favorably compared with those of Joseph Conrad. He is living at present in Searsport, Maine.

PLAYS, AMERICAN AND FOREIGN

MUCH interest has been taken of late in patriotic and humanitarian movements that are intended to facilitate the nationalization of foreign-born and native-born citizens, and to promote a general understanding of the English language and the duties of citizenship.

A National Americanization Committee has been formed in New York; President Butler of Columbia University announces a course in training for adult immigrants in citizenship, and President Hadley of Yale, and President Wheeler of the University of California are interested in furthering any plans that will tend to promote loyalty to the United States. The article by Mr. Ferris in this number of the REVIEW describes the interesting experience of Los Angeles.

Somewhat in advance of these excellent and dignified efforts for the promulgation of nationalism, Mr. Percy Mackaye prepared a masque or ritual for use in schools, wherever it is desirable to present true ideals of patriotism.² It is particularly gracious in its conception and presentation, and educators will be grateful to Mr. Mackaye for this aid to citizenship.

In "The Immigrants,"³ a new lyric drama, Mr.

Mackaye gives us a poignant picture of the problems that confront the friendless immigrant who comes to our shores eagerly in hope of better things. The introduction is by Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island.

The first play of the modern Jewish theater to be translated into English is "The Treasure,"⁴ by David Pinski, a contemporary Jewish writer. It is a work of great power and significance which every student of the drama should read. Ludwig Lewisohn, who has skilfully rendered the translation, writes in the preface: "The prose of Pinski is as subtly beautiful as Maeterlinck's or Yeats'; in passion and reality the Jewish playwright surpasses both the Flemish and the Irish neo-romanticist." This is not over-praise, and, aside from literary values, Mr. Lewisohn calls attention to the power of this drama in transcending the merely ethnic and the merely national to portray man's age-long struggle for earthly possessions. "The Treasure" gives us a great moral lesson on the use and the abuse of money. It shows money as the ancient root of all evil; and it reveals money also as the servant of the wise, the giver of power, liberty, self-respect, and happiness. Tillie, the daughter of the gravedigger, who lavishes her small treasure in fine

¹ Vision of War. By Lincoln Colcord. Macmillan. 149 pp. \$1.25.

² The New Citizenship. By Percy Mackaye. Macmillan. 50 cents.

³ The Immigrants. By Percy Mackaye. B. W. Huebsch. 118 pp. \$1.

⁴ The Treasure. By David Pinski. B. W. Huebsch. 194 pp. \$1.

raiment in order to dream for a day that she has a lover, will convict every heart that clothes itself in indifference to the dreams of the poor.

The public owes the indefatigable Mr. Barrett Clark a debt of gratitude for having made available, in excellent English translation, the work of many foreign playwrights. His recent translations include: "The Village," by Octave Feuillet; "The Doctor in Spite of Himself," by Moliere; "The Beneficent Bear," by Goldoni, and "The Black Pearl," by Victorien Sardou. These plays are published by Samuel French and listed at twenty-five cents each.

Another interesting volume of translations by Mr. Clark offers "Four Plays"¹ translated from the French of Emile Augier. He writes that this French dramatist was to the theater of his time what Brieux is to the stage of to-day; that Augier is of particular interest because he has always

stood for the middle classes, for ideals of "order, regularity, justice, the family and fireside."

John Masefield's latest play is a tragedy in three acts entitled "The Faithful."² It is founded on an old and famous legend of Japan. The amazing genius that flashed upon the literary world in Masefield's poems, comes to its full maturity of dramatic expression in this moving play.

Persons who are desirous of reading philosophic discussion in dramatic form will enjoy reading "The Unveiling,"³ a poetic drama in five acts, by Jackson Boyd. The action of the drama takes place in a dream. The statues of the Gods Ormazd and Ahriman come to life in order to teach the world the nature of truth, and to solve the various problems of life. The book is remarkable for the presentation along with the solution of each problem of humanity, the contradiction or duality of thought, the opposite, which must, philosophically speaking, accompany it.

FOUR VOLUMES OF ESSAYS

DR. HUGH BLACK, author of the popular book "Friendship," presents his analysis of the unrest in religious, scientific, and social conditions, in a book of essays entitled "The New World."⁴ Broadly speaking, his conclusions point to the best methods of re-shaping the message of Christianity to fit the needs of the age. Notable among these essays is "The Movement of Democracy," in which Dr. Black writes with force and conviction of the theory that underlies democratic government. The power that sweeps through this book is expressed in a paragraph from the closing essay, "The Victory of Faith": "We live not by logic, but by primal faiths and intuitions." And through intuition and faith he sees the world moving to "realize the visions of human brotherhood."

In "The Social Principle,"⁵ Mr. Horace Holley endeavors to tear down the walls of personal experience that entomb individuals in separate cells of consciousness and bring men into the light of a universal social consciousness which shall blaze forth with unified effort and aspiration. He feels that in each closed cell there beats a great rhythm, the rhythm of forces which we do not understand, but which compel us to bring forth that which is to be new nations, new eras, new religions; a greater Reality before which the old Reality must pass away. He views the war not according to the "reality of the drama"; he sees the Christian Era at war with an era still so young that it has not yet been named. A fine and courageous book.

"The Woman Movement,"⁶ by A. L. McCrim-

mon, is a very valuable book for anyone who wishes to understand the "woman question" in all ages and in all countries. It is logical and non-partisan. After reviewing woman's position in antiquity and touching upon her position in the eighteenth century, when Mme. Doyen refuted the French production that attempted to prove that woman did not belong to the human species, he proceeds through a summary of the present-day phases of woman to his conclusion that "woman as a personality has a right to test her powers. She is not the ward of man. Let her choose her sphere and evoke its limitations." He does not approve of man's "Machiavellian policy of keeping wives and daughters ignorant," and he assumes that the woman question is a larger question than that of motherhood. Society should, however, be "concerned about undue economic pressure defeminizing woman and rendering her unfit for maternity."

The war has done a great deal to stimulate an interest in the reading of Russian novels and plays. The average reader needs a volume that will serve as an introduction to things Russian and Russian modes of thinking before he plunges into the grim realism of Dostoeffsky, Artsibashev, Andrieff, and Kuprin. Mr. Stephen Graham's book on Russia, "The Way of Martha and the Way of Mary,"⁷ will fill this need. The meaning of the title, which is not altogether a fortunate one,—is that the spirit of Christianity found in the East,—and Mr. Graham includes Russia in this generalization of locality,—is the spirit of "Mary," while the dominant impulse of Christianity in the West is that of "Martha,"—careful about many things. The material of the book is a series of brilliantly written sketches that picture the conditions of life in Russia, and also in Egypt after the outbreak of the war. Mr. Graham has been for many years a close student of Russian life.

¹ Four Plays, by Emile Augier. Translated by Barrett Clark. Samuel French, 104 pp., \$1.00.

² The Faithful. By John Masefield. London: 1919. 29 pp., \$1.00.

³ The Unveiling. By Jackson Boyd. Princeton, 1919. 29 pp., \$1.00.

⁴ The New World. By Hugh Black. Boston, 1919. 29 pp., \$1.00.

⁵ The Social Principle. By Horace Holley. Townsend Company, 29 pp., \$1.00.

⁶ The Woman Movement. By A. L. McCrimmon. The Griffith & Rowland Press, 29 pp., \$1.00.

⁷ The Way of Martha and the Way of Mary. By Stephen Graham. London, 1919. 132 pp., \$2.00.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—SECURITIES OF INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES

THE war in Europe had not been in progress four months when wholesale paring of dividends among American industrial companies began to occur. By the first of January, 1915, no less than 150 corporations had either reduced, passed, or "deferred" payments on stocks, common and preferred, involving losses of millions of dollars to investors. The largest numbers of cuts were among iron and steel, copper, oil, and automobile concerns. They all depend upon industrial activity to make them prosperous enough to divide profits with shareholders, but the conflict in Europe, with its blockades and moratoriums, had, figuratively, laid them flat on their backs.

A composite explanation from the managers of these companies as to why they reduced or passed dividends would be that the safeguarding of working capital compelled it. Money at that time was costing the average company 6 per cent. and a commission that made the total from 7 to 8 per cent. People were not paying their bills promptly and there was a tendency to hoard money. Even though one were willing to pay the market price for accommodations the amount was in such small sums as to be worthless. So, when the semi-annual dividend period came around in October or November of the corporation with \$15,000,000 7 per cent. preferred stock outstanding, it was decided to hold the \$525,000 in the treasury as "working capital" instead of paying it out in dividends. Others stopped paying because they could not afford to draw on their surplus, not having earned the amount required. One of these was the United States Steel, which had been making quarterly disbursements of \$6,250,000. These it stopped entirely. Nearly a dozen of the Standard Oil Subsidiaries, supposedly very wealthy and with an enviable dividend record, all of a sudden found themselves faced with a famine in funds and they, too, reduced, passed, or "deferred" payments.

Naturally there was a tremendous shrinkage in the securities of all industrial companies. Many of them were unsalable in the open markets during the period when the New York Stock Exchange was closed. This

was the time when Bethlehem Steel common sold at \$30, which has since sold at \$600, and General Motors at about \$50, which the other day reached the equivalent of \$600 a share. The chief reason why people would not buy this class then was that they were known to have too large liabilities for their capital, were frequent borrowers at high interest rates, and had been prodigal with dividends in flush times.

With the lapse of a year such a complete change in corporation finances as probably never occurred in this country in a similar period has taken place. Since June alone 135 different concerns have either placed their dividends back on the 1914 basis or have paid more than they did then or had ever paid. Not a few of this number made their first disbursements to stockholders within this period. In the list are twenty-five munition-making concerns, a dozen iron and steel manufacturers and a similar number of motor companies, thirteen sugar producers and refiners, nearly thirty copper, lead, and zinc producers and an additional group of smelters and refiners, ten oil companies, and nearly a score of public utilities whose financial position had been reversed by the industrial activity throughout the United States.

Radical as this change has been there are other developments that have even greater significance and on these the new investment position of many manufacturing and allied concerns is to be made.

This position rests on a reduction of liabilities, in some cases taking the form of a floating debt, in others of short-term notes, and in still others of early maturing bonds. No such opportunity has ever been given to put the corporation house in order as is provided in the rapid accumulation of profits on war contracts or the furnishing of other supplies to Europe. If advantage is taken of this condition the industrials will fortify themselves against many lean years, and their credit will average nearer to that of the railroads and public utilities than it had ever been believed it could do.

Let us take three concrete illustrations from the list of companies that have been

conspicuous this year for the appreciation in the value of their common stocks. The first is Bethlehem Steel. This concern has outstanding an issue of \$19,777,000 first and refunding 5 per cent. bonds. They are redeemable at 105 on proper notice prior to the semi-annual interest day. It is quite possible that these bonds, which do not mature until the year 1942, may be paid off with the profits of the corporation, which would leave a very small fixed charge ahead of the preferred and common stocks. The second instance is that of the General Motors Company, which has already paid from profits an issue of about \$8,000,000 notes so that there are no obligations ahead of stocks. A third situation is that of the Baldwin Locomotive Company, which has \$10,000,000 first mortgage 5 per cent. bonds out and due in 1940. There is a very strong sentiment among the directors of this corporation that it should make hay while the sun shines and rid itself of this mortgage which costs \$500,000 per annum in interest. Other cases are those of the Du Pont Powder Company, which proposes to substitute stocks for its 4½ per cent. bonds, the Aetna Explosives Company, which has been anticipating payment on its notes as it could do with its rising returns, and a number of mining and metal concerns. The writer also has in mind the private policies of several large sugar producing companies which have been struggling for years against poor crops, low prices, tariff handicaps, and what not, but are now earning from 40 to 60 per cent. on their common stocks. There is great pressure on them to make heavy cash disbursements, but the managers of these companies believe that they should first establish a cash fund of large enough size to make future financing easy and if they have obligations that are maturing within a few years pay them off now. Similar views are held by one important electric company engaged in war-munition manufacture. Then there are countless factories throughout the East and Middle West that have been struggling along for years on small profits but have made enough this year to cancel their debts and establish a surplus and who are provident enough not to dissipate this profit in reckless financing. The stock equities in all these companies has obviously gone up at a tremendous pace.

What is undoubtedly the most remarkable instance of a turn of fortune from poverty to princeliness is that furnished by the International Mercantile Marine. For a year this company had been losing money, and

last April, having defaulted six months before on its bond interest, a receiver was appointed. A plan of reorganization was drawn up which involved an assessment on the stockholders. Hardly had this been promulgated when it was learned that the earnings of the corporation were in excess of any other period in its history and that instead of being in the bankruptcy courts it ought to be paying dividends. Shareholders united against the plan and soon secured radical modifications. The point is that at the rate profits are accruing each month it would be possible to pay off in cash and some new securities, at par, an issue of over \$52,000,000 of collateral trust 4½ per cent. bonds and another issue of \$17,000,000 odd first mortgage 5 per cent. bonds of the International Navigation Company. It has not infrequently happened that the net earnings of some months have been equivalent to the total net of previous years. This is not only due to the tremendous amount of tonnage offered, but to the highest scale of rates ever put into effect on transatlantic service.

From these facts it is obvious that industrial securities must have been given a new place in the minds of discriminating investors.

Therefore, the main suggestion of this article is that the person with ready funds study the subjoined list of twenty-five preferred stocks of industrial companies, any one of which may be recommended for investment:

PREFERRED STOCKS AND THEIR RETURN

	Approximate Price	Dividend Rate	Yield on Investment
American Beet Sugar	94	6	6.40
American Car & Foundry	118	7	5.93
American Locomotive	102	7	6.85
American Smelting & Refining	111	7	6.30
American Sugar	118	7	5.93
American Tobacco	109	6	5.50
Baldwin Locomotive	112	7	6.25
Central Leather	110½	7	6.33
General Chemical	115	6	5.20
General Motors	115½	7	5.58
International Harvester, N. I.	110½	7	6.35
Liggett & Myers	119½	7	5.86
National Biscuit	126	7	5.50
National Lead	110½	7	6.33
Pierre Lorrillard	118½	7	6.00
Railway Steel Springs	121	7	6.00
Pressed Steel Car	105	7	6.70
Republic Iron & Steel	110	7	6.40
Sears Roebuck	126	7	5.50
Sindbakker	114½	7	6.10
United States Rubber	100	7	7.00
United States Steel	116	7	6.00
Virginia Carolina Chemical	111½	7	7.00
Willam Overland	115	7	6.00
Woolworth	124	7	5.64

In the two years prior to 1915 the American Car and Foundry Company earned its preferred stock dividend by a margin of about \$1,500,000. The surplus over the American Smelting and Refining preferred for the same period was \$3,350,000. That available for General Motors preferred was seven times the amount required, and this year nearly fourteen times the requirements. National Biscuit preferred for the last five years has been earning from two and a half to three times its dividend needs. In 1914 and 1913 Sears Roebuck earned a surplus of \$18,000,000 for preferred dividends required of \$1,100,000. Studebaker Corporation earned its preferred in 1914 five times over. United States Rubber has earned an annual average balance of \$3,200,000 since 1912. Of Willys-Overland preferred there is less than \$5,000,000 outstanding, and this is to be retired in favor of a new issue convertible into common stock. The industrial collapse last year made it impossible for the American Locomotive, Baldwin Locomotive, Railway Steel Springs, Republic Iron and Steel,

United States Steel, and Virginia-Carolina Chemical to earn the amounts necessary for their preferred dividends and the margin over Pressed Steel was only \$17,000, but of these only Republic Iron and Steel deferred payment. It has since resumed and is making up the accumulations each quarter. The other had sufficiently large surplus accounts, created in better times, to draw on so their dividend record remains unbroken. It is interesting to note that some of the best results predicted for the year 1915 are those of concerns that had the hardest sledding during 1914.

Some of the above stocks are redeemable at a high premium over par, the dividends on a majority are cumulative, and a portion are strengthened by the working of a sinking fund by which a small percentage of the total stock outstanding is each year retired. The present value of all, however, is the large earnings applicable to them and the policy of reducing from current revenues the obligations that stand as a prior claim ahead.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 689. FIRST-MORTGAGE REAL-ESTATE BONDS

From a small salary I have saved a little fund which I have deposited in a local bank at 4 per cent. This rate of interest is not sufficient, so I am writing to inquire if you will assist me with some information as to how I can invest the money in a safe manner, to bring me 5 or 6 per cent. I do not want anything speculative, but something that I could turn quickly into cash should occasion demand it. Do you consider that first-mortgage real-estate bonds would meet my requirements? I think I should like a bond maturing in from five to ten years.

The class of bonds which you have under consideration has a very good record for safety, but it is one in connection with which it is necessary for investors to pay particular attention to the character of the banking sponsorship. As a class, such bonds do not have a very satisfactory degree of convertibility. That is to say, they do not enjoy a broad, general market, and in localities where they are not sufficiently well known, their loan or collateral value is not ordinarily high. Many of the reliable banking houses specializing in this class of investments, however, have made it a practise for a good many years to meet this deficiency in convertibility by taking care of all of the legitimate needs of their clients for ready cash, either by repurchasing their offerings at a nominal discount to cover handling charges, or by themselves loaning money on the bonds as collateral.

In going into this type of investment, it would ordinarily be a simple matter for you to meet your requirements as to maturity on account of the fact that practically all real-estate mortgage bonds are nowadays issued in serial form, with a fixed proportion of the outstanding amount payable in annual or semi-annual instalments.

No. 690. CITIES SERVICE STOCKS

I am very anxious to learn the present condition of the Cities Service Company, and am writing to you in the hope that you may be able to give me some trustworthy information. Shortly after I bought the stock of this company, I wrote to you and you gave only a qualified approval of the purchase. I hold only a few shares, but I am disturbed about the suspension of dividends and the way in which the market price has declined. Do you think it would be advisable for me to sell out and take my loss?

You fail to indicate whether your Cities Service shares are the common or preferred, but in either event, we do not believe you are justified in feeling too much concern about the situation. There has recently been a marked tendency to strength in the market position of both the preferred and common shares of this company. We find the preferred nominally quoted at the time of writing at 76½ bid, offered at 78½, and the common at 88 bid, offered at 90. That a rather substantial reason exists for this betterment in the market position of the stock is evident from the fact that the company reported for the period between October 1, 1914, and September 30, 1915, a surplus amounting to \$1,890,055, as against \$1,125,854 for the corresponding period of the previous year. For September alone,—the last month for which complete figures are available,—surplus was \$163,488, as against only \$91,170 for September, 1914. And a still further evidence of the generally improved position of the company is found in the fact that provision has been made for resuming regular monthly cash dividends of one-half of one per cent. on the preferred shares beginning the first of the new year.

Everything considered, we think unquestionably the thing for you to do is to retain your holdings of the stock, at least for the time being.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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OPENING SESSION OF THE SECOND PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS (WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27, 1915—JANUARY 8, 1916)
(The central figure, behind the small table, is Ambassador Eduardo Suárez Mujica, of Chile, president of the Congress; on his right is Vice-President Marshall, of the United States. At the left of Ambassador Suárez are Secretary of State Lansing, and John Barrett, Secretary-General of the Congress and director of the Pan-American Union.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LIII

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1916

No. 2

*Wanted—An
American
Attitude!*

During the years 1914 and 1915, the American mind was more intent upon the observation of affairs beyond our borders than upon conditions and problems of our own. It was not that we were free from troubles, or indifferent to the affairs and concerns of the United States; but rather that the momentous happenings elsewhere were seemingly of more consequence to us than anything that we could do or leave undone here at home. But the year 1916 calls for a new American attitude. The time has come when the people of this country must arouse themselves, find out where they stand, take on a resolute mood, revive their convictions, and show their old-time courage and enthusiasm. America has been dazed, anxious, and deeply bewildered. We have taken counsel of timidity, and in consequence have been unable to do either the one thing or the other. It is high time for open councils, frank expressions, clean-cut performances. Let us fervently hope that we are to be spared the agony of warfare, as many other countries have experienced it, in the past year and a half. But let us cease to suppose that we can escape war by pursuing selfish or timid or ambiguous courses.

*The Price of
"Peace with
Honor"*

Peace with honor is worth a great price. It is worth as much to us Americans as individuals as it is worth to the Swiss as individuals. Furthermore, American peace with honor is a blessing to be extended far beyond our own immediate shores. For if we are resolute enough to protect our interests here at home, we shall be that same token save our neighbors in the development of order and prosperity, and help the world at large to establish a sane equilibrium. There has been much talk in this country of a league of the nations, which shall be prepared to use force for the maintenance of peace. This

scheme does not contemplate individual feebleness of members of the league as a starting point for protection against the aggression of the strong. A peace league, for example, that should begin with a union of the United States, China, Liberia, Cuba, Peru, and Siam, could not do much to enforce peace in such a world as the one in which we now live in the year 1916. If the United States is to be valuable as a member of a league for maintaining peace, it must be able to use its latent power in an efficient way. If this country cares profoundly for peace, it will make a great effort to find out what price it ought to pay and will then contribute its share promptly and cheerfully.

*Influence
Through
Strength*

As individual Americans, we are not warlike. Nor have we collectively any ambitions to be promoted by a resort to war. We are quite



IN THE OFFICE OF THE EDITOR OF THE
REVIEW OF REVIEWS, NEW YORK

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ready, as individuals and as a country, to join any feasible plan of international union that would do away with wars, just as our federal union wholly removes the danger of war between New York and Pennsylvania, or between California and Oregon. But there is not at present any sanctuary of international union that we can enter, and thereby find ourselves exempted from the further need of self-protection. If in point of fact our union of States had not been formed, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and if there had been intense and bitter territorial disputes and rivalries having to do with boundary lines and with claims for valuable Western lands, a New York wholly unarmed might not have been safe against a Vermont or a Connecticut thoroughly militarized and desperately in earnest. With the union established, a happier and wiser way was found and employed to settle all differences. At present our desire to maintain our own peace and to aid in securing and establishing the peace of the Western Hemisphere and of the world at large, can have weight and influence only through our methods and policies as an organized, sovereign nation.

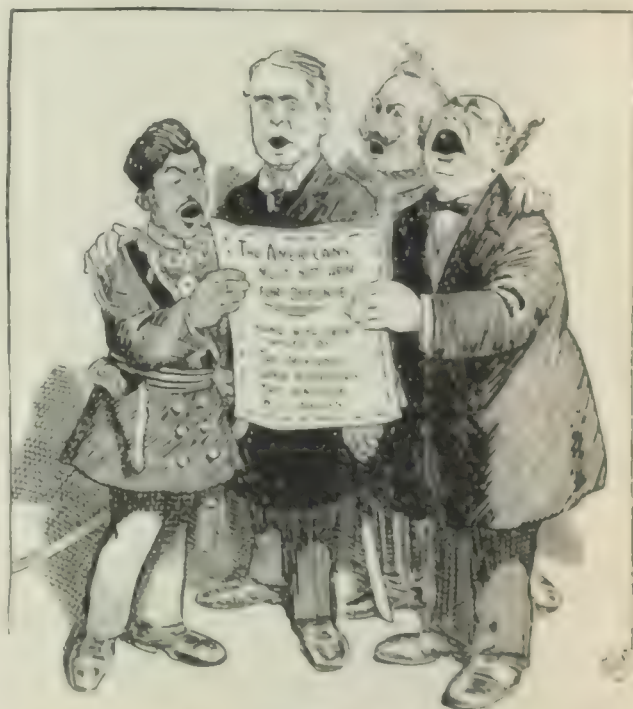
*Friends of a
Strong
America*

If, therefore, we respect ourselves, and if we appreciate the advantages that we have long enjoyed, we will do unto others as we would wish to have them do to us in like circumstances. Let us, for instance, ask this very simple question: What countries, to-day, would be glad to see the people of the United States able to protect themselves against any possible attack, and able to enforce peaceful measures in the regions where the United States ought to exercise the leading influence? The people of the following states would undoubtedly like to have the United States very strong and well prepared for the defense of her own territories and for the encouragement of right and justice in the world: Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, China, Canada, the Australian Commonwealth, the South African Union, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Cuba, and most of the other Latin American republics, and probably Spain. The countries that we have named do not want anything that they do not already possess, and have no aggressive designs or purposes. Since the people of those countries are well aware that the people of the United States have also no aggressive purposes, they would all

feel stronger and safer, in a turbulent world, if the United States had a bigger and stronger navy behind its policies for arbitration and international friendship.

*Trained Men
as Well
as Ships*

Furthermore, all the peace-loving and peace-keeping countries would feel that the world was a safer one if each individual young American were as well trained and equipped for defense as each individual young Swiss or Australian. This is one of the subjects about which, in the year 1916, Americans must arouse themselves, and must face public duty. Our country is suffering from ease and sloth, from pleasure-seeking and greed. It has taken some time for many good and wise people to discover the path of peace, safety and honor. A year ago the President of the United States was advising the country not to change its defensive methods and policies. This year he is demanding of the people, with all possible urgency, that they radically enlarge their standing army, create a large new army of a different character to be called the Continentals, enlarge the navy, and, in short, enter upon a program of preparedness that will call for an expenditure of not less than a billion dollars within a very brief term of years.



THE INTERNATIONAL QUARTET

The cartoonist, evidently inspired by Theodore Roosevelt's recent speech against American preparedness, imagines that the belligerent powers of Europe and elsewhere the Japanese are in accord with Mr. William Jennings Bryan in preferring to have Uncle Sam weak on sea and defenseless on land. It does not follow that the cartoonist is necessarily correct in his idea that the military powers prefer to see us in the class with China.

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



© G. A. B. Westcott, D. C.

THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS, OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NOW ENGAGED IN CONSIDERING THE PROBLEMS OF ARMY EXTENSION

(Seated, from left to right: Julius Kahn, of California; A. C. Shallenberger, of Nebraska; William Gordon, of Ohio; K. D. McKellar, of Tennessee; G. H. Dent, Jr., of Alabama; James Hay, of Virginia, Chairman; William J. Fields, of Kentucky; Percy E. Quin, of Mississippi; Adam E. Littlepage, of West Virginia; Samuel J. Nichols, of South Carolina; Richard Olney, of Massachusetts; Harry E. Hull, of Iowa. Standing, from left to right: J. C. McKenzie, of Illinois; John C. Tilson, of Connecticut; John M. Morin, of Pennsylvania; Edward W. Carpenter, clerk; D. R. Anthony, Jr., of Kansas; Frank L. Greene, of Vermont)

The President and the "Friends of Peace"

Has President Wilson therefore become a belligerent person, and is he now recreant to the cause that the pacifists have at heart? There are, indeed, those assuming to represent the "friends of peace," that speak of the President as a renegade who has gone over to the evil cause of the militarists and the lovers of war. Altogether too much respect has been accorded to the people who have been making such attacks upon the President. Most of them are not sound thinkers, and a good many of them are either lacking in sincerity or else are slow to understand what the country is talking about. There are, indeed, some who have the courage of their convictions, and who would disband our existing army, turn West Point into a sanitarium, sell our present navy for junk, and put the nation, as respects army and navy, in exactly the same position that one of our individual States holds. But these consistent believers in the doctrine of non-resistance are in point of not very few. The great majority of the writers and speakers who denounce the Administration plan and all other plans for giving the country a better preparation to defend itself, resort to denigration and disparagement, without defining their own position or trying to do any justice to the arguments of those whom they call "militarists."

If Any Navy, a Proper One

Upon cross-examination, it appears that many of the President's opponents are willing to continue maintaining our present army and navy strength. Further inquiry brings to light the fact that they regard our existing naval strength as very great, and perhaps second only to that of Great Britain. It follows, then, that they are prepared to hold that the United States should have a navy, and that this navy should be a powerful one. It becomes merely a question of expert opinion as to what constitutes a proper navy at this time. President Wilson now believes that the navy should be very considerably developed, and in this view he is sustained by his entire cabinet, by every one connected with the army and navy, and by almost every civilian whose study of the subject would seem to justify an expression of opinion. Ever since he has been in office, President Wilson has regarded the maintenance of honorable peace as the highest duty with which he was charged. Surely there is no one who would for a moment deliberately question so obviously just a statement. The same thing could be said with equal truth of President Taft, President Roosevelt, President McKinley, President Cleveland, and their predecessors. A year ago, when he did not think it wise to press for immediate army and navy

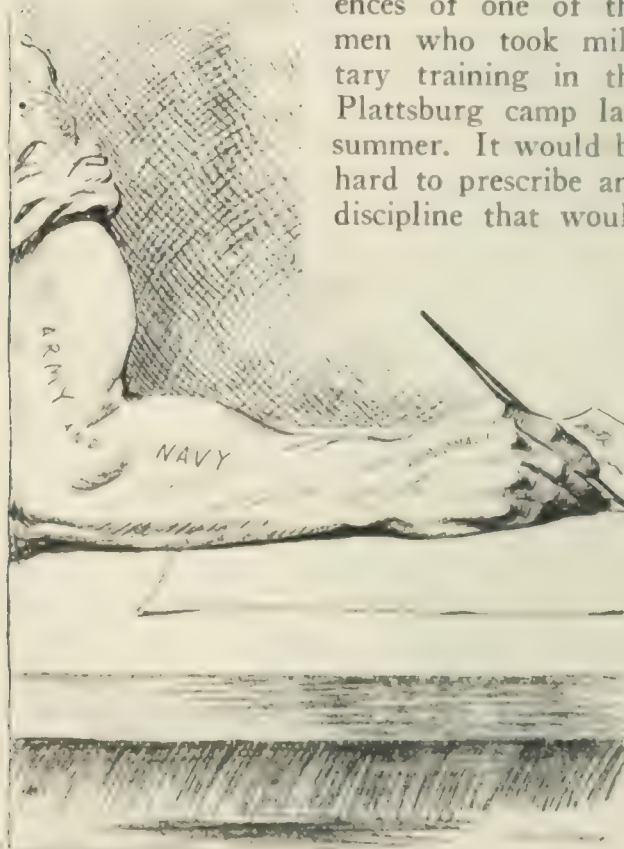
extension, President Wilson had the welfare and peace of this country in mind, precisely as he has them in mind to-day when he accepts the view that we ought to provide more adequately for national defense.

Conditions in the world have
Discipline
Not an
Evil exchanged, and the arguments for increasing the navy and enlarging the army have become more clear and definite. How to work it all out is the real question; and to this point Congress should devote itself in a spirit above partisanship. The present police force of New York City numbers nearly 11,000 men. Secretary Garrison has shown us that the entire army of the United States available for movement to a point of danger is less than three times the number of New York's policemen. Many citizens might well wish that the metropolis could get along without paying the salaries of so many policemen. But when a police force is rightly trained and managed, it is a source of great benefit and advantage to the community. It is possible to have a comparatively large army, so disciplined, trained, and managed as to be in many ways a benefit to the country. We would like to have every reader turn to page 225 of this number of the REVIEW, and note attentively our summary of the experiences of one of the men who took military training in the Plattsburg camp last summer. It would be hard to prescribe any discipline that would

be more valuable to five million young Americans than to give them such a training for a period of from four weeks to twelve weeks. All the cost of the process would be promptly repaid in the increased personal efficiency of the men thus trained.

We have—as this REVIEW has previously shown—more than fifty important institutions located in all of the forty-eight States, that are each year receiving large sums of money from the United States Government on condition that they give military instruction in addition to the obligatory courses in agriculture and mechanic arts. No other country has such a training system ready at hand. There are probably more than thirty thousand young men attending these institutions in any given year. In some of them the military training is intelligent and valuable. In others it is perfunctory and of relatively slight importance. The strictest possible inquiry should be made, and Congress should cut off the appropriations for any one of these colleges that does not bring its military training up to a point of efficiency that is fully abreast of the work of the institution in other departments. The great value of West Point and Annapolis does not lie so much in the specific teaching of the art of war as in the discipline and training of young men for the service of the country. The chief lack in most of our colleges and higher institutions at the present time is in their failure to bring out the highest possibilities of each individual young man. There are many students who would surely show great development of character and of power if a more definite appeal were made to the motive of efficient service as citizens.

In Switzerland, military training is not for the purpose of creating a fighting machine to be used in furtherance of some mysterious and dangerous policy of aggressive empire. Its object, rather, is to make brave and courageous citizens, equal to all the duties of a democratic society, and capable of defending their liberties and their homes with robust vigor and a fine sense of preparedness and efficiency. There is no other country in the world, as we have said, that has easily available such an opportunity as the United States possesses to create a system of military training that will make better and more responsible citizens, that will purify our poli-



THE STRONGER THE ARM, THE FIRMER THE HAND
From the *Lazie* (Brooklyn)



(C. American Press Association, New York)

PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY. IN CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK CITY

(Seated, from left to right: Louis J. Ticknor, Dr. David Jayne Hill, [former Ambassador to Germany], and Dr. S. H. Chapman. Standing, from left to right, are: Dr. Lee De Forest, Cleveland Moffett, Julian Street, W. J. Harrison, George S. Patton, Jr., Mayel Hoffman, Capt. Lawrence Angel, U. S. A. retired, Joseph H. Gott, Paul Thompson, and Henry Rossmore.)

tics, that will democratize our communities, and that will strengthen our agriculture and industry. We do not have to begin by inventing something wholly new and untried. We can go very far by improving and developing what we already have. This system of higher institutions in which we already give compulsory military training under direction of the United States Government, affords an incomparable means of providing inferior officers for a vast body of militia or citizen soldiery.

Colleges for Public Service Each one of these institutions could be rapidly transformed for purposes of military preparation, and made a sort of university extension center in its own State for the training camps that should be almost universally patronized by young men. A great part of this work could be accomplished through the money already appropriated from year to year by the United States Government for these institutions. Besides the colleges already re-

ceiving Government aid, we have a great number of secondary schools, mostly under private control, organized on the military plan, and already recognized by the War Department. Some way could be found to give such institutions a modest amount of practical Government aid. There would still remain several hundred institutions of higher grade which could properly find ways to make their students efficient in forms of public service among which would be included military defense. Perhaps a second institution similar to West Point should be developed at some point in the interior. Meanwhile, with an increase of instructors and facilities, it would be possible to train from three to four times as many young men at West Point as are now numbered in the corps of cadets. A similar remark would apply to Annapolis. All of our higher education should include some kind of training for public service. President Lowell, of Harvard, in his latest yearly report, shows in definite ways just how this can be done.



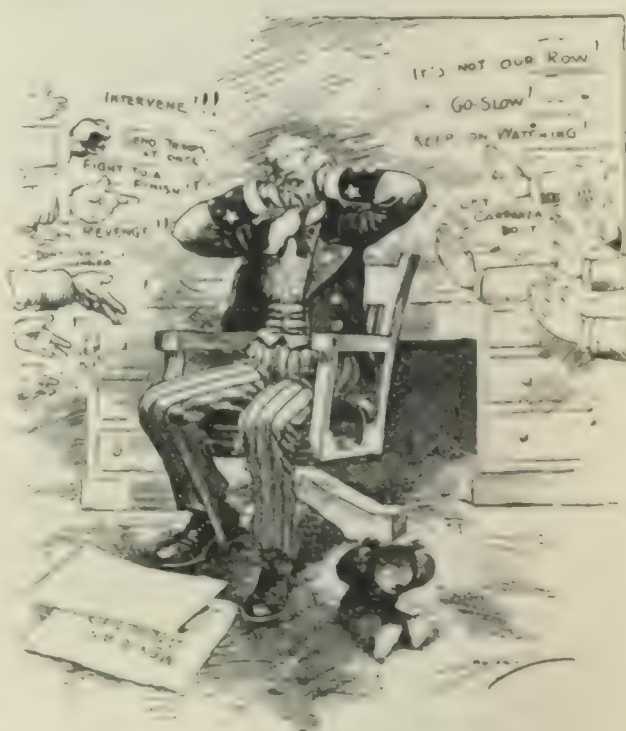
THE FIRST LESSON
From the *World* (New York)

Facing
the
Realities

These suggestions may not seem to apply specifically to the pending discussion at Washington. They are not so intended. Our desire is to help form a public opinion in the country that will, in its turn, give proper encouragement to the lawmakers at Washington in their endeavor to meet the country's demands and needs. We had all ardently hoped that the twentieth century was to bring us an era of peace and disarmament. Thousands of the wisest and best men in the country fully believed, in the decade preceding 1860, that the American Civil War could be averted and that the disputes touching slavery, States' rights, and Western settlement could be compromised and lived down. But history seems obstinately to move in directions contrary to the course of our righteous desires. We do not, indeed, live in a world that is hopelessly vicious and savage, but rather in a world that is disorganized, and that is undergoing violent convulsions that are likely to last for some time to come. It is with extreme reluctance that many of us have had to give up the idea that the quiet and contented peoples of the world need not arm themselves for protection against the abnormal, insatiate activities of the empires whose final appeal is to the law of force. But there must be rallying points for the support of civilization; and until the nations organize and swear allegiance to a federation of mankind, we must be on guard.

Our Press
Makes
War Daily

The people of the United States, in the national sense, are high spirited and quickly aroused. They live upon newspapers; and the American press is the most alarmist and sensational of which the mind of man could possibly conceive. Without any cause whatever for going to war, various American newspapers have—almost every week for a year past—found some pretext for lashing the American public up to the point of imagining that we had some kind of duty impelling us to make war upon Germany, or England, or Austria, or Mexico, or Japan, or Turkey. The servants of the press at Washington, taking their cue from officialdom, have on perhaps a hundred different occasions flashed the news across the country that those sitting in the seats of power regarded "the situation" as being "very grave," or else "extremely critical." And we have been assured that war or peace for the people of the United States was hanging upon the turn of a phrase in diplomatic polemics. If the foreign ministers merely say they "regret," we have got to have a war; but if they will only say they "disavow," then we may have peace, and go about our daily business as usual. If a casual military chieftain will exchange salutes in a particular way, then we keep the peace, though still watching and waiting; but if he has the notion that the exchange must take the form of alternate guns, then we are on the verge of a vast and bloody war.



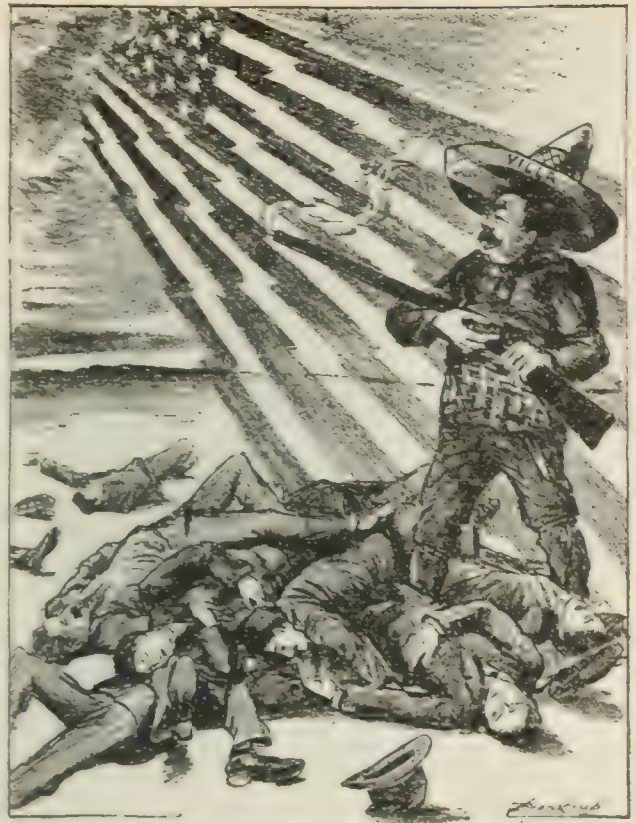
UNCLE SAM AND THE ALARMISTS
From the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)

*Challengers
Must Be
Prepared!*

Let any citizen with a capacity for analysis sift out for himself the essentials of all that we have been passing through. We have issued several notices to Mexico that European powers would have regarded as the kind of ultimatum that means war. We have called at least four great European powers to account for what we pronounce to be grave violation of our rights. Other unarmed and helpless countries have been suffering far worse indignities and wrongs than those of which we have been complaining with our sharp and threatening challenges; but these other countries, recognizing their own feebleness, have said nothing at all or else spoken very softly. China has no developed public opinion; and many wrongs might be perpetrated against Chinese sovereignty or territorial integrity without its becoming known to the majority of Chinamen. But everybody knows the news in this country; and sentiment flares up from Maine to California with all the swiftness of electricity and modern printing presses. Considerations of prudence, on the ground of our not being prepared, will never induce the American people to condone injustice or submit to indignities. We are therefore in a great deal of practical danger of getting into a war unless the rest of the world forthwith abandons violent practices and sedulously cultivates our good will.

*Spain's
Example*

American human nature is as it is; and the turbulent conditions of Europe, Asia, and parts of Africa and America, are obvious to every intelligent observer. Advocates of preparedness, like Mr. Hudson Maxim, have shown that we shall be merely exposing our national pride to humiliation, and subjecting our sons to cruel massacre, if we are so stupid as to remain in the irritating position of being just a little prepared instead of being well prepared. As things stand, we have navy and army enough to get us into a bad scrape, but not enough to bring us creditably out of trouble. If Spain had been virtually without a navy, she would have avoided the war with us in 1898, would have negotiated for evacuation of Cuba, and would have kept the Philippines. If, on the other hand, Admiral Cervera had crossed the Atlantic with a somewhat larger fleet, that had been efficiently maintained, the Spaniards could not only have kept Cuba but could have exacted tribute from New York and Boston. Spain had just the amount and kind of



INVITING THE LIGHTNING
(A typical newspaper challenge, inciting to war)
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

*Holland's
Sound
Policy*

Holland holds Java and her other outlying possessions, and maintains an important overseas trade, with a navy of very moderate dimensions that ranks perhaps twelfth among the nations. She has some submarines, and will increase the number of her destroyers and smaller protective craft. She has also an efficient army, based upon the principle of conscription or compulsory service. The ordinary field force of the Netherlands army amounts to about 150,000 men, while in the various reserves there are perhaps 300,000 more. Holland has six million people, as against our one hundred million, and is not a warlike or militarized nation. But she could put 400,000 men into active service more readily than we could mobilize one-fourth as many, utilizing our National Guard and other possible sources of supply. If we were as well prepared relatively as Switzerland or Holland to defend our homes,—while continuing to stand with them, as we now do, for the principles of justice, honor, and civilization in the world,—we should have at least six million men trained and equipped for military duty.



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MR. EDISON ENTERING A SUBMARINE LAST MONTH

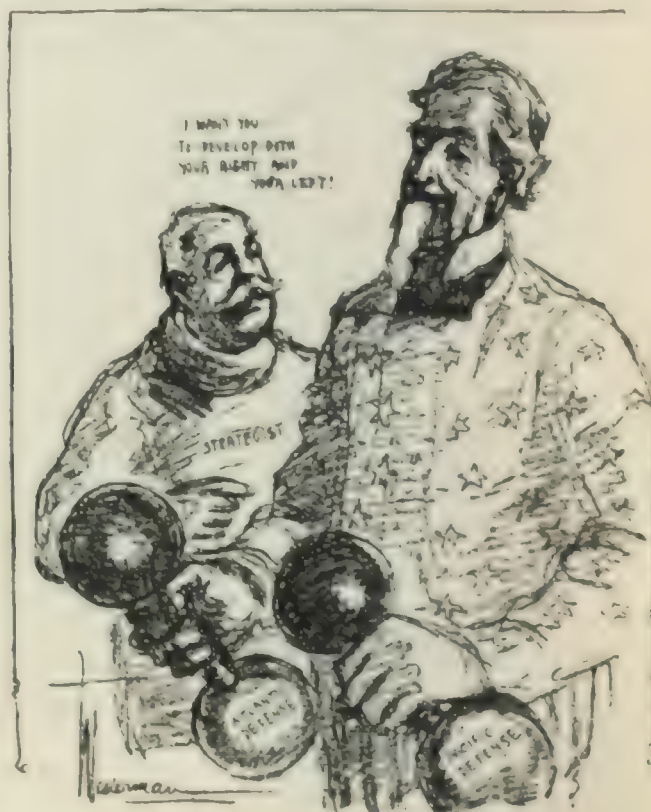
*First,
Strengthen
Our Navy*

The most immediate need, then, for the United States, is to put in good trim the navy that we have, enlist enough additional seamen to man the ships, and lean strongly and confidently upon the good faith and judgment of our best naval authorities in deciding just what our building program ought to be, in order to keep our naval power decidedly ahead of that of Germany and second only to that of Great Britain. It is time, in the early part of this year 1916, to make several firm decisions, and one of these should be in favor of the President's program for naval expansion, modified and improved in its details, and decidedly emboldened in its scope by a study of the unabridged recommendations of the General Board of the Navy headed by Admiral Dewey. This periodical stands committed to that policy with firm conviction of its wisdom. An influential opponent and critic of the doctrine of preparedness as laid down in the President's message, when asked the other day what he would advocate if he were in Congress and debating this year's naval appropriation bill, said that he would favor the immediate building of forty submarines. It happens that he does not believe in dreadnoughts. We cite this to show some of our doubting but sincere friends in the West that even the most extreme of the so-called Eastern "pacifists" are in most instances,

when cross-examined, in favor of some kind of preparation for defending the country.

*Bold
Plans Are
Best*

But America, when at her best, is a country of bold conceptions and large devices. We want a navy that will make our pacifism respected and respectable. We do not intend to withdraw our young men from civil life or from industrial pursuits. A few weeks or months of hard training for manly responsibilities will enormously enhance their economic efficiency. American military training can and must be of a different kind from that of Germany. But even the German system probably pays for itself twice over in the improved health and capacity that the training gives to the average young man. The navy, with us, would require a longer and more specialized training than the army; but we have in practise found it quite possible to give valuable experience to a large number of young men on a plan of short naval enlistments. As Mr. Maxim and the experts are constantly telling us, the wars of the future are to be increasingly dependent upon scientific and mechanical devices. There are probably more than three million young men in the country who can operate automobiles, and several million sufficiently accustomed to machinery to run stationary steam or gas-engines. Many thousands of these, with brief training, could operate aeroplanes.



AMBI-DEXTROUS PREPAREDNESS
From the State Journal (Columbus, Ohio)

There is now a definite movement in favor of inaugurating a series of aeroplane postal routes, with a view to training and equipping men who could be available at once for military scout service in case of need. The development of the aeroplane has been so rapid that such proposals as this of a postal service no longer seem fanciful. So general is the American aptitude for mechanical things that countless thousands of youths could be taught the operation of such instruments as machine guns with little trouble. But harm would befall the country if this instruction were to be wholly deferred until after the outbreak of war.

*Genuine
Public
Spirit*

We have all of us, perhaps, spent time and breath enough in explaining to one another that we do not naturally like guns and other deadly instruments of war, and that all our predilections are for peace and a quiet life. Explanations and apologies are no longer needed. If this country is to endure, its citizens must make sacrifices for the public good. They must get their mental energies aroused, and learn to think about large matters in a decisive way. We have a hundred or a thousand petty communities trying through log-rolling methods to drive the American treasury into squandering public money to give them each a post-office building, costing at least \$100,000, when a small corner of the village drug store would amply provide for their post-office needs. Useless and expensive army posts have been maintained through a like insistence upon some supposed local benefit regardless of the larger public interest. The proper concentration of naval stations has been prevented by senators and representatives whose tricky and selfish localism is in the moral sense treason against the nation. We have been building docks and spending money to please local interests at ports which have little or no naval value, and lack depth of water for large vessels. The country should demand open discussion and full information.

*Road
Self-interest*

It is charged that the interests engaged in the private business of making munitions and building ships have selfishly created the agitation for preparedness, and that they, with the army and navy officers, use improper lobby influences at Washington. Even if this were true, such a lobby would find it very hard to offset the intense lobby pressure and log-



UNCLE SAM:—"ROB ME? WHY NOBODY WOULD THINK OF SUCH A THING!"

From the *North American*. (Philadelphia)

rolling influences that fight against a sound navy, improved coast defenses, and a better supply of artillery and munitions, for the sole reason that they are intent upon getting money out of the Treasury for their own selfish projects that have little if any public merit. It is quite proper, as Senator Cummins and others propose, that Congress should provide for a much larger amount of direct Government building of ships, and making of guns and ammunition. We must always guard against such improprieties as have been unearthed in Germany, France, Japan, and other countries, in the relationship of governments to the private money-making business of munition-supply, known as the "armament trust." But we cannot now depart from the plan of buying portions of our supplies from private manufacturers, or from building warships on contract with private shipyards. Honest contracts are not impossible.

*National Honor
the First
Need*

However much we may deplore the embarrassments that arise from the vast trade in munitions, due to the European demand, we must admit that the increased capacity of our factories may prove to be a national asset in an hour of emergency. All supplies made by

such establishments, that are not actually delivered and out of reach, are available for the use of our own Government at any moment when it might need them, regardless of foreign contracts. As for the army, it must be under full national control, and rest upon the principle of universal liability and training. Its present need of enlargement must be met by a plan of short enlistments, with intensive training for a few weeks or months, and with the remaining time on furlough, without re-enlistment. It seems to us that Secretary Garrison's plan is part of a right scheme, but that it needs a bolder and more complete development. Congress will do little or it will do much, in accordance with the definiteness and energy shown by the forces of public opinion in States and Congressional districts. A wholly new kind of army is demanded.

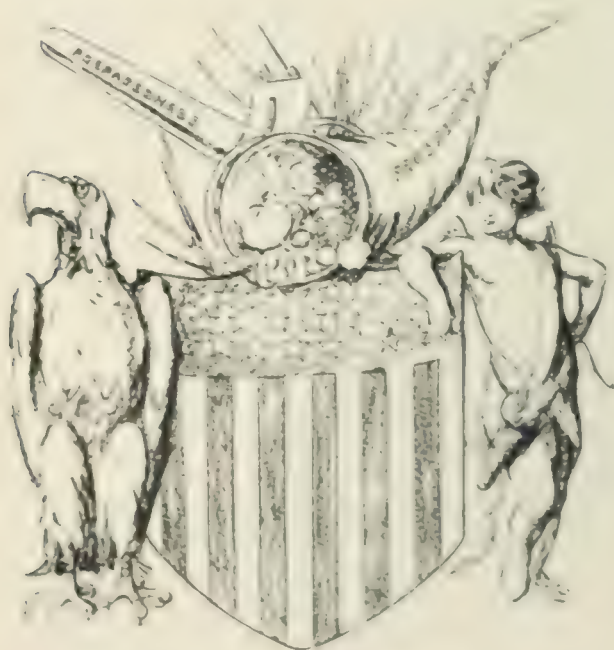
*How to
Fill the
Treasury*

A comprehensive program of defense will be an investment for which payment must be made not only in the form of a more unselfish devotion to public duty on the part of all citizens, but also in the terms of money. We must in this year 1916 face the problems of national income and outgo. The politicians at Washington have a very bad habit of trying to treat such questions from the party standpoint. Public opinion must do what it can to correct that mischievous tendency. Nobody can say exactly how the Underwood tariff would have operated in normal times. The Republicans should be willing to give this Democratic tariff the benefit of the war as an excuse for its revenue

failures, if the Democrats on their side will but face frankly and honestly the facts as they are to-day. They are to be commended for agreeing that the sugar tariff is to be maintained. They ought to make it plain that the sugar duty is to be undisturbed for a term of years. Justice to all interests affected would require such a decision or understanding. There should be increased taxes on whiskey, beer, and tobacco. Some of the Democrats will hate to levy these increases, but the opportunity and duty are clear. Beer and tobacco could be made to pay a much larger income to the Government. There are no better objects of taxation than coffee and tea; and universal experience has shown that such taxes are easily collected and have many points of advantage. They would not fall heavily upon any consumers. A little more hot water in the tea and coffee would be salutary rather than harmful to users, and would completely pay the tax. The suggestions in the President's message for a tax on gasoline and on iron and steel were not well considered, nor were they of a kind regarded as practicable by the world's authorities on the subject of taxation.

*Taxation
Should Be
General*

National defense is a matter of universal concern. It should be paid for by widely diffused taxes. The present exemption line in the income-tax law is fixed at \$4000 for a married man and \$3000 for an unmarried person. Before increasing the rate levied upon incomes already taxed, the exemption line should be greatly lowered. If there is to be any income tax at all, every self-supporting citizen should pay something directly to his government, no matter how small the sum. To pay his one dollar per year of direct tax to the government that gives him his status at home and abroad as an American citizen would enhance the self-respect of every decent wage-earner. A widely levied tax of this kind would make it all the easier to levy and collect surtaxes at high progressive rates on the incomes of millionaires. A progressive inheritance tax (what the English call "death duties") affords the best way to levy upon the great fortunes for the welfare of the country. Such a tax is much more equitable than our present form of income tax. The country is amply able to pay for whatever a proper system of national training and defense may cost. It will probably be several months before Congress, in the present session, will have reached final



THE NEW CHARTER OF ARMS
THE NEW YORKER (New York)

decisions upon a naval program, an army plan, and measures for increasing the national revenue. In our opinion it would be best to provide for a loan of a billion dollars to meet the immediate cost of a comprehensive system of national defense. Such an expenditure now might save us from an outlay of many times that sum in the future. We are not only short of trained men, but also of rifles and all the materials that defense would require.

*Politics in
a Presidential
Year*

Unfortunately, the decision of all these pressing questions at Washington this year is sadly mixed up with the wretched game of party politics in a Presidential year. We have many very good and intelligent men in public life, who are driven to commit follies, if not crimes, for the sake of a supposed advantage to the Democratic or the Republican party. There is no single device that will deliver us as if by magic from the evils of our political system. But we can make some progress if we analyze situations, and tell the truth without fear. The unfortunate political situation in 1912 was created by the use of the vast power and patronage of the Presidential office, in order to bring about a further term of power for those who were carrying on the government. The barest recital of facts would fill several volumes. The Republicans thoroughly deserved defeat, and the Democrats were entitled to the plurality that gave them power. Every clear-seeing and honest Democrat, looking on at the wreckage of the Republican party, realized as never before the appalling harm that results from the use of official power by incumbents in their determined effort to keep control of the Government. Thus the Democrats went to Baltimore and made their platform before they had nominated a ticket, in order that they might pledge themselves to a single term on principle, and without seeming to have any particular man in mind.

*The
Second-term
Issue*

They declared themselves in favor of a single term, advocated legal action to that effect, and committed their candidate to the principle. Mr. Bryan, who dominated the convention, had undoubtedly been influential in shaping the platform. He had always, when himself the Democratic nominee, declared that if elected he would serve for only one term. There was published last month an elaborate letter that had been written by Mr. Wilson after he was elected, but before he was in-

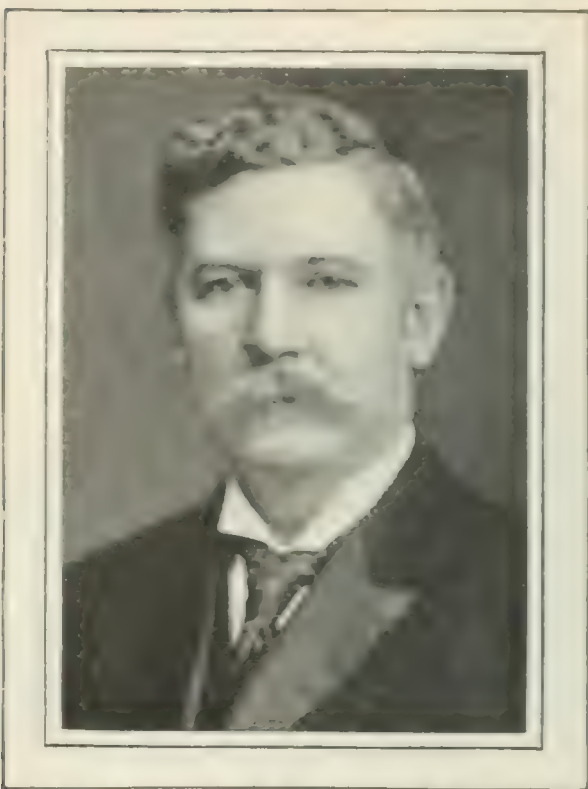


OUR APOLOGIES TO POE
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

augurated, expressing his views upon this question. Evidently Mr. Wilson had never intended to pay any regard to the plank in the platform, in so far as any renunciation on his part might have been expected. He proposed to leave everything to "public opinion." The plank had placed the Democratic party before the country as committed to two things: First, not to renominate a Democratic President for a second consecutive term. Second, to submit to the States a constitutional amendment.

*Mr. Wilson
is a
Candidate*

The proposed amendment was actually passed through the Senate just three years ago; but the Democrats have never allowed it to come up in the House of Representatives, and the press now asserts that the Administration itself has been solely responsible for preventing consideration of the subject. It is now known definitely that Mr. Wilson is to be a candidate for renomination, because consent has been given to the necessary filing of nomination papers in Indiana for the presidential primary election that occurs on Tuesday, March 7. No other Democratic candidate has appeared, and it is to be assumed that Mr. Wilson will be nominated without opposition. It will be for the country to decide, next November, whether it will continue Mr. Wilson in power for another four years, or choose another man.



POSTMASTER EDWARD M. MORGAN, OF NEW YORK

(Mr. Morgan, who is just fifty years old, and now at his very best, has been in the postal service since he was eighteen, when he began as a letter carrier. The determination to throw him out and put a Tammany man in his place caused a great storm of protest last month.)

But it is always regrettable when the public duties of the Presidency are exercised for personal or partisan reasons; and the almost inevitable tendency, during the year before a Presidential election, is to use public power for political ends, if the incumbent seeks reelection.

A New York Appointment

At the moment when Mr. Wilson's letter on the second term appeared, the New York postmastership was under discussion. There is no civilized country on earth besides our own in which the removal of Postmaster Morgan, of New York City, would have been possible under the circumstances. We do not happen to know whether Mr. Morgan is a Democrat or a Republican. What we do know is that he had come up by promotion from lower places in the postal service at New York, and was holding his important office upon pure merit as an official. His efficiency and good conduct were unquestioned. His retention was desired by all the business interests, not in order to keep somebody else out of the place, but to avoid the calamity of throwing what is perhaps the most important Federal office in the country, outside of Washington, into the trough of spoils politics. It was a question between the people of New York,—including

Mr. Wilson's real friends, like Mayor Mitchel, on the one hand,—and the political demands of Tammany Hall on the other. It was, however, declared from Washington that Morgan must go, and that a new man agreeable to Tammany must have the job. Protests were intense, but unavailing. The struggle lasted for weeks. It was finally announced, on January 18, that the appointment would go to Mr. Joseph Johnson, Jr. On that date Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, head of the *New York Evening Post* and Mr. Wilson's foremost newspaper supporter in New York, telegraphed from Washington to his paper in New York as follows:

It is not impossible that the President's selection of Joseph Johnson as Postmaster of New York will prove to be a turning point in his career. Beyond doubt it is the worst blow that has been struck at his Administration, and all the sadder since it is self-inflicted. Well may his enemies exult to-day and his friends hang their heads; for it is bound to be accepted throughout the country as an abject surrender to Tammany, as a deliberate sinning against the whole spirit of civil service reform of which he was once an advocate, besides a calculated flaunting of the imperial city of America.

The Larger Question

We are not discussing this question from the standpoint of Mr. Johnson, or even from that of the New York post-office. We have no fault to find with Mr. Johnson, and sincerely hope he may prove to be just as good a postmaster as his predecessor. It is from the standpoint of second-term Presidential politics that this matter will chiefly concern the country. There is nobody who believes that Mr. Morgan is to go for the welfare of the postal service, or that Mr. Johnson was selected because he was believed to be the most highly qualified man who could be secured to administer an office that concerns not only the great metropolis but the entire country as well. It may not be true that this change was made for political reasons in view of the need of conciliating Tammany in a Presidential year. But everybody seems to have thought so; and it is well to avoid the appearance of evil. The general opinion in Washington and New York was that the political motive, rather than the motive of good administration, was dominant. Success for Mr. Wilson can come only by taking the opposite course. No one has seen more clearly than Mr. Wilson the harm, from all standpoints, that resulted when his predecessors in office yielded to bad advice and used the appointing power for party ends rather

than for the strengthening of the civil service on strict lines of merit.

*An
Overworked
Ruler*

The worst thing about it all is that the man whom we elect to handle our delicate diplomatic problems, virtually deciding the issues of war and peace; whom we also elect to be official head of our army and navy; and who formulates our policies of finance and legislation,—should, in the very thick of momentous issues far too great for the strength and intelligence of any one man, be bothered for weeks over appointment of a postmaster for a town that already has a satisfactory postmaster who ought to be kept on the job. The thing is exasperating enough to be dealt with very plainly. Mr. Wilson's distinguished predecessor, with two successive Secretaries to the President, aided by the Vice-President, the Postmaster-General, a Senator or two, and other men of official prominence, gave more time to the question who should or should not be postmaster in the village of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., than to some of the great problems of state such as deserve the sole attention of the President. We are criticizing the system, not the men concerned. Until the merit system is more completely established in this country, there will be strong arguments in favor of single terms for the man who holds the power of patronage in his hands. Mr. Wilson is not a spoilsman, and can state well the reasons that control his public actions.

*Spoils
for Party
Union*

But he is a party man; believes in government by and through party; aims to hold the Democratic party together for the sake of having an efficient instrument through which to carry out his policies and serve the country; and indulges the party leaders in their appetite for spoils just enough to keep them under control and willing to support his measures in Congress. The Presidency, under our Constitution, however, does not lend itself very well to the kind of party leadership that goes with the headship of administration under the English system. Furthermore, let it be remembered that there is no grabbing for spoils in England, and that postmaster-ships are not affected by the ups and downs of national parties. It is enough for the President of the United States to have cabinet officers and judges to appoint. Postmasters ought to be made and unmade in a different fashion. The patronage and power of the Presidential office are dangerous.

*As to the
Hopeful
Republicans*

The Republicans have been at the public trough so much more freely than the Democrats since 1860 that the only wonder is how well Mr. Wilson has succeeded in restraining the greed of his clamoring party supporters. Both parties would do well this year to take high grounds on all such questions in their platforms. The country wants Mr. Wilson to do as well in office as he used to imagine himself doing when he was free to indulge his views and ideals. He can hold the Democratic party behind him best by forgetting the party and completely serving the country. As for the Republicans in their new-found hope and pride, they have not the ghost of a chance to succeed against Mr. Wilson in the election this year on the terms or the basis of the men who managed their campaign in 1912. The country estimates Republican organization politics at exactly its true value, which is low. There is even now more unselfish patriotism and genuine desire for the country's welfare on the part of the ruling Democratic host than has been conceived of by certain gentlemen who are planning to dominate the Republican convention when it meets on June 7 at Chicago. But there are many men of enlightenment in the Republican party. The "rank and file" are far above the bosses and spokesmen. Something may even yet happen that will bring the best brains and character of that party to the front, and enable it to go before the country clothed in new garments of honor and sincerity.

*Finding a
Strong
Opposition*

Let us mere voters and private persons hope that both of these historic political societies may be at their best, and may present to us in their platforms and candidates what we may gladly declare to represent good alternatives rather than bad. It is significant that the Republicans and Progressives are to hold their conventions at the same time and place,—namely, Chicago, June 7. Unquestionably they have it in mind to find a basis of common action. They can doubtless agree upon measures of national defense, and upon the tariff and financial questions. The man most talked about as head of the ticket is Justice Charles E. Hughes, of the Supreme Court, formerly Governor of New York. As we have stated heretofore, Justice Hughes could not be put in the position of an applicant, nor publicly cross-examined in advance. The conventions at Chicago would have to offer him the nomination and then give him



DISSOLVING VIEWS
From the *Daily News* (Minneapolis)

an opportunity to accept or decline. Senator Cummins in the West and Mr. Root in the East are still much spoken of. But those who mention Mr. Root have chiefly in mind the conduct of our foreign affairs, and it is conceded on all hands that any Republican President, whether from the East or from the West, or whether known as conservative or progressive, would urgently request Mr. Root to take the portfolio of State.

Behind the scenes, the Republicans talk of a possible cabinet of distinguished men, some of whom are now mentioned in the list of possible candidates for the Presidency. The political influence of Mr. Roosevelt bids fair to be almost if not quite as great as at any time in his entire career, though his name arouses bitter antagonism in various quarters. It is announced that Mr. Knox of Pennsylvania, formerly Senator and Secretary of State, will be the Republican candidate this year for the United States Senate, with good prospects of being elected. It is a great loss to the United States that our political system does not provide a way by which eminent and seasoned statesmen can be brought into a national council. The Democrats have been needing at Washington such men as Mr. Richard Olney, Mr. Judson Harmon, Mr. Frederick W. Lehmann, and others; and the Republicans could contribute several men to such a national council, which of course should also include our ex-Presidents.

Our Retired Statesmen

Our foreign policy suffers seriously from lack of the steady judgment and wisdom of an experienced group of Elder Statesmen. The fact that we are able to get along as well as we do with the defects in our political and governmental system, reflects credit upon the character of the nation. Some day, however, we shall be obliged to revise our mechanism of government.

South American Guests

The Pan-American Scientific Congress brought to this country, in December, a large number of interesting and influential people from the Latin-American republics. The principal advantage is in the actual acquaintance between North Americans and South Americans that results from every such gathering. Nothing definite or tangible of any kind has taken shape from the pleasant words that were spoken by Secretary Lansing and the courteous delegates from South America, having to do with common action for common ends. If we had held such ideas seriously we would have called South American statesmen to an official conference of neutrals more than a year ago, and would have formulated with their aid and support certain definite rules of conduct that belligerents would probably at that time have accepted. The particular matters that required common action were neglected. By reason of that neglect, the disregard of international law by the belligerents has now drifted far beyond any reasonable hope of correction during the present war.



HIS HAT'S IN THE RING
Wilson: "Now let 'em kick it, if they want to!"
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

*Our Own
Concerns*

We have every reason to maintain very cordial relations with the more important countries of South America. The South Americans themselves believe that we want to make money out of them; whereas, on the contrary, American business men as a rule hate foreign trade and want to do business chiefly in the forty-eight States of our own Union. The average American of the United States is sentimental and idealistic. He believes the South American republics should have a good chance to develop without being bullied or preyed upon by Europe. Gradually, in the course of commercial development, there will be closer relations between us and the Latin Americans. Meanwhile, we have our own questions to deal with; and the more efficiently we prepare ourselves to handle them, and the more promptly we face them, the greater will be the respect in which Latin America will hold us. The West Indies and the regions that lie between the Panama Canal and the Rio Grande concern us especially, for many reasons. We are glad to note that President Menocal is getting along tolerably well in Cuba, and is likely to be elected for another term. Several generations must pass before popular self-government works as well in Cuba as in Switzerland or even as in Massachusetts. But Cuba is incomparably better off for those relationships with the United States that give her such stability in public and private affairs as she now enjoys. The



Photograph by A. J. Sutton

PROMINENT LEADERS OF THE PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(From left to right: the Brazilian Ambassador, de Gama; the Cuban Ambassador and chairman of the Congress, Mr. Suárez Mujica; the Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing; and the Director of the Pan-American Union, Mr. John Barrett)



more quickly we can establish a thorough-going oversight of affairs in the island shared by the republics of Santo Domingo and Haiti, the better for all concerned. We have now pending a treaty with Nicaragua that should be ratified without delay, with any amendments that may be thought necessary to provide insurance against revolutions and financial mismanagement. The treaty gives us a naval base on the Atlantic and another on the Pacific, both of which we need. And it gives us control of the route of a future Nicaragua Canal. Mr. Root, Mr. Knox, and other Republican leaders had developed a wise Central American policy and now is the time to further its consummation. We are publishing in this number an interesting article upon Nicaragua, by Mr. Hano, the American Collector of Customs. Naturally enough, the opponents of the present regime in Nicaragua are bitter in their opinions. But at least the little republic is better off than at any time for many years previous. Our relations with her, too, have had a salutary influence.



(C) Photo. Sec'y, A. S. S. C.

THIS REMARKABLE PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS THE GREAT SLIDE AT CULEBRA IN THE PANAMA CANAL. AS IT LOOKED THE SUEZ CANAL IS VIRTUALLY

Mexico's Turmoil

Our foremost concern as regards the regions southward is with Mexico. We publish elsewhere (see page 196) a condensed résumé of happenings in that country during the past five years of civil war and destructive anarchy. Vast foreign interests that were wholly legitimate have been sacrificed, while the Mexicans have impoverished themselves without establishing any principles or paving the way for any better order. We would be most abundantly justified in a policy of intervention if we could put such a policy into effect without sacrifices greater than the value of the ends to be gained. Recognition and en-

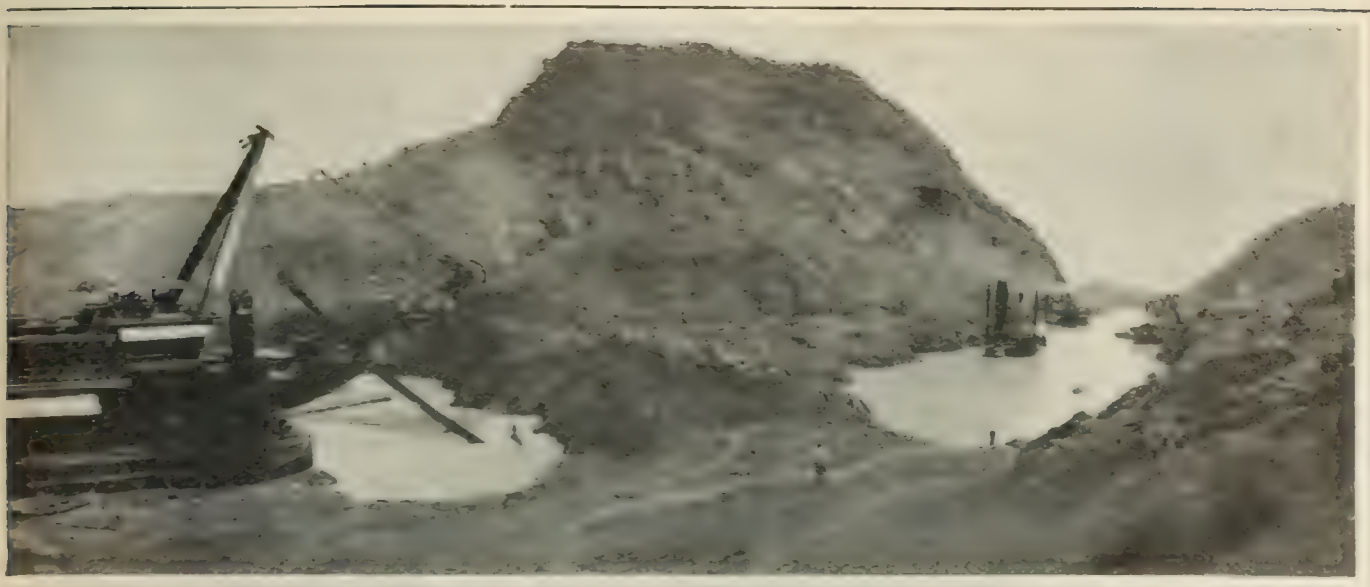
couragement of Carranza on the part of our Government, some weeks ago, was with the hope that this would lead to an end of civil strife. The very unfortunate massacre of a group of influential American mining men, at Santa Ysabel in Chihuahua, on January 10, created a frenzy of excitement in Texas and at Washington. President Wilson was the subject of fierce attacks, although no sober-minded program of action was offered by anybody as against the President's determined avoidance of trouble. It might be our clear duty to take possession of Mexico and establish order, if it were not also our clear duty to keep out of scrapes for which we are unprepared. Possibly Carranza may, in the near future, destroy Villa's companies of bandits and restore order in Northern Mexico. Annexation of an extensive portion of that country would be the best solution. But there is no chance of its coming voluntarily, and the United States would not enter upon a war of conquest in any direction.

Our Medical Conquests

Many readers have been interested in allusions they have seen in the newspapers from time to time to some specific efforts for improved health conditions in Latin America, carried on by Governments through the valuable methods supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation. It was proposed to enter Mexico at once, provided General Carranza coöperated in the requisite manner, for the sake of an organized crusade against the terrible epidemic of typhus that is more dreaded than the bullets of revolutionary armies. Our greatest work at Panama was not the building of



IS THIS WHAT WE RECOGNIZED?
From the *London Standard*



SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. THE CANAL WILL BE REOPENED FOR LARGE SHIPS THIS MONTH. MEANWHILE THE CLOSED TO GENERAL TRAFFIC.

the Canal, but the conquest over infectious disease. Likewise, our chief contributions to Cuba and Porto Rico have been in the field of medicine and public sanitation. With its medical work in Latin America now well begun, and its vast program for establishing modern medical and health institutions in China, the Rockefeller Foundation has conceived of projects that will save more lives than the European war will destroy.

*The Curious
Colombian
Treaty*

We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW an article by Professor Maxcy, of Nebraska, a well-known authority on international law, condemning the treaty that the present administration has unwisely made with the republic of Colombia. In our opinion it is without palliation or excuse. The history made a few years ago was of the highest value to Colombia, Panama, the United States, and the world. Colombia will through centuries to come benefit immeasurably from the connection that the nearby Canal affords between her Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The obligations are all on her part towards us. All results have eminently justified the action of Panama in becoming independent. It is our opinion that the existing treaty has never been understood by the Administration at Washington, and that the real representatives of Colombian opinion are in no way responsible for its amazing and intolerable provisions. A thorough ventilation of the real origins of this treaty would doubtless give us a remarkable chapter in diplomatic history. There will be ample opportunity of a dignified kind on the part of public men

of unblemished standing to convince Colombia of the good will of the United States. Meanwhile, Congress should ascertain in what hidden interest, if any, this particular treaty was drawn.

*The Canadian-
American
Court*

As illustrating the right kind of foreseeing statesmanship in our Western world, we are publishing in this number of the REVIEW an article upon the working of a tribunal created five years ago to settle all questions between the United States and Canada before they can reach the point of becoming disputes. The treaty that provided the international joint commission was signed by the British Ambassador, Mr. Bryce, and the American Secretary of State, Mr. Root. Its admirable provisions and methods are described by Mr. Burpee, who is the Canadian secretary of the commission. Six men of solid parts and characters, three from Canada and three from the United States, make up the commission, in addition to whom there is a secretary for each of the two countries. Canada's high spirit has been demonstrated since the outbreak of the war. She expects to raise and equip 500,000 soldiers. Her national and industrial development has been stupendous in the period included in the active life of the late Lord Strathcona, whose biography by Mr. Beckles Willson is issued this month in our book department. Most of the bonds representing Canada's borrowed capital have been transferred from Great Britain to the United States during the past year. Canada's progress and prosperity are in every way beneficial to us.

*China and
Eastern
Conditions*

Those who try to follow affairs in the Far East will welcome Professor Hornbeck's article in this number of the REVIEW on the constitutional changes in China and the evolution of an autocratic president into a limited monarch. China needs a stable government, and Yuan Shih-k'ai is the typical firm ruler. The Chinese people, meanwhile, will have to grow up to the splendid future that is to be theirs with modern education and industry. Mr. Adachi Kinnosuke writes of the great natural resources of China that ought to be developed, in his opinion, through the initiative of Japanese administrators and engineers, with the coöperation of American capitalists. We are not able to discover a good reason for believing that the people of China would not be benefited by Japanese and American aid in the opening up of the great resources that our Japanese contributor describes.

*Turmoil
in the
Near East*

Conditions in the Near East are ably set forth in the latter part of Mr. Simonds' monthly review of the war, and in an article by Mr. Stoddard that throws many sidelights upon regions that heretofore most Americans have known nothing about. Mr. Stoddard attaches more importance than does Mr. Simonds to the Teuton-Turk threats against Egypt and to the current agitations in the Moslem world. Of the withdrawal of the Allies from the Dardanelles, and their creation of a great encampment at Salonica, Mr. Simonds discourses in his lucid and instructive way. The conquest of Montenegro by the Austrians is a more striking episode in the news than it is a vital occurrence in the war. Montenegro is a very small country, and it seemed better to its sturdy ruler, Nicholas, to admit defeat than to suffer the fate of Belgium and Serbia. One of the daughters of King Nicholas is the Queen of Italy and another is the wife of a Russian Grand Duke. Italy had most at stake, because the chief object of her war was to gain control of the eastern shores of the Adriatic, as against Austria; and Austria's possession of the fortresses and forts of Montenegro is a serious blow to Italy's cause. The situation in Greece was increasingly critical as these pages were closed for the press. The coercion of England and the Allies took new steps every day, with entire abandonment of every pretense of regard for the rights of Greece as a neutral. Greek opinion, however, is not unified, and the Venizelos faction has not seemed to resent the encroachments, against which the King protests.

*England
Full-Armed*

Perhaps the most important news of January was the success of Premier Asquith in securing the acceptance of his bill which finally puts England on the basis of compulsory military service. The precise measure is much qualified in details, but the principle of universal service has been substituted for that of volunteering. England can finance as large an army as she needs, and she has now at her disposal all the men she desires. The adoption of the new measure is a triumph of duty and patriotism over prejudice and individual selfishness. If war is to be countenanced by the civilized world at all, it is everybody's business.

*Our Own Atti-
tude Towards
Europe*

The relation of the United States to the European war is a difficult thing to understand, because it has depended entirely upon the mood and temper of our own diplomacy. We have now secured from Austria a trio of replies to our notes dealing with the *Ancona* case, and these are regarded as satisfactory. It was also asserted last month that Germany will conform to the rules of international law in her future submarine warfare and will satisfy President Wilson as regards all things past. We have remaining our outstanding differences with England over interference with our neutral rights at sea. It is perfectly plain that England and France have decided not to allow Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to import American goods for re-shipment to Germany. What is now called a "real blockade" is to be substituted, we are told, for the long-standing "Orders in Council." This will perhaps be contrary to the rights of neutrals. Sweden has been protesting sternly. But the powers that rule the sea have studied the situation deliberately and have made up their minds. The neutrals had an admirable opportunity to make effective protest in the early part of the war. Vast volumes of history have been made, however, during which we have permitted England to regulate our trade with Europe. And it is late now to recall our acquiescence. It would seem ill-timed and unavailing to do anything further, beyond making note of facts with a view to the future arbitration of pecuniary claims that individual American owners of ships or cargoes may present. It would also seem advisable for the Scandinavian countries and Holland to make the best terms they can, and not be drawn into controversies that they cannot afford to carry to the menacing extreme of war.

*Prosperity
in 1916*

There are no longer denials that America is enjoying a boom in general trade, although it is noticed that owing to the feverish and uneven stimulation of the war, the gains in industry are very unequally distributed. In the first week of January corporation disbursements were \$263,447,928, more than \$20,000,000 in excess of the dividends and interest paid for the corresponding period of 1915. It is notable that of the \$13,800,000 of this gain which is represented by dividends, \$13,700,000 was paid to the stockholders of industrial corporations, showing that the increase in the steam railways, street railways and banking institutions was not appreciable. The output of petroleum reached a new high record in 1915,—291,400,000 barrels. The great mining States of the Rocky Mountain region showed a production of copper, lead, zinc, silver and gold that has never before been equalled, the gain in value over the preceding year being \$115,000,000. The opening months of the new year find practically every mill in the country running at full speed and an unexampled amount of new construction under way. Builders of motor cars turned out last year 710,000 automobiles as against 515,000 in 1914, and the present rate of production indicates over a million to be completed in the current year. The savings banks are crowded as they have not been for many years in consequence of more general and remunerative employment. Retail dealers are pressing manufacturers for fresh stocks of goods and are selling them as fast as they can be secured. Bank clearings have increased notably and building records are mounting month by month. The last report of the United States Steel Corporation shows unfilled orders of over seven million tons, the largest figure reported since 1913. It seems certain that this year will establish a new high record in the production of iron and steel. There are constant additions to our shipbuilding plants, and all of them are hives of activity; for, with ocean freight rates at their present level, a ship can sometimes earn its entire cost in a single round trip.

*A Note of
Warning*

With the stock exchanges actively responding to these prosperous indications, and with rapidly advancing prices for nearly all securities except the bond of the standard railways, there came a speculative pause in January in response to certain warnings of the worst

heads. The public statement which more particularly gained the ear of the country was that of Judge Gary, chairman of the Steel Corporation. While making no qualification of the present prosperous conditions, Judge Gary pointed out that in the progress of the horrible European war and in its aftermath there are uncertainties that are too much for any present-day prophet. He laid stress on the inability of the wisest to determine how long the present activity can continue, and expressed the opinion that there is already great inflation. Judge Gary believes that the war will not last for years longer; he believes that in the depressed condition of Europe after the war America will need special tariff readjustments to keep cheaply made goods from being "dumped" on our market. He sees danger in over production, over extension of credit and liabilities, and over confidence.

*A Bad Year
for
Railroads*

The railroads were the last important industry in the country to show the effect of the revival of trade, and they have shown it least, while the prices for railroad securities on the exchanges have lagged far behind those for industrials. The simple reasons for this are found in the many repressive laws of the last few years and, even more importantly, in the rate situation. Ocean freight rates have, under pressure of the law of supply and demand, advanced from 500 to 700 per cent. Prices of several metals and manufactured chemicals have advanced as much. Steel and iron products are sold at constantly higher quotations. So standard a commodity as copper is now selling for 24½ cents per pound, as against 11 cents before the boom set in. But whatever the cost of their product or whatever the demand for it, the railroads cannot ask any more return for it. It is in consequence of this situation that the railroad mileage constructed in 1915 is actually the smallest since 1864, and that in October, 1915, a greater mileage of railroads was in the hands of receivers in the United States than at any time in our history. With the outgo of the roads increased constantly by advances in wages and taxes and special prescriptions of the State and national governments, and with their earnings absolutely restricted by both State and national authority, their income available for interest and dividends has tended to decrease during recent years. Few people doubt that government regulation of the railways has come to

stay, and that much good has been done through it. It is a fact, however, that investors will put money into anything that looks hopeful rather than railways.

*Trial of the
New Haven
Directors*

On January 9, the Federal jury which had been hearing in New York for nearly three months the evidence against eleven directors of the New Haven railroad returned a "split verdict." Six of the defendants were acquitted, while the jury reported a disagreement in the cases of the remaining five. Judge William H. Hunt, before whom the case was heard, discharged the jurors, and the Government let it be known that it would proceed to a new trial of the five directors concerning whom there was a disagreement. The prevailing impression is, however, that the prosecution will not be resumed. The charge of the Government was that these directors had entered into a conspiracy to monopolize the transportation facilities of New England.

*History of
the Case*

Originally, twenty-one former directors of the New Haven were indicted, three were granted immunity, and seven arranged to have their cases tried separately. After the trial, on January 18, the Government asked for dismissal of the indictments of the last group, the evidence against them being weakest. The many intricate points of law involved and the great prominence of the accused made the case notable in the history of our criminal jurisprudence. The indictment was first found in November, 1914, and it cited acts as far back as 1890, when William Rockefeller became a director of the New Haven. The prosecution set forth a remarkably complete history of New England's transportation facilities, and showed just how the New Haven system had increased from 529 miles to 7500 miles of tracks, with large holdings of steamship and trolley lines. The government contended that the manner in which the accused men went about their acquisitions of various properties showed clearly their criminal intent. It was admitted that no actual monopoly was achieved; but Special Assistant Attorney General R. L. Batts, in charge of the government's case, went into each of no less than one hundred and sixty-five consolidations to show that the intent to achieve monopoly was there. The general line of defense was that the properties acquired by the New Haven were considered by its directors nec-

essary in the natural expansion of a prosperous road; that there was no conspiracy; and that many of the acts complained of by the government dated back years before a majority of the defendants became directors of the corporation.

*The Soaring
Price of
Gasolene*

It is said that the suddenly created jitney competition with many street railway lines has now been largely eliminated by the high price of gasoline. In suburbs of New York where, not a great many months ago, the householder filled his two hundred-gallon gasoline tank at a cost of 11 cents per gallon, he is now paying 25 cents. There is talk of still further advances, some authorities predicting a price of 40 cents before the movement is ended. On January 8 the Federal Trade Commission announced that it would make an investigation of gasoline prices as a result of the complaints received. The oil men explain the shooting up of prices by describing a shortage resulting from a diminished supply and heavily increased demand. The diminished supply, as explained by them, is due to heavy slumps in the production of oil wells in Texas and Oklahoma, which they claim have fallen in output from 35 to 50 per cent, at a time when but little could be done toward filling up the shortage with the Mexican product. The increased demand is obvious to anyone who considers the marvelous rate of manufacture of automobiles, and the striking extension of the use of gas engines in motor boats and by farmers in tractors.

*Three Million
Literally
Automobiles*

In 1899 the quantity of gasoline used in the United States for all purposes was 5,600,000 barrels per annum; in 1904, 5,800,000 barrels. But by 1909 the consumption had increased to 10,800,000 barrels and in 1914, to 18,000,000 barrels. Now, experts in the industry estimate that 30,000,000 barrels of gasoline will be consumed in the year 1916. The motor car is the chief consumer. In 1912, 312,000 cars were built in this country; in the following year, 420,000; in 1914, 515,000; and in the year ending June 30, 1915, the manufacturers turned out 710,000 motor cars. It is understood that approximately 3,000,000 automobiles will be using gasoline in the United States in 1916. These motor cars alone require about 20,000,0000 barrels of gasoline, or two-thirds of the entire amount to be consumed this year.

Osborne,
Kirchwey, and
Prison Reform

The prison-reform methods introduced by Warden Thomas Mott Osborne at Sing Sing were described at some length in the October number of this REVIEW. Our readers do not need to be assured that these reforms have our enthusiastic support. In December last the grand jury of Westchester County, N. Y., indicted Warden Osborne on charges of perjury, mismanagement, and immorality. His trial has been set for February 7. Meanwhile, a great mass-meeting in New York City, attended by judges, eminent lawyers, and the best citizens, has declared its confidence that he will be fully vindicated; and offers of support have come to him from every part of the country. While the trial is pending Mr. Osborne has been relieved of his duties, and Professor George W. Kirchwey, of Columbia University, has been made warden. Mr. Kirchwey has been a foremost supporter of the Osborne plans, and no reactionary change in the conduct of the prison will be allowed during his incumbency as warden. The Superintendent of Prisons, John B. Riley, incurred the displeasure of Governor Whitman because of his action in transferring certain prisoners from Sing Sing to another State prison. His resignation was demanded, and, after he had declined to resign, the Governor declared his intention of removing him unless a satisfactory explanation could be made of his conduct. The whole prison situation in New York State is complicated with petty politics and local "rings" of many years' standing. It is to be hoped that as a result of the thorough overhauling that the State prison system now seems likely to undergo, there will be not only a strengthening of the reforms that Wardens Osborne and Kirchwey represent, but at the same time a complete divorce of State prison government from every form of corruption.

Tuskegee's
New
Head

As successor to the late Booker T. Washington in the principalship of Tuskegee Institute, Major Robert R. Moton, of Hampton Institute, Virginia, has been chosen by the trustees. Major Moton, like Dr. Washington, is a graduate of Hampton, and for many years has been the only colored member of its faculty. He has served for nearly twenty-five years as Commandant of Cadets. He is a man of full negro blood, with unusual ability as a speaker. Principal Fessenden, of Hampton, who taught both Dr. Washington and Major Moton while they were pupils



MAJOR ROBERT R. MOTON

(Booker Washington's successor as Principal of Tuskegee Institute)

in that institution, says in the *Southern Workman*, the monthly magazine published by the institute:

By his kindness and sanity, Booker Washington won the good will of the South; and Major Moton, who is possessed of both these qualities to a marked degree, will enter into his predecessor's labors. Together these two men traveled thousands of miles, speaking and singing to tremendous audiences of whites and blacks. They were devoted friends, and were in cordial sympathy as to their thoughts and purposes.

Hampton Institute is a meeting place for whites and blacks from North and South, and there Major Moton has developed a tact and skill in dealing with delicate questions of race and sex which will stand him in good stead in the difficult position to which he is now called.

Under its new principal, Tuskegee seems to have before it a career of increasing usefulness as one of the strongest educational institutions of the South. There are many evidences of steadily improving relationships of helpfulness and appreciation between the two races in our Southern States. Hampton and Tuskegee are daily strengthening these relationships.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From December 18, 1915, to January 19, 1916)

The Last Part of December

December 18.—Austria's preliminary reply to the American note relating to the sinking of the *Ancona* is made public at Washington; it makes inquiry regarding the testimony upon which the American Government bases its charges and declares that "even if this presentation were correct . . . it does not in any way sufficiently warrant attaching blame to the commanding officer of the war vessel."

December 19.—In the Greek parliamentary elections, the followers of ex-Premier Venizelos refrain from voting as a protest against the conditions under which the elections were held.

Germany admits the destruction of the small cruiser *Bremen* and a torpedo-boat, by an Allied submarine in the eastern Baltic.

December 20.—It is announced at London and Paris that the Allied forces have been withdrawn from the Suvla and "Anzac" regions on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Minister Lloyd George reports to the House of Commons regarding the munitions situation; he declares that an early and successful conclusion of the war depends upon the attitude of organized labor toward the use of unskilled workmen.

A Russian squadron bombards the Bulgarian forts at Varna, on the Black Sea.

December 21.—French troops in Alsace capture German trenches at Hartmannsweilerkopf (a Vosges peak).

The German Reichstag grants \$2,500,000,000 asked by the Government, nineteen Socialists voting against the bill.

The members of the Irish party in the House of Commons renew their resolve to resist any attempt to enforce compulsory military service, maintaining that the men necessary can be supplied by voluntary effort.

The Japanese steamer *Yasaka Maru* is sunk by a submarine in the Mediterranean; no lives are lost.

December 21-22.—Important changes in British commands and army staffs are announced; Lieut.-Gen. Sir William R. Robertson (Chief of the General Staff in France) becomes Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London, succeeding Lieut.-Gen. Sir Archibald J. Murray, who has been appointed to succeed Sir Charles Monro at the Dardanelles; General Monro will command the First British army in France.

December 22.—The second American note to Austria regarding the *Ancona* sinking (dated December 19) is made public at Washington; the note declares that the admission that the vessel was torpedoed after it was stopped is itself sufficient to fix responsibility upon the submarine commander.

The British Parliament passes a measure introduced by Premier Asquith calling to the colors 1,000,000 additional troops, raising the total authorized to 4,000,000; the Premier states that

there are 1,250,000 British troops engaged in the various theatres of war.

Announcement is made of the death, from natural causes, of Lieut.-Gen. Otto von Emmich, who commanded the German army which invaded Belgium and captured Liège.

The peace advocates in the party conducted by Henry Ford leave Christiania, Norway, for Stockholm, Sweden; serious dissension exists among the delegates, and Mr. Ford himself has abandoned the undertaking.

December 23.—Minister of Finance Ribot informs the French Senate that subscriptions to the new war loan are in excess of \$2,850,000,000.

December 24.—British casualties (up to December 9) are announced by Premier Asquith as totalling 119,923 killed, 338,758 wounded, and 69,546 missing; the losses in the Dardanelles expedition alone were 26,202 killed, 75,809 wounded, and 12,544 missing.

The French steamship *Ville de la Ciotat* is sunk (without warning, it is alleged) by a submarine in the Mediterranean; 80 lives are lost.

December 25.—King Peter, of Serbia, arrives in Italy on an Italian warship, after a flight through Albania.

December 27.—45,000 British Indian troops, for more than a year on the firing line in France and Belgium, are withdrawn for service "in another field of action."

An official Russian statement describes the defeat in Persia of a German-Turkish force aided by Persian insurgents.

December 28.—Eight indictments are returned by a federal grand jury at New York, charging a Congressman, an ex-Congressman, and six other men with conspiring to restrain commerce in their efforts to hinder the shipment of war supplies to the Entente Powers.

December 29.—An Austrian squadron bombarding Durazzo, Albania, is driven off by Italian and other Allied ships, with a loss of two destroyers; the Austrians declare that a French submarine was sunk.

December 30.—Austria replies to the American note of December 19, relating to the sinking of the *Ancona*, reiterating that the sinking occurred an hour and a half after the vessel had stopped, and declaring that the loss of life was due to panic; for not taking into consideration the panic, the submarine commander has been punished.

The British cruiser *Natal* is destroyed by an internal explosion while at anchor in port; 325 members of the crew lose their lives.

The British passenger steamer *Persia* is sunk (presumably by a submarine) in the Mediterranean near Alexandria, Egypt; 330 of the passengers and crew, including an American consular official, lose their lives; 165 escape in small boats.

December 31.—It is officially stated at Ottawa that 212,690 Canadians have enlisted, 118,922 being already in Europe.

The First Week of January

January 1.—A Russian offensive movement upon a large scale, against the Austro-Hungarian forces in Galicia and Bukowina, gains headway.

January 2.—Figures compiled at Washington show that during the first year of the war (up to August 1, 1915) the Entente Powers lost 71 warships, of 327,000 tons, while Germany, Austria, and Turkey lost 89 ships, of 262,000 tons.

January 4.—Lord Derby's report upon his enlistment campaign in England, Scotland, and Wales shows that 1,150,000 single and 1,679,253 married men offered themselves; of the total men of military age, 53 per cent. of those unmarried and 59 per cent. of the married came forward.

January 5.—Premier Asquith introduces a Compulsory Service Bill in the House of Commons, applicable to unmarried men and widowers without children, between the ages of 18 and 41; Ireland is excluded from the measure.

As a means of stating the British casualties during the offensive around Loos, it is announced in the House of Commons that nearly 60,000 men were killed, wounded or missing during the period from September 25 to October 8.

January 6.—The Compulsory Service Bill passes its first reading in the House of Commons, by vote of 403 to 105; the opposition is composed of sixty Irish Nationalists, 34 Liberals, and 11 Laborites; 10 Labor members vote with the Government.

Statistics published at Rome indicate that five months of war (June 1 to November 6) cost the Italian Government \$541,000,000.

The City of Nancy, France, is bombarded by 15-inch guns behind the German lines fifteen miles away; 30,000 persons leave the city.

January 7.—The German Ambassador at Washington gives formal assurance that German submarine activity in the Mediterranean has been and will be conducted in accordance with international law and without using reprisal measures applied in the war zone around the British Islands.

The extent of recovery of Russia's armies is indicated by reports from Petrograd that for fifty hours they concentrated the fire of 410 guns upon the Austrians at Czernowitz, Bukovina.

The French Government acknowledges the justice of the American protest against the seizure by a French cruiser of German subjects on an American steamer.

A British force hastening to the relief of the Bagdad expedition entrenched at Kut-el-Amara in Mesopotamia, is halted by a Turkish force at Sheikh Saad.

The Second Week of January

January 8.—In the *Prize* case, Germany replies to the American note of October 14, pending decision of disputed points by arbitration; American vessels will be sunk only when carrying contraband and when passengers and crew can reach port safely.

January 9.—The British and French forces are entirely withdrawn from the Gallipoli Peninsula, and the attempt to force the Dardanelles is abandoned; 119,000 British soldiers alone were killed, wounded or taken prisoner in the

effort (begun in April, 1915) to coöperate with the fleet in reducing the Turkish forts.

The loss of the British battleship *King Edward VII* is announced, by contact with a mine; all of the crew are rescued.

The German War Office announces the recapture of positions near Hartmannsweilerkopf, in Alsace, lost on December 21.

January 9-10.—German attacks in the Champagne, said by the French to have involved 66,000 men, are repulsed after slight gains; it is declared to be the most important action on the Western front since September.

January 10.—Herbert Samuel, Postmaster-General, is appointed Home Secretary in the Asquith cabinet, in place of Sir John Simon, who resigned because of his objection to the Compulsory Service measure.

January 11.—An Austrian force from Cattaro captures the nearby Montenegrin stronghold on Mount Lovcen, after a 'four-days' attack; the position was of great importance to the Allies.

January 12.—The Compulsory Service bill passes its second reading in the British House of Commons, by vote of 431 to 39; the Irish Nationalists and some Labor members withdraw from the opposition.

It is learned that the Greek island of Corfu is to be used by the Allies as a place for the Serbian army to recuperate.

January 13.—Cettinje, capital of Montenegro, is occupied by the invading Austrian army.

It is announced that for the protection of their position at Salonica the Allied forces have destroyed Greek railroad bridges at Demir Hissar and Kilindir.

January 14.—The French Minister of Finance introduces in the Chamber of Deputies a proposal to tax extra profits due to the war.

The Third Week of January

January 16.—Official reports from Allied capitals show progress for the British relief expedition in Mesopotamia and Russian expeditions against Turks in the Caucasus and in Persia.

January 17.—It is reported that Montenegro has surrendered unconditionally to the Austro-Hungarian armies of invasion, thus becoming the first of the belligerents to withdraw from the war.

January 18.—An official Austrian statement declares that the Russian offensive in Galicia was brought to an end on January 15, with a loss of 71,000 men.

In the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, Herr von Heydebrand, the Conservative leader, refers to America as among Germany's worst enemies.

January 18.—Reports from London indicate that Great Britain and France are planning to adopt stricter blockade measures, with a view to shutting off neutral commerce with Germany now carried on through Holland and the Scandinavian countries.

January 19.—An official statement at Paris declares that Montenegro has not yet capitulated, the Austrian terms being unacceptable.

It is reported in Germany that the Allies have instituted a close blockade at Greek ports and landed war forces near Athens to intimidate the Greek Government.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From December 17, 1915, to January 19, 1916)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 4.—Both branches reassemble after the holiday recess. . . . The House Committee on Banking and Currency favorably reports a Rural Credits bill.

January 5.—In the Senate, many members participate in a discussion of the propriety of Americans sailing on belligerent merchant ships, and the proposal to place an embargo upon munitions for belligerents.

January 6.—The Senate adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.), calling upon the President for information regarding the stability of the present government in Mexico and for documents forming the record of United States relations with Mexico during recent years.

January 8.—In the Senate, the Committee on Suffrage favorably reports an amendment to the Constitution providing equal suffrage. . . . The House passes the Ferris bill, throwing open to fifty-year leases water-power sites on public lands, under joint control of State and federal governments.

January 12.—In the Senate, the murder of nineteen American mining officials in Mexico is the cause of sharp debate upon the President's policy of "watchful waiting."

January 13.—In both branches, resolutions are introduced providing for sending the United States army into Mexico to protect Americans.

January 17.—The Senate debates the Philippine bill, with particular reference to the date when independence shall be granted.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 18.—President Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. Norman Galt are married at Mrs. Galt's home in Washington; few guests are present.

December 24.—Secretary Daniels makes public a report of the General Board of the Navy hitherto kept secret; it urges a policy which by 1925 would make the United States navy the equal of any.

December 26.—The report of the Commissioner of Navigation shows that during the year ending June 30, 1915, ships flying the American flag were increased by 460,741 tons.

December 31.—Laws prohibiting the sale of liquor become effective in seven States: Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, Arkansas, Iowa, and South Carolina.

January 10.—The Government's suit against former directors of the New Haven Railroad system, for conspiring to monopolize New England transportation facilities, results in the acquittal of six defendants and a disagreement of the jury upon the guilt or innocence of the other five; the trial was begun on October 13.

January 11.—The Progressive National Committee, meeting at Chicago, calls a national con-

vention to meet in Chicago at the time the Republican Convention is to assemble there in order to have, if possible, "both the Progressive and Republican parties choose the same standard-bearer and the same principles."

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 19.—Four of General Villa's lieutenants and 4000 of his soldiers sign a peace agreement with Carranza representatives.

December 23.—Juan Luis Fuentes is inaugurated President of Chile.

December 27.—It is reported that the provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi, in southwestern China, have declared for secession and the founding of a separate dynasty.

January 5.—A plot to assassinate President d'Artiguenave and start a new uprising in southern Haiti is frustrated by American forces under Rear-Admiral Caperton.

January 8.—The Japanese Minister of the Navy outlines in the Diet his proposals for a greatly enlarged navy.

January 12.—Alfredo Bazuerizo Moreno is elected President of Ecuador.

January 13.—Gen. Victoriano Huerta, who for seventeen months ruled Mexico as Provisional President and Dictator, dies shortly after his release from a federal prison in Texas.

January 17-18.—Two of Villa's principal military officials,—General Rodriguez and Col. Baca-Valles,—are captured and put to death as bandits by Carranza officials in Mexico; it is stated that Rodriguez was responsible for the murder of nineteen Americans on January 10.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 27.—The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress assembles at Washington, with more than a thousand delegates from the twenty-one republics; Secretary of State Lansing speaks on the relation of the Monroe Doctrine to the Pan-American spirit.

January 6.—President Wilson addresses the Pan-American Scientific Congress at Washington, outlining his views on Pan-Americanism; he declares that the states of America should unite in guaranteeing to each other political independence and territorial integrity.

January 10.—Nineteen American employees of a mining company are taken from a train near Chihuahua, Mexico, and shot to death by bandits said to be followers of General Villa.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 19.—The Panama Canal is reopened for vessels of light draft.

December 20.—Robert R. Moton, Principal of Hampton Institute, is chosen Principal of Tuskegee Institute.

December 23.—The price of copper in the New York market reaches 21 cents a pound (the

highest point in ten years), due in part to the purchase of 50,000 tons by Great Britain.

December 28.—Census statistics made public at London indicate that New York has since 1911 been the largest city in the world.

January 5.—The Greek liner *Thessaloniki*, after drifting helplessly for more than a week, is abandoned in a sinking condition, 350 miles south-east of New York.

January 7.—A mob of several thousand drink-crazed strikers and sympathizers in East Youngstown, Ohio, burns the business section of the town; in the rioting three persons are killed and nearly a hundred injured.

January 13.—A tidal wave and excessive rains in Holland cause rivers to overflow and dikes to burst; many towns and districts are inundated, and extensive damage done.

January 15.—An explosion on the submarine *E 2*,—believed to have been caused by gases, generated during experimental and repair work at the New York Navy Yard,—wrecks the interior and kills four men. . . . The official report on the New York State census shows a total population of 9,687,774 on June 30, 1915, an increase of 20 per cent. in ten years; 52 per cent. of the population is in Greater New York.

January 16.—Fire destroys a large section of the seaport city of Bergen, Norway.

OBITUARY

December 18.—Dr. Alexander T. Ormond, for many years professor of logic and philosophy at Princeton, 67. . . . Edouard Vaillant, dean of the Socialists in the French Chamber and former candidate for President, 76.

December 19.—Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe, a distinguished English chemist, 82. . . . Arthur W. Wright, professor emeritus of experimental physics at Yale, 79. . . . Rev. Dr. Edward Wall, professor emeritus of literature at Stevens Institute (New Jersey), 91.

December 20.—Dr. Rudolph August Witthaus, of New York City, an authority on poisons, 68. . . . Henry F. Greene, of Minnesota, formerly United States Civil Service Commissioner, 56.

December 22.—Lieut.-Gen. Otto von Emmich, leader of the first German army of invasion in Belgium. . . . Dr. Daniel Giraud Elliott, of New York, an authority on birds, 80.

December 21.—Dr. William Howard Doane, the noted composer of music for hymns, 61.

December 24.—Thomas F. Richardson, constructor of the Pike's Peak cog-wheel road and many other engineering works, 80. . . . Col. William Seymour Edwards, politician, 59, a prominent Kentucky lawyer.

December 25.—Lewis Macpherson, a well known New York journalist, writer and editor, 60. . . . Frederick G. Ireland, chief examiner of the Civil Service Commission of New York City, 69.

December 19.—Winfield Scott Hammond, Governor of Minnesota, 50.

January 1.—Tommaso Salvini, the noted Italian tragedian, 86. . . . Al Ringling, the veteran circus man, 61. . . . Dr. Joseph T. O'Connell, Health Officer of the Port of New York, 49. . . . Dr. Isaac Ott, a distinguished Pennsylvania neurologist, 64. . . . Alfred W. Benson, former judge



THE LATE JUSTICE
LAMAR



THE LATE GENERAL
DODGE

(Joseph R. Lamar, of Georgia, was an eminent judge in that State before President Taft put him on the United States Supreme bench in December, 1910. He died at Washington on January 2, aged 58. He was a man of noble character and great attainments. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, of Council Bluffs, Ia., was in his eighty-fifth year when he died on January 3. He was one of the two surviving corps commanders of the Civil War on the Union side. Afterwards he built the Union Pacific Railroad, and had international fame as the most distinguished authority in the world on the larger problems of railroad construction)

tice of the Kansas Supreme Court and ex-United States Senator, 72.

January 2.—Joseph Rucker Lamar, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 58. . . . Dr. Charles Clifford Barrows, Professor of Gynecology at the Cornell University Medical College (New York City), 58.

January 3.—Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, a famous corps commander in the Civil War, and constructor of the Union Pacific Railroad, 84. . . . Col. Robert T. Van Horn, founder and for many years editor of the *Kansas City Journal*, 91.

January 4.—Henry Lawrence Burnett, breveted Brigadier-General at the close of the Civil War, and later a prominent New York lawyer, 77.

January 6.—Charles Welbourne Knapp, until recently publisher of the *St. Louis Republic*, 69.

January 7.—Right Rev. Richard Scannell, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Omaha, 71.

January 8.—Ada Rehan, the noted actress, 88. . . . Dr. Merritt C. Fernald, former president of the University of Maine, 77. . . . Charles Conrad Schneider, of Philadelphia, an expert on bridge construction, 72.

January 9.—Isaac Barnham, publisher of the *London Daily Telegraph*, 62.

January 10.—Frank H. Dodd, the New York magazine and book publisher, 71.

January 12.—John Christopher Schwab, librarian of Yale University, and former professor of political economy, 40.

January 11.—Gen. Victoriano Huerta, recently Provisional President and Dictator in Mexico, 60.

January 17.—Jeanette L. Childer, the noted writer and literary critic, 66. . . . Brig. Gen. William N. Graham, U. S. A. retired, 81.

CURRENT AMERICAN TOPICS IN CARTOONS



A CASE OF "MUST!"

(When something like this happens there will be no further need of advocating preparedness. And it can easily happen within the next few years)
From the *American* (New York)

THIS page reflects the "preparedness" sentiment that is now abroad in the land. New York City's helplessness before the possible foreign invader is depicted above in Father Knickerbocker's questions and Uncle Sam's answers. The Administration's fresh zeal in the cause figures in the two cartoons reproduced below.



"TRILL-Y' TERRIBLE, TERRIBLE!"
From the *World* (New York)

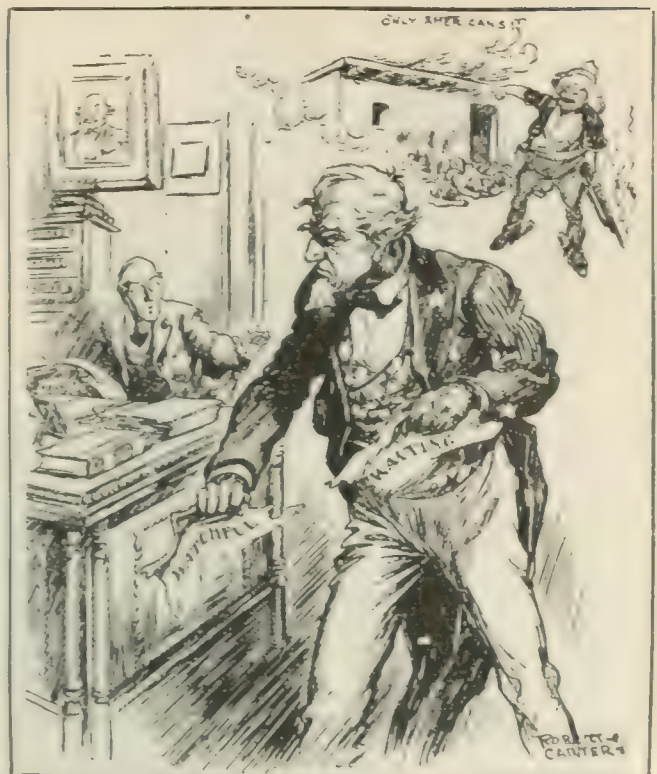


A YEAR'S TIME MAKES A LOT OF DIFFERENCE
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



TELLING HIM WHAT TO DO
From the Sun (Baltimore)

The cartoons on this page represent not only the general impatience in the later developments below the Rio Grande, but at the same time show how the sober second thought of responsible leaders in and out of Congress has served to steady public opinion and keep the country out of war.



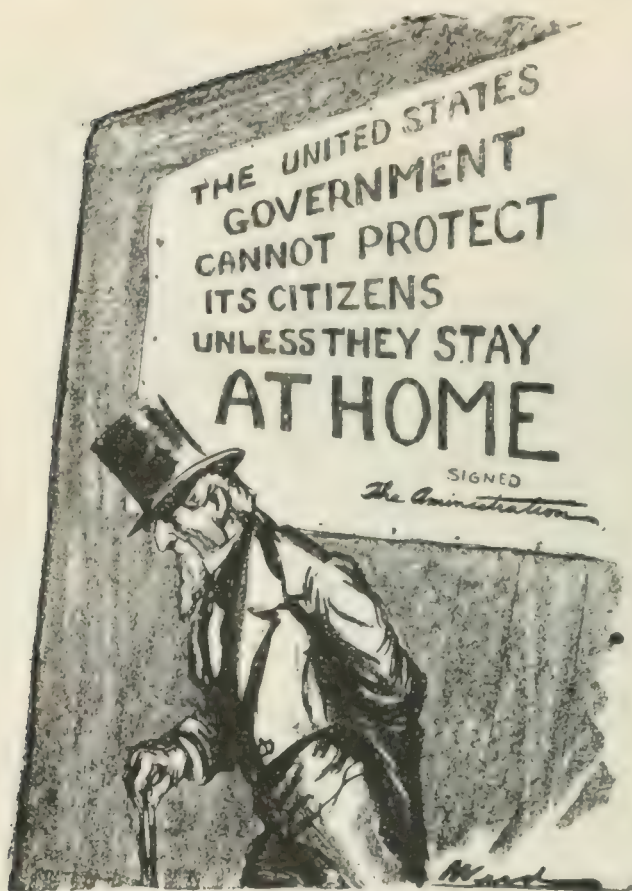
"I'VE HAD ENOUGH OF IT"
From the Sun (New York)



KEEP CALM JUDGMENT IN WASHINGTON
From the Sun (Baltimore)



THERE'S MORE FIRE HERE, ALL RIGHT—
THERE'S NO DANGER
From the American (New York)



THE CONFESSION

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

The statesmanship of our foreign policy may be criticized, but not its literary quality. The present administration, indeed, bids fair to pass into history as the note-issuing period of our national career; and many are the cartoons that have appeared on this phase of Uncle Sam's activities.

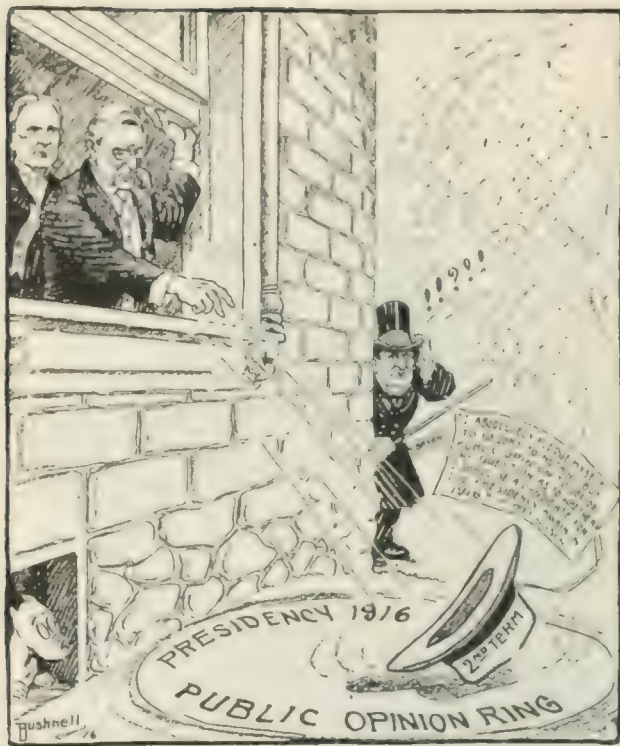
OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE
From the *Tribune* (New York)"THANK GOODNESS, WE STILL HAVE OUR PRIDE!"
From the *Sun* (New York)KEEPING HIM BUSY
From the *Times* (England)A MONUMENT TO DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY
From the *Ledger* (Tacoma)



"I BOW TO YOU, UNCLE"
From the News (Detroit)



THE PRESIDENT'S NOTES
From William C. Sullivan



HIS HAT'S IN THE RING
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)



ANOTHER SUBMARINE OUTRAGE
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



A JUNE WEDDING ANNOUNCED FOR CHICAGO
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

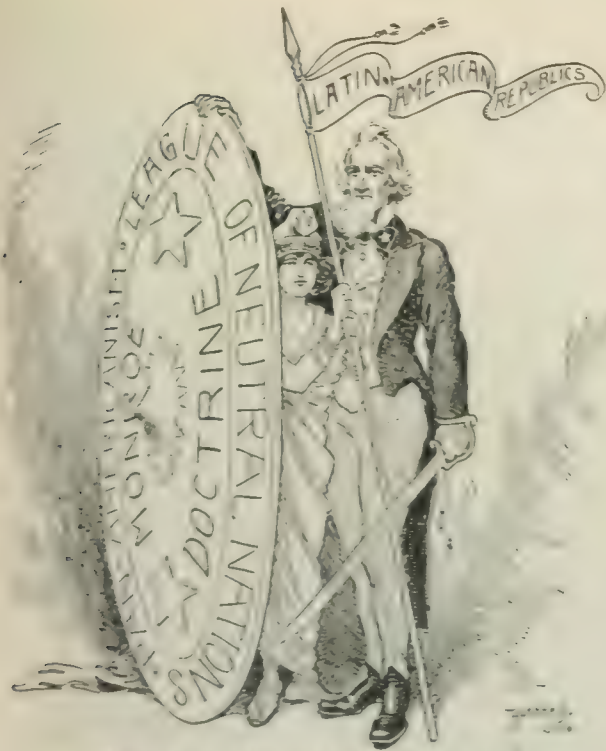


"GOD BLESS YOU!"
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

Mr. Bryan's attitude toward the Administration, as shown in the submarine cartoon on this page, was farther illustrated last month by the announcement that the Great Commoner would "trail" President Wilson on his coming speech-making tour in support of his "preparedness" program.



ANOTHER CASE OF LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD?
From the *News* (Minneapolis)



"ONE FOR ALL, AND ALL FOR ONE"
From the *Times Star* (Cincinnati)

On this page we are shown how the new gospel of Pan-American amity is received in this country. Some of the cartoonists regard the Pan-Americanism of to-day as a corollary

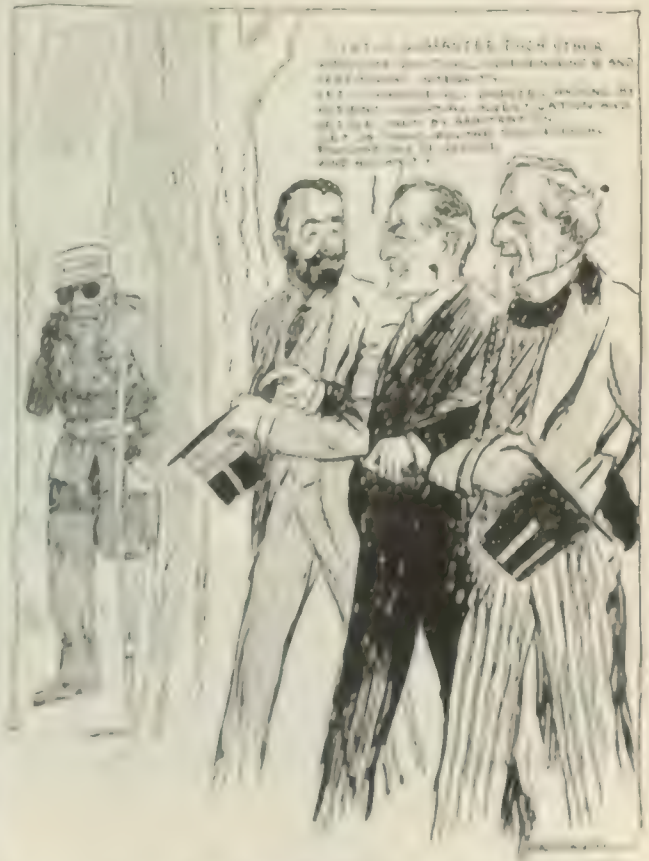


ROOM FOR ALL UNDER THE NEW UMBRELLA
From the *News* (Minneapolis)

of the Monroe Doctrine; others consider it as a wholly distinct policy, and one pictures it as a new baby in the family, to whose arrival the elder brother (Monroe Doctrine) is not quite reconciled. The two cartoons in this column portray the contrast between the Pan-American brand of internationalism and the European, to the disparagement of the latter.



FOR YOUR BABY
From the *Times Star* (Cincinnati)



WORLD STRIFE
From the *Times Star* (Cincinnati)

CITIES AND SCENES IN THE WAR ZONES



Photograph by the American Press Association New York

PALACE OF ARCHBISHOP IN CZERNOWITZ NOW USED AS AUSTRIAN RED CROSS STATION

(Czernowitz, the most important city in the Austrian province of Bukowina, has been the objective of the new Russian offensive campaign of recent weeks, and severe engagements in the vicinity of this city have repeatedly been reported)



CETTINJE, THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO, CAPTURED BY THE AUSTRIAN TROOPS LAST MONTH

(Situated at an altitude of nearly 2000 feet, in a deep valley surrounded by mountains, Cetinje in general appearance is more like a village than the capital of a kingdom. The palace of the monarch itself is a modest, two-story building. The population numbers less than 5000. The city has before this been subjected to the ravages of war, having been destroyed by the Turks in 1683, in 1714, and in 1785.)



G. M. P. Photo Service

A COMFORTABLE FRENCH GROTTO NEAR THE BATTLE LINES

The photograph captures the interior of a grotto on the French front. The tired soldiers are asleep in the grotto, some of them sitting up, making use of the opportunity to write a letter home.



Photograph by Associated & Presses, New York

MAKING CHERAL TAPS OUT OF THE GERMAN TRENCHES

The photograph shows three soldiers in a trench, standing behind a large, light-colored cloth or tarp that is draped over a wooden frame. The soldiers are looking towards the camera. The trench walls are made of earth and rock.



BRITISH TROOPS (WITH SUN HELMETS AND SHORT TROUSERS) IN MESOPOTAMIA



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

TURKISH ARTILLERY ADVANCING ACROSS THE DESERT



KUT-EL AMARA ON THE TIGRIS. THE SCENE OF SEVERE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE TURKS



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

AN AUSTRIAN BATTERY ON THE EASTERN FRONT



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A RUSSIAN TRANSPORT BATTLING WITH THE SNOW IN BUKOWINA



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

RUSSIAN GUNS LINED UP FOR AN ATTACK IN GALICIA



THE GERMAN AND BULGARIAN COMMANDERS IN THE BALKAN CAMPAIGN

(In the picture, from left to right, are Field Marshal von Mackensen, commander-in-chief of the Austro-German armies of invasion; Bulgarian Staff Officer Stantcheff; General Ierikow, commander of the Bulgarian right wing; General Gantscheff, Bulgarian Military Attache at Berlin; Major-General Tappen of the German army; Major-General von Seeckt of the German army; Crown Prince Boris of Bulgaria and General von Falkenhayn, Chief of the German General Staff.)



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York.

THE TEUTON PROGRESS THROUGH SERBIA

(Germans marching through a Serbian village. On the right are Bulgarian soldiers, saluting their allies.)

SEA POWER IN THE WAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. A YEAR AND A HALF

WITH the coming of February the Great War will have passed the half-way mark of that three years which Lord Kitchener fixed as the minimum duration of the world struggle. Eighteen months of battle and campaign will then have left the belligerents and the neutrals alike with slight promise of peace, with little evidence of the approach of a decision. Once more the parallel of our own Civil War comes to mind. In the same period, opening with the first Battle of Bull Run, there had been fought the Peninsular Campaign with its series of defeats; Second Bull Run with its disaster; the temporary relief of Antietam had been annulled by the reverse of Fredericksburg; and a few months later Chancellorsville was to come as the climax to Northern disaster.

Eighteen months after the first great battle of the Civil War, great in its consequences, there was hardly an observer of experience in a neutral country who believed that the North could win, or questioned the ultimate independence of the South. Not until the two-year mark had been passed, not until Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July, 1863, had restored the Northern prestige and prospects lost at Bull Run in July, 1861, did the world appreciate the fact that in preventing the South from gaining a decision in the earlier years, the North, with superior resources in men and money, above all with the control of the seas, had in fact won the war, however long it might take to enforce the decision.

In the present article, covering a month in which the military operations have been of small importance, and there is at the moment, no prospect of an operation offering any promise of immediately important consequences,—I desire to discuss at some length the fashion in which sea power is steadily becoming more and more of a decisive factor, and more and more seems to be re-establishing those lessons which were taught by the Napoleonic Wars, by the Wars of Louis XV., and were again emphasized in our own Civil War.

Always it has been well understood that sea power could not win a war of itself, that it could not prevent the success on land of a great nation, superior in preparation and in organized military strength to its enemies. Despite all French naval superiority in the War of 1870, German victory was complete, and French naval officers and troops were landed to defend Paris.

In the Napoleonic Wars the great Emperor won Austerlitz after and Ulm just before Trafalgar. His first abdication came nearly ten years after British sea power became supreme and it was immediately procured, not by the British fleet, but by the armies of the last great coalition.

Yet there is plain possibility that the importance of sea power will be overlooked, that too much store may be set by the land operations alone, and that the lessons of the past may be forgotten. This has, it seems to me, actually happened in the present case, and that the world has permitted its attention to be fixed upon land victories, which have not been decisive, when the victory of sea power had not only been immediately decisive, on its own element, but was daily contributing to reverse the actual situation on land.

Napoleon's ultimate defeat was due to British sea power, although he surrendered to conquering armies. It was due to the fact that Great Britain was able, while immune from attack herself, to use her money and the discontent and jealousy of Napoleon's land rivals to incite war after war, while in Napoleon's desire to strike at Britain he was led from one campaign to another, he was forced to annex one port after another, to extend his control of the sea front of Europe in the attempt to close Europe to British commerce, to strike at London through Moscow, and thus to ruin the nation he could not reach by arms.

In the course of the years that stretch from Ardens to Fontenoy Napoleon won several complete decisions over his land enemies. He defeated and conquered Austria at Austerlitz, Prussia at Jena, Russia at Friedland, Austria a second time at Wagram,

and his victorious armies swept Spain from the Pyrenees to Cadiz. But sea power kept up the fight and, master of the oceans and the seas alike, Great Britain sustained the battle and raised new war after new war, until the French people grew weary of the struggle and France was bled white of conscripts. Yet it is well to recall that not until a year had passed, not until seven months before the abdication, did the Emperor sustain a real defeat in battle and only four months before he yielded, had hostile troops entered France.

II. WHAT SEA POWER HAS DONE

Taking the existing situation, it will be recognized that up to the present British sea power has accomplished all that Nelson accomplished for his country and a little more, that is to say it has established the British supremacy on water beyond question, it has abolished the German commerce from the sea, it has destroyed the German warships and undersea boats that have ventured within reach, it has given to British commerce and to British transport the safe use of the sea. Despite the sensational details of the sinking of a few great liners, it is well to remember that the actual percentage of loss of British shipping from German activities is far smaller than that inflicted by French privateers in the Napoleonic time and never did the British in the earlier wars with the French succeed in paralyzing so completely an enemy commerce as they have now.

Following the earlier precedent, British sea power has made it possible for British expeditions to operate in Europe and outside of it. In Europe British armies have rendered great help in France and contributed to abolish all prospect that the Germans can win a decision in the West. They have permitted the British to undertake a campaign in Gallipoli, which has failed as did the several campaigns undertaken against Napoleon, before the great campaign of Wellington in Spain. In the same way sea power has permitted the concentration of troops at Salonica and in Egypt, thus blocking a Turkish thrust upon Suez.

Outside the European and Mediterranean field sea power has enabled the British to gather up all but one of the German colonies; with French and Japanese help, the remaining colony, too, German East Africa, lies within the grasp of the British whenever

they choose to seize it. The Great Britain of Asquith has dealt with Germany as the Britain of the Pitts dealt with France, both of the Monarchy and the Empire. It has abolished German commerce, appropriated German colonies, sealed up German harbors to trade, and it has prevented the Germans from inflicting any material loss upon the British in their own kingdom and from effectively interfering with their trade or their transport.

To-day Britain is giving financial aid to Russia and to Italy, she is giving military aid to France and she is engaging Germany's Turkish ally. Her troops, her money, her fleet are all available for use, wherever German activity calls for Allied effort. By no means all of her ventures have been successful, but in the Napoleonic War there were several Gallipolis, notably on the Island of Walcheren and in the case of Sweden. Even the Spanish affair was for long such a failure as almost to lead to its abandonment.

The real obstacle to peace, at the present moment, lies in the fact that Great Britain has so far been the sole nation to profit by the war, and her profits have been absolute. Germany has made conquests on land, she has most of Belgium, a corner of France, much of Russia, and (with her ally) Serbia and Montenegro. But Germany has lost the sea. Not a German ship can put to sea, and Germany cannot return to the ordinary business of life until she can again begin to ship her manufactures by water and draw her raw materials by the same route.

Thus, in effect, Germany has occupied Warsaw, Lille, and Belgrade, only to lose Hamburg and Bremen, which are to all intents and purposes in British hands, since they cannot be used by Germany. After eighteen months Germany has captured nothing that can give her a basis for bargain with Britain. And what Britain holds makes all of Germany's conquests of little value. She is, as I have said before, in the position of a burglar, who has entered a house and collected the silver but cannot get out to dispose of it.

Now, unless Germany can outlast Britain, or find some way to exercise compulsion upon Britain, she must ultimately go to London and ask for peace, because she must ultimately resume her sea commerce, she must ultimately use the oceans. Nothing is more idle than to suppose that there is a market or a future for Germany as a self-contained empire, even if that empire ex-

tends from Hamburg to Bagdad. The very character of German industry makes the sea the necessary way of transport, and it is from her trade beyond the frontiers of her allies that she draws the revenue which keeps her great population living in a restricted area.

Aside from this question of the future, there is, too, the question of the present, the problem of food and munitions for a war of exhaustion.

III. SEA POWER AND A WAR OF ENDURANCE

Despite the various rumors, I do not believe that the German people are starving or in immediate danger of starving. Perhaps after a year or two more of war there will be real suffering where there is now only hardship. But hardship there is, hardship which is revealed in a multitude of ways. There is, too, a shortage of certain things essential in war, for which substitutes may be found in most cases, although not, for example, in the case of rubber. Still it is possible to believe that another year or two of war would not exhaust German material or reduce Germany to starvation.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that Germany's men are limited. She has already lost seven men for one of the British and her population is but 67,000,000, against more than 60,000,000 for Britain and her white colonies. Financially the war is costing her, with advances to her allies, almost dollar for dollar with the British, and she has no such resources or accumulated capital as Britain upon which to draw. She is, in fact, mortgaging her future beyond imagination, while Britain is still drawing upon her past.

In a similar situation Napoleon was able to live upon his land enemies and keep France free from debt, but Germany has been unable to do this. She has drained Belgium dry and made heavy drafts upon the resources of her French conquests, but Poland and Serbia are destitute of all real resources, having been completely wasted by war, and French and Belgian resources have been drained dry. The rapid decline of German credit in the open markets of the world, the neutral markets, is perhaps a fair evidence of what the world thinks of the German financial situation.

All these circumstances should be appreciated in their proper proportion. If Ger-

many can get to Paris, if she can get to Petrograd, she may yet dispose of her land rivals and readjust her own financial problems. She may yet conquer the Continent, as Napoleon did, but she has so far failed to conquer any great opponent, even temporarily. She has failed to cripple any great opponent materially, and she has lost for the period of the war, so far as one can see, the use of the ocean.

To escape from this situation, Germany tried first to go to the Channel. Had she arrived at Calais and Boulogne she might have dominated the Straits of Dover and seriously crippled British commerce, conceivably shut up London. But she was stopped in the Battles of Flanders and the check has become permanent. She tried the submarines and they failed, absolutely failed so far as the British waters are concerned. She tried Zeppelins and the consequent "terribleness" and these failed. She has not even been able to survey the British coast, as did Napoleon from Boulogne.

There remains one more thrust, that toward Suez, which I shall discuss later, but here it is sufficient to say that the best informed naval observers in Washington, the best informed military experts outside of Germany, are agreed that there is small chance of a Teuto-Turk success at Suez and not the smallest warrant for believing that a full success would affect the British blockade or cripple British industry or imperial interests.

Yet, if she cannot find a way to break the British blockade, the fact is self-evident that Germany must persuade Britain to raise it. To do this is to surrender on British terms. Such terms, at the very least, would carry the evacuation of Belgium, of France, of Russia, the restoration of the *status quo ante* in Europe, with probable provision for French reoccupation of Alsace-Lorraine, Italian occupation of Trent and Trieste, and the surrender of Turkey to Allied mercies. Of course Germany would not now consider such a peace, but the thing that I desire to make clear is that British sea power has become absolute; it bars the way of every German port; it is hampered by no British loss of territory essential to the empire, in fact by no loss of British territory whatever.

So far as the seas go, Germany is a besieged nation; and the besieged nation, like the besieged garrison, must break the lines of investment, ultimately, or surrender. Not

only has Germany so far failed to do this, but she has failed where Napoleon succeeded. He conquered his land foes, occupied their capitals, and paid the costs of his war from their treasuries. All this Germany has been unable to do.

IV. THE DECISIVE ELEMENT

Early in our Civil War, the North isolated the South; but it took years to reduce the fortress thus isolated, and it was always possible for the South, by occupying Washington and our eastern cities, to win the war. But ultimately the blockade was fatal, when coupled with the failure of the South to obtain a decision on land. Unless the Germans shall find a way to break the blockade or compel the British to raise it, there seems to me no reason to doubt that the end of the war is assured. It is a fact that Germany has so far failed in every attempt to reach Britain; and her failures have been so costly, that it is difficult to believe that it is any longer within German power to compel Britain.

Bear in mind, always, that this war is, in its main issue, a contest between the Germans and the British. The dispute between the French and the Germans is limited to a single province. Russia and Germany could arrange their differences by bargain. Italy could be bought off by a payment in territory. But it is not any question of relatively minor importance that separates Germany and Britain. On the contrary, Germany has asserted that Britain has deliberately set out to thwart her expansion, to check her natural growth, and that it is only on the ruins of British sea power that she can erect that empire which is necessary to her existence.

Great Britain on her part, slow to perceive the challenge, has now taken it up as she took up the challenge of Holland, of Spain, and of France both under Louis XIV and Napoleon. In every one of these cases Britain did not pause with a victory or abandon hope when she was left alone to fight. She fought to the end and to the destruction of her foes, so far as their marine ambitions were concerned, because she saw in these ambitions, a peril to her own existence. To-day she has accepted the German challenge as Rome took that of Carthage. She is bending her energies and her power, not to throw Germany back within her own boundaries in Europe, but to put an end for a generation at the least to all peril at

sea. She is fighting, not to destroy the German nation, but to destroy Germany as a rival naval power and marine competitor.

Absorbed in our study and interest in the land operations, properly impressed by the magnitude of German victories, we in America, as indeed the observers in the whole world, have too little appreciated the truth that the land operations have lacked the character of a decision; and the fact that they have lacked this character has given to the naval operations an importance far in excess of those on shore. British muddling, defeat, disaster on land have captured the mind of a generation which is too unfamiliar with British history to appreciate that the same things have marked every great British conflict and were fatal only in the case of our own War of the Revolution, and then merely because Britain at the decisive hour also temporarily lost control of the sea.

On the map, the German conquests make a formidable showing, but how much more impressive is the showing of the British conquests if you color the seas to indicate them. Some day Europe will talk peace, but what value will peace have for Germany if it does not include in the terms the right to use the seas? But how, is Germany to persuade Britain to concede this right, if she cannot conquer it? Does any one suppose that Germany will be able to exhaust Britain before she is herself exhausted? This is absurd, because Britain is still able to carry on a portion of her industrial life, and her resources in capital far exceed German.

As for ruin, when peace is made, if the British are able to compel the Germans to give up their merchant marine, even if they are only able to forbid German ships the right to use their harbors and their colonial ports and naval stations as ports of call, in concert with their allies, German shipping will be out of the race and the British will replace their only rival in the carrying trade of the world, and find her new wealth to replace old.

Prophecy is idle and I do not mean to prophesy. What I do mean to emphasize is, that eighteen months after the outbreak of the war, sea power, navalism if you please, has so completely bested militarism, that the situation that exists, unless Germany can find some way to modify it, by success over the British, insures German defeat exactly as Napoleon's defeat was insured when he failed to dispose of sea power and faced the Continent in arms.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

FRENCH AND GREEKS AT SALONICA

(Heavy-armed French soldiers, with their pith helmets, looking with interest at the Greek highlanders, who are equally interested in the visitors)



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE RETREAT OF THE SERBIAN PEASANTRY

(The women of the village, in front of the burning of the city, and carrying on their backs the belongings of their families)

V. THE BEGINNING OF THE END

From my own standpoint,—and I have tried in all the long series of articles on the war to make clear the situation as it appeared to me,—the war on land has been fought out and there is practically no hope of a real decision there. In the spring there is every reason to suppose that if Germany still has the men, and it seems far from improbable, she will make one more great bid for a decision in the East and seek to resume and complete her march to Moscow and Petrograd.

In the same fashion there is likely to be a great Anglo-French offensive in the West. The success of this operation may well depend upon the extent to which Germany is compelled to reduce her armies in the West to make a new campaign in the East. I do not believe that the spring offensive will reach the German frontiers, or clear Belgium. It may conceivably rescue the portion of France now in the invader's hands. It is even conceivable that Germany will, herself, shorten her lines in the West, recognizing that no terms of peace can be thought of, so far as France is concerned, while French territory is in German hands and French armies unconquered.

Italy, on her side, will doubtless pursue her selfish and local campaign, useful to the Allies only as it distracts the attention of some hundreds of thousands of Austrian troops. As for the Near East, I shall deal with Suez a little later. Having now con-

quered Montenegro, there is little reason to believe that the Austro-Germans will lose it, and less reason to suppose that the Allies at Salonica will be able to conquer either Bulgaria or Turkey.

But if Germany should next fall arrive with her armies, greatly weakened by losses and hardships, at Moscow or Petrograd, would this affect the war to the extent of producing that victorious peace which Germany still expects and demands? I do not believe it, because I cannot see, even in such a victory, any real menace to the British blockade. Nor, with Russia out of the war, is there any real reason to suppose that Germany would then be able to muster sufficient men to break the French and British lines in the West. Mere arithmetic makes this seem utterly improbable.

Meantime there must be no mistaking the steady growth of British military strength and of what is far more important, British national determination and moral and intellectual mobilization. By next fall Britain will certainly have as many men under arms as Germany and they will be physically far better men, because Germany's best have already been removed from the firing line, like those of France and Russia and Austria.

Coincident with this is the growth in Britain of a realization that victory means for the Empire the end of the gravest peril since the Napoleonic era, and a determination to abolish that peril not by a mere victory, but by terms of peace which shall dis-



THE MESOPOTAMIAN FIELD OF WAR AND THE SUEZ CANAL, A POSSIBLE GERMAN-TURKISH OBJECTIVE

pose for a long period of years, perhaps forever, of a rival on the sea. It is no idle statement that the Germans make, that France and Russia are fighting Britain's battles. They are; and in destroying German manhood they are removing the competitors of British industry. But of course both the French and the Russians are equally serving their own purposes.

The Allies, Italy now included, have covenanted not to make a separate peace, and every British end is served by prolonging the war to the utter exhaustion of Germany. And Britain retains the decisive weapon, for even peace with all her other foes would not enable Germany to take up her national industrial life again or begin the terrible task of paying for the war. It is to London now that one must look for the decisive gesture as to peace. And all recent talk of peace has died out because, for London, the war is just beginning: the prospects of victory, the meaning of success to the British Empire, have only just been perceived.

Even now British ministers and statesmen are planning to make the victory over Germany absolute by arranging in advance of peace a condition which will abolish German competition on the high seas. The British have waked up as they have not waked up before since the war began. They have appreciated the value of their weapon of sea power, and they are now preparing to make good all that Admiral Mahan has written of the possibilities of sea power, and to repeat against William II the absolute successes won against Napoleon.

VI. NACH SUEZ

It is characteristic of the German genius that it builds for itself one colossal dream after another, and the collapse of one only inspires greater faith in the next. Thus Germany has believed, since the war began, that France could be abolished by a six-weeks' campaign and the struggle won; that the successful advance to Calais would bring Britain to heel; that the submarine would accomplish the same result; that Russia could be eliminated in a summer campaign; that the advance to Constantinople would conquer the will of the Allies and insure peace.

Now the German mind has seized upon Suez as the key to the British Empire, England's 'Heel of Achilles.' The whole British Empire is to be undermined, overthrown by a successful Teuto-Turk drive at Egypt.

"Nach Suez" has replaced "Nach Paris" and "Nach Calais" as a German watchword.

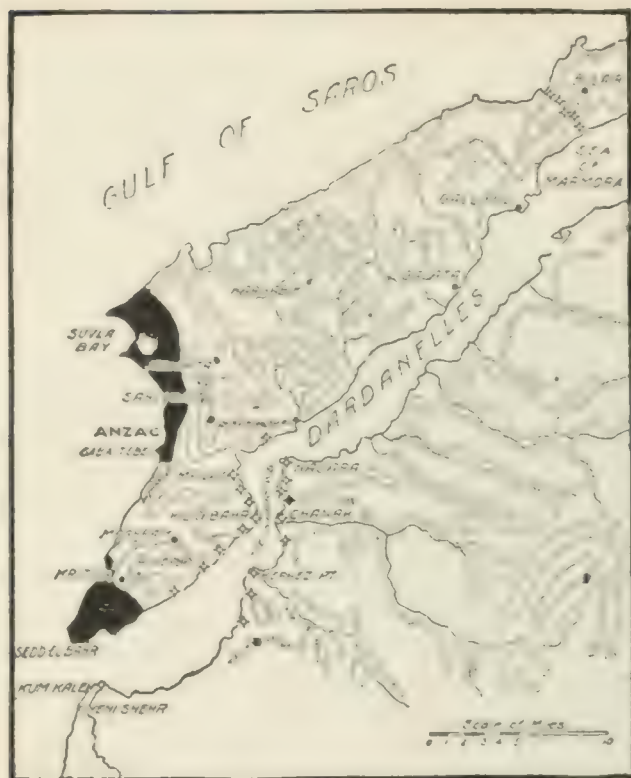
Yet there seem to be grave doubts as to the soundness of this view. Conceive that the Teuto-Turk armies actually pass the Canal and enter Egypt. How can this shake the British Empire? It will not interrupt, but merely lengthen the voyage to India, and India was conquered and held when only sailing vessels were on the water and the East was reached by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Of itself, Egypt is not essential to British existence because it neither furnishes men nor produces material necessary for Britain. It is a more valuable colony than any German overseas possession, but Germany has lost the use of all her colonies without losing the war or any real advantage thereby. As for India, Japan is bound by treaty to defend that, so it does not enter into the question.

It is hard to see on what the German conception of the importance of Egypt is based, but what chance have the invaders of passing Suez? An army of 25,000 Turks was heavily defeated before Suez a year ago and the British have had twelve months to prepare. We all know that a shorter time was sufficient to enable the Turks to fortify Gallipoli. For a whole year the British have been busy preparing a hundred miles front. Indeed they have reduced this front by a third by flooding the east bank of the canal near the northern end, and perhaps another third by filling the other lakes along the route. Certainly there is not more than fifty miles of front available for Turkish attack.

Behind this front and parallel to it is a railroad. The canal was defended last year by warships, as well as by forts. All the resources of sea power are available for the transport of munitions, men and supplies and Cairo and Alexandria are available as bases, as well as Port Said and Suez.

The Teuto-Turks, on the contrary, must bring their troops, guns and munitions over the Taurus Mountains and over the Amanus by road. Since the tunnels on the Bagdad Railroad are unfinished, they must transport them for a hundred and twenty-five miles over the barren Sinai Desert, with only a few wells to furnish water and no other roads than desert trails. Finally, they must draw upon distant regions for food, for neither from Palestine nor Syria can they derive food or forage for any considerable army.

The British and their allies can put almost



THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA

(The black portions show the territory occupied by the English and French forces during the Dardanelles campaign. The first landings of Allied troops were made on April 25, 1915, and their complete withdrawal was effected on January 9, 1916)

any number of troops on the Canal line, whose restricted length calls for not more than 250,000 even accepting the standards of Western warfare, and these are certainly not applicable to this region. At Ypres less than 150,000 British bore the weight of a German attack made by numbers estimated at 500,000. For days they held lines that they never had the time to fortify. They were then destitute of any considerable amount of heavy artillery and lacked high explosive ammunition. Now they have heavy guns, and they have also the fleet batteries and unlimited ammunition.

As to insurrections in the British rear, these are unlikely because the area in which men can live off the country in Egypt is exceedingly restricted and there is lacking any considerable military population. Egypt has always been conquered and held by small forces. In case of peril the whole Allied army could be transported from Salonica far more quickly than could the Turks send new forces from Constantinople.

In sum, while there is probably no reason to doubt that the attempt to force Suez will be made, nothing but criminal folly on the British part could have left it open to successful attack, and there is no real possibility that the Turks could acquire the guns or

transport to maintain an army sufficient to prevail on the narrow front, long ago fortified and protected alike by the desert and by the fleet.

VII. THE END OF GALLIPOLI

It remains now to review briefly the single considerable military incident of the month, the withdrawal of the Allied troops from the Gallipoli Peninsula. This was accomplished with practically no loss and with a skill and rapidity that surprised the world. The British public have for weeks expected to hear of some grave disaster. Even the least pessimistic British writers have firmly believed that the withdrawal, foreseen to be necessary, would cost at least as much as the bloody landing, which, at Sedd-el Bahr alone, brought 15,000 casualties.

The successful withdrawal, therefore, did much to lessen for the British the sting of the disaster which the campaign constituted. It had cost the British more than 100,000 casualties and those of the French were also heavy. It had been marked by a series of blunders and mistakes which had cost the commander, General Ian Hamilton, his position and had proven the graveyard of the reputations of many subordinates. For Australia and New Zealand this terrible campaign will have permanent memories; for the burden of the losses were borne by the Colonials.

Coincident with the withdrawal, the British learned how near success had been, how the prize was lost, not by Turkish skill or bravery, great as were both, but by the unspeakable stupidity and incapacity of the various commanders. To a nation which had just seen its commanding general, Field-Marshal French, withdrawn from France, which had read of the mistakes at Loos and the minor advantages obtained in a battle that cost 60,000 casualties, the Gallipoli withdrawal came as a final blow to pride.

Probably the question of the Gallipoli campaign will continue to be argued for many years. Its wisdom or folly now divides England. It cost Winston Churchill his position in the Cabinet and it almost cost the Cabinet its life. Yet it nearly succeeded, and had it succeeded, the whole situation in the near East, the duration of the war itself, might have been settled to the satisfaction of the Allies. But the withdrawal, making the failure absolute, removed the last latent fraction of Allied prestige in the Near East and left Germany supreme in Constantinople

and Sofia, and dominant in Athens and Bucharest.

Hard and fast upon the evacuation of Gallipoli came the further progress of the Austro-German invasion of the Balkans. The Montenegrins were driven from their mountain, which commanded the town and Bay of Cattaro, Lovcen fell into Austrian hands, Cetinje followed Belgrade into the possession of the enemy, and Nicholas, like Peter, became an exile, and the Montenegrins surrendered unconditionally to Austria. So once more the Serb race was overcome and the invaders of the North repeated the successes of the Turk, which five hundred years before, at Kossovo, had eliminated the Serbs from the free nations of the earth.

Despite a pretence made by the Italians at sending aid, there was no mistaking the fact that the father of the Queen of Italy had been left to face Austria single-handed and that the Italians had pursued toward Montenegro the same policy that they had shown toward Serbia, a policy frankly suggesting their readiness to see a possible Slav rival in Adriatic waters eliminated, or at the least crushed so completely as to promise no peril for the Italians for many years.

Yet there was no mistaking the fact that this cool and calculating policy seemed to have an immediate and eventual peril for the Italians, for it removed the last obstacle to complete Austrian control on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, north of Albania, and it foreshadowed an Austrian descent to Avlona, key to the Straits of Otranto and prospective base of Italian supremacy in this sea.

Meantime about Salonica the Allied armies took root, fortified the surrounding hills, endeavored to turn the eastern city into a sec-



THE AUSTRIAN CONQUEST OF MONTENEGRO

(An expedition from Cattaro, the Austrian naval base, captured Mount Lovcen on January 11. Cetinje, the capital, was thereupon occupied by armies of invasion. Mount Lovcen not only dominates surrounding Montenegrin territory for many miles, but its possession by Austria is a blow to Italy's ambition to control the Adriatic.)

ond Lisbon and its approaches into a new Torres Vedras, which should thwart the Germans as the Portuguese lines had, under Wellington, thwarted the French. Before these lines the Bulgars halted and the Austrians and Germans showed no immediate activity. Indeed the coming of a Russian offensive in Bukowina seemed to make a draft upon German and Austrian troops so great as to leave a force in the Balkans insufficient to venture upon an attack and the great French soldier, De Castelnau, the victor of Nancy and Champagne, and the new second-in-command in the French armies, declared that Salonica had become impregnable.



GALLIPOLI PENINSULA

GALLIPOLI ON THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA



Chicago Herald News Staff, New York

HOW TURKEY PROCLAIMED THE HOLY WAR

THE SMOULDERING EAST

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

DURING the autumn weeks of 1914, when Turkey stood wavering on the brink, we heard a great deal about the "Holy War." Much of this talk was very alarmist in character. Nothing short of an immediate and simultaneous rising of the whole Mohammedan world was predicted. Well, Turkey did take the plunge, the Holy War was duly proclaimed—but no general rising of Islam occurred. Thereupon comment veered round from pessimistic alarm to scoffing optimism, and we were told either that there was no pan-Islamic solidarity at all, or that, even if some such sentiment did exist, the Mohammedan world at large regarded the Turks as traitors to Islam. In short, Turkey's action was to have no perceptible effect upon other Moslem lands.

In the year which has elapsed since the proclamation of the Holy War, little Eastern news has run the Allied censorship blockade. Yet, scant as are the tidings, they show that,

here as elsewhere, the truth lies between the two extremes. No general revolt has occurred anywhere in Islam, but for all that, behind the censor's veil we catch the loom of a giant unrest, growing with every Allied defeat, quickened by every Turkish victory. Furthermore, we should remember that this unrest is nothing new. For many years Islam's anger has been steadily rising against that conquering West which has subjected every portion of the Moslem world, save Turkey, to its imperious will. And this anger has been increasingly focussed against the present "Allies,"—against Russia, always considered Islam's arch-enemy; against France, Russia's ally and the conqueror of Moslem North Africa; against England since her entente with Russia and the Anglo-Russian strangling of Persia. Thus, whatever flames may now be bursting forth in the Moslem world, the live coals have long been glowing beneath the ashes of sullen despair.

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF THE TURK

Without venturing any direct pronouncements as to the exact course of events, we can yet profitably examine the general situation in the Islamic lands, analyzing both the factors of stability and the elements of conflagration. The first consideration is, of course, Turkey. It is upon Turkey's offensive power that all the rest depends. At the present moment Turkey's prospects look extremely good. Ottoman prestige, so shattered by the First Balkan War, has risen immeasurably during the past year. Solemnly condemned to death by the Allies in the autumn of 1914, the Ottoman Empire has ever since been showing startling signs of vigorous life. Turkish armies have invaded Russian Transcaucasia and Russian Persia, have raided the Suez Canal, have heroically held the Dardanelles against large Anglo-French armies and the greatest armada of modern times, and are now imperilling the retreat of a defeated Anglo-Indian army in Mesopotamia. The opening of the Berlin-Constantinople high-road has relieved all danger of a munitions shortage, and is fast arming hundreds of thousands of Turkish soldiers in training for many months but hitherto unable to take the field for lack of rifles and artillery. Some of these new troops may be required for service in the Balkans, but the bulk of them will be available for use in Asia, and they, added to the veteran forces already with the colors, will constitute a mighty factor in the whole Eastern theater of war.

LAYING THE RAILS FOR THE ATTACK ON EGYPT

The question now arises where Turkey's Asiatic armies will first be employed. Everything points to an expedition against Egypt. The Turkish attack on the Suez Canal line a year ago proved that the building of the "Sacred Railway" from Syria down to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, together with the recent development of motor transport, had destroyed Egypt's isolation. No longer could the possession of the Nile valley laugh at threats of invasion across the desert zone lying between Egypt and Syria. In fact, the Turkish attack of a year ago seems to have been but a daring raid than a calculated first step in a more ambitious plan. Though repulsed from the canal itself, the Turks succeeded in holding most of the Sinai peninsula, and their German engineers have been busy building branch spurs westward from the "Sacred" trunk line. The railroads of these



THE RAILROAD APPROACHES TO THE SUEZ CANAL

(The Hejaz Railroad from Damascus to Mecca, with probable routes—numbered 1, 2, and 3—of spurs built eastward to within a short distance of the Suez Canal by the Turco-German forces for their reported campaign against Egypt)

spur tracks are now said to be within fifty miles of the Suez Canal. Obviously this will make possible the quick massing of a large army and heavy artillery within easy striking distance of the Suez line. Of course the English position is immensely strong,—a narrow front flanked by waters entirely under British naval control. Still, Turkish infantry is such splendid stuff, and German artillery achieves such marvels, that no one can predict offhand that any military lines are proof against so formidable a combination.

INSECURITY OF ENGLAND'S HOLD ON EGYPT

One thing which must disquiet the British is the insecurity of their tenure on Egypt itself. English rule has never been popular in the valley of the Nile, and a few years ago Egyptian unrest became so violent that the Liberal Government of Great Britain was forced to abandon its policy of conciliation and resort to frank repression. Lord Kitchener was accordingly made proconsul, and till the outbreak of the present war he governed Egypt with a rod of iron. Egypt ceased to figure in the press headlines, but England was no more beloved than before. Dissent was driven underground,—and

became thereby the more dangerous. Since the war Egypt has been flooded with British troops and put under the sternest sort of martial law. Nevertheless, ugly symptoms have showed here and there, and a Turkish victory on the Suez Canal would probably be followed by serious outbreaks among the swarming populace of Cairo and the teeming millions of the Fellaheen. The same is true of the Egyptian Sudan. The Mahdist embers are not quite cold, and Englishmen themselves admit the possibility of trouble in these regions.

Another disquieting factor in the situation is the disturbed conditions on Egypt's western border. In the recesses of the great Sahara desert lie the fertile oases which are the seats of that mysterious Moslem brotherhood, the Senussiye. The religious hold which these fanatical sectaries have acquired over the populations of North Africa has long been a strong one, and while little is known of their numbers, their fighting qualities are unquestionably of a high order. The Senussi have already taken the field against the Italians in Tripoli, and the aid thus afforded the revolting Tripolitans has had important consequences. Despite the rigid Allied censorship we know pretty definitely that the Italians have suffered several bad defeats and now hold little more than the towns of the coast. Of late the Senussi have been turning their attention Egyptwards. The past two months have seen brisk fighting between the British and strong Arab reconnoitring parties well armed with good rifles and machine-guns. Already the British have abandoned their outposts on the Tripolitan border and have retired well toward their Egyptian base. It is interesting to speculate what might happen in Egypt if a horde of fanatical Senussi dervishes should sweep into Egypt out of the Western deserts at the height of a Turco-German assault upon the Suez Canal.

THE FEELING IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

As to the rest of Moslem North Africa, there seems to be little immediate danger of trouble. Of course, Morocco is not yet pacified, considerable French and Spanish armies being still engaged in the thankless task of subduing the fierce mountaineers of the Atlas and the Riff. Morocco is, however, so isolated from the rest of the Moslem world, both by geographical remoteness and by the heresy of its inhabitants, that any fresh Moorish disturbances would probably remain localized. The great French African empire lying between Morocco and Tripoli

seems also safe from immediate trouble. Both in Algeria and in Tunis the French have succeeded in making their rule more popular than the British have in Egypt. Also these countries possess a considerable European colonial population, mainly French or French-feeling, which would support French ascendancy to the death. Thus, unless appearances are more than usually deceitful, nothing less than the conquest of Egypt and Tripoli by the Turks and Senussi would rouse the natives of French North Africa to serious revolt.

After Egypt, the Moslem land of most immediate interest is Persia. This ancient empire has, during the last few years, sunk to the status of a Russo-British protectorate, Russian troops occupying its northern provinces with England predominant in the south. Probably nothing has so roused the general resentment of the Islamic world as the cynical fashion in which the Russian and British Governments combined to throttle Persia's reviving national life, and the horrid cruelties of the Russians in their sphere of influence have greatly embittered Moslem rancor against the dreaded Muscovite enemy.

THE SITUATION IN PERSIA

Persia is of much deeper import to Islam than might at first sight appear. The broad belt of the Moslem world, stretching from Morocco to China, here narrows to relatively slender proportions, and most Moslems hold the Iran plateau between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf to be the vital bridge joining the two halves of Islam. It is true that the Persians are Shi'ite heretics, but the old bitterness between Sunnite orthodoxy and Shi'ism has been much softened of late by the growing feeling of Moslem solidarity against the European peril.

The despairing rage felt by Persian patriots at the Anglo-Russian destruction of their liberties caused trouble in Persia from the outbreak of the present war, and the Turkish Government hastened to fan the flames of revolt by sending flying columns of light troops into the Russian sphere, while Turkish and German emissaries under the able leadership of the German Prince Henry of Reuss sowed disaffection throughout the country. England and Russia apparently planned a bold counter-stroke in the shape of a Russian thrust southward through Armenia and a British advance up Mesopotamia from the Persian Gulf, the Allies to meet at Bagdad or Mosul, thus cutting off Persia from Turkish help and closing the bridge be-



SENUSSI PATROLLING THE SINAI PENINSULA

tween the Ottoman Empire and the Moslem East. This plan, however, has failed. The Russians got stuck in the Armenian mountains, while England's Mesopotamian campaign has probably been shattered beyond repair by the recent defeat at Ctesiphon.

The effect of this failure upon Persia has been already pronounced. Although news from this remote region is both scanty and distorted, it is plain that Persia is getting more and more out of hand. If a strong Turkish army should enter the country, as is highly probable when the snows of the border highlands melt in the spring, Persia would probably flare up from end to end.

THE QUESTION OF A TURCO-GERMAN EXPEDITION TO INDIA

The query now obviously suggests itself whether the expulsion of the Russians and the English from Persia would be followed by a Turco-German march on India. If by this is meant an army sufficiently large to conquer India without the aid of pronounced disaffection against British rule, the answer is probably no. Persia is a vast semi-desert plateau, ringed round by mountains. It is totally devoid of railways, and has no roads worth mentioning. To move a great modern army with its heavy artillery and enormous transport train across such a stretch of territory

would be a present impossibility. Naturally, if the war should be very prolonged, German engineering skill might gradually build communication lines akin to those now being constructed across the Sinai peninsula towards Egypt; but this would be a matter, not of months, but of years.

Of course, if British rule in India should be thoroughly shaken by acute and widespread native revolts, a small Turco-German army of choice troops might be thrown across Persia, but no such revolts seem likely. There is undoubtedly much more unrest in India to-day than Englishmen care to admit, but this unrest is sporadic and is confined almost exclusively to the Mohammedans, the Indian Moslems being only some twenty-five per cent. of the total population. Another thing to remember is that the vast majority of India's teeming millions are so unwarlike that they would be disinclined to rise for any cause whatever. The distinctively fighting-stocks of India do not number more than sixty millions, and only half of these are Mohammedans. The other half are divided from the Moslems by sharp barriers of race or religion, consisting as they do of Brahminical Hindu Rajputs, Buddhist Mongoloid Gorkhas, and the like, professing a culture militant peculiarly their own. One and all traditional haters of Islam, these peoples would

probably fight rather than favor a Turco-Perso-German expedition which would necessarily appear to them a Mohammedan invasion of India.

THE ROLE OF AFGHANISTAN

In any such Middle-Eastern troubles a not unimportant role would undoubtedly be played by Afghanistan, the buffer-state lying between British India and Russian Central Asia. This land of savage mountains is inhabited by an equally savage people whose tremendous fighting qualities have been abundantly proven since the earliest times. Under the long reign of its late ruler, Emir Abdurrahman, Afghanistan gathered unwonted strength, for this able sovereign sternly repressed the internecine wars which chronically consumed its surplus energy. Since his son and successor, Habibullah Kahn, has continued in his father's footsteps, Afghanistan must to-day be well rested and spoiling for a fight.

Fanatical Moslems as they are, it is difficult to believe that the Afghans could resist the contagion of Persia's example if that country should throw off the Russo-British yoke. Indeed, the tribes on the Indian border have for months past been causing the British much trouble. Still, even should Afghanistan explode, India's northwest frontier is so strong that the Afghan irruption would probably do most damage in Russian Central Asia, or "Turkestan." Here the Afghans would have no mountains to cross, and they would find a solid Moslem population as fanatical as themselves.

Furthermore, the Russians have never succeeded in making their rule so relatively popular in Turkestan as the British have done in India. It is often said that Russia knows how to win the hearts of Asiatics. Broadly speaking, this is not true. Such particular individuals as are willing to give up their national consciousness are warmly welcomed into Russian official service and find their careers barred by no such race or color barriers as exist among West European nations. But for all who resist Russianization the Muscovite yoke is neither an easy nor a pleasant one. We should also note that in Turkestan as elsewhere native fears have been roused by colonization schemes which have planted large numbers of Russian peasants in

the best parts of the country. Should Russian rule in Central Asia be overwhelmed by a flood of Afghan and Turcoman fanaticism, the fate of these Russian colonists would be a frightful one.

TRANSCAUCASIA AS A POSSIBLE WAR THEATER

It is highly probable that, as spring approaches, Turkey may use a portion of her new armies against another of Russia's Asiatic fronts,—Transcaucasia. A year ago Turkey launched a preliminary offensive in this quarter, and though the Ottoman forces did not penetrate far into Russian territory, they have never been entirely expelled. For months past the fighting in this region has languished, both Russia and Turkey having drafted away portions of their Caucasian armies for respective service in Poland or at Gallipoli. The mountainous nature of Transcaucasia would render its conquest an exceedingly difficult undertaking, but its fertility and natural wealth make it a tempting prize. Furthermore, a Turkish invading army could count on finding many friends. Fully half of the population are Moslems, some of them very fanatical, and even the Christian population is none too well affected toward Russia.

The Armenians might stick to Russia through thick and thin, but the Georgians, by far the most important Christian element, are full of rancor against Muscovite rule. This interesting people, with its well-marked national consciousness and its proud cultural past, has long suffered from relentless Russification which has ended by entirely estranging it from the Russian Empire. Again, the Russian Revolution of 1905 caused such political and social explosions in the Caucasus that the country has never wholly quieted down. All things considered, there are exceedingly interesting possibilities in this land of many races and tongues.

Such are some of the possible reactions of the White Man's War upon the Moslem world. What the full consequences are to be cannot yet be seen. But the East is smouldering. That much we know. The fires may sink down once more beneath the ashes, or they may burst forth everywhere into lurid flames. The thing to be remembered is that they are there.

OUR CANADIAN-AMERICAN HIGH COURT

BY LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

(Secretary of the International Joint Commission)

[The signing of the so-called Waterways Treaty in 1909 created an international commission for the prevention as well as settlement of such differences between Canada and the United States. In the following article the Canadian secretary of the commission shows how it serves Canada and the United States as an umpire of disputes and how it gives to the world, in a dark and troublous time, a shining example of international comity.—THE EDITOR.]

WAR is one method of settling disputes between the people of two neighboring nations, but it is not the only way. Neither is it in the long run the most sensible or effective or economical way. Here is an alternative plan,—an experiment, if you like,—which the two English-speaking countries of North America committed themselves to some five years ago, and which has ever since been running so smoothly and noiselessly that ninety-nine people out of any hundred on this continent have never even heard of it.

At Washington, on January 11, 1909, James Bryce, then British Ambassador to the United States, and Elihu Root, Secretary of State, signed what is known as the Waterways Treaty. This treaty embodied the results of several years' negotiation between American statesmen on one side and English and Canadian on the other. It disposed of several vexed questions that had been more or less at issue between the United States and Canada, but it went much farther than that. It created an international commission, consisting of three Americans and three Canadians, and vested in that body such powers and responsibilities as it is safe to say have never before in the world's history been entrusted to a similar tribunal.

The preamble of the treaty sets forth its general objects, *"to prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters and to settle all questions which are now pending between the United States and the Dominion involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along their common frontier, and to make provision for the ad-*

justment and settlement of all such questions as may hereafter arise."

The language of the preamble is significant. It provides for the settlement of present and future matters of difference between the two countries, but it puts first of all the *prevention* of disputes. And it is just there that the child of the Waterways Treaty, the International Joint Commission, finds its greatest field of usefulness. It has already settled a number of matters of difference, and doubtless will dispose of many more in the future, but its supreme value to the United States and Canada lies in the fact that its mere existence has an increasing tendency to prevent such disputes.

FAILURE OF OLD DIPLOMATIC METHODS

In the past all international questions, large or small, could only be disposed of through the roundabout and red-tape-encumbered channels of diplomacy. Think what that meant. Suppose a dispute arose over the use of one of the boundary streams, such as the St. Mary's River, for power purposes, and the aggrieved parties on the Michigan side sent a complaint, through the usual channels, to Washington. The complaint, gathering to itself like a snowball successive folds of official reports and memoranda, would roll ponderously through the federal departments at Washington. It would then go to the British Embassy; travel overseas to the Foreign and Colonial Offices in London; back across the Atlantic to the Governor-General of Canada; be tossed back and forth in the federal departments at Ottawa; and finally, perhaps, reach the local officials on the Canadian side of the St. Mary's River.

Then the original petition or complaint, by this time pretty well buried under its pile of documentary blankets, would start back again on its long journey. And so it might travel, like the Wandering Jew, to the end of time, while the seeds of ill-feeling were spreading like a plague along the international boundary. Even admitting that this is an extreme case, and that the methods of the old diplomacy sometimes did result in a settlement, it is nevertheless true that the final decision rarely got to the heart of the difficulty, or came in time to prevent the mischief bred of local irritation.

THE NEW TRIBUNAL

The point of the new method of dealing with international disputes is that it is prompt and business-like and gets right to the core of the trouble. The International Joint Commission is before all things a tribunal for the people, the American and Canadian people. The man with a legitimate grievance against his neighbor on the other side of the line knows that he can bring it for final settlement before a court that is not merely Canadian or American, but international, vested with powers possessed by no other tribunal in either country. And because he knows that he has this privilege, his grievance is no longer magnified into a monstrous wrong, but in nine cases out of ten finds its own settlement in the common-sense and good-feeling that are the natural heritage of neighbors on either side of the boundary.

INTERNATIONAL IRRIGATION PROBLEMS

The Waterways Treaty, in addition to the general authority it vests in the Commission to dispose of questions involving the use, obstruction or diversion of boundary waters, contains a number of special articles. One limits the amount of water that may be diverted for power purposes on either side of the Niagara River to an amount that will not interfere with the scenic beauty of the Falls. Another deals with a very interesting problem in the West. Two rivers, the St. Mary and Milk, rise in Montana and flow across the boundary into Canada. The former empties into the Saskatchewan, and ultimately finds its way to Hudson Bay. The Milk, after running for over one hundred miles in Canada, returns to Montana and empties into the Missouri. These two streams flow for some distance through what is called the semi-arid belt of Montana and Alberta, where water is worth almost its

weight in gold. The Treaty provides that, under the direction of the Commission, the two rivers are to be treated as one stream for the purposes of irrigation; that the St. Mary is to be connected with the Milk by a canal, and the channel of the Milk in Canada used for carrying a portion of the waters of the St. Mary down to the lower Milk River Valley in Montana, where thousands of acres of land are waiting for irrigation; and that the waters of the two streams are to be divided equally between the people of the two countries. Some delicate problems of engineering, and perhaps of diplomacy, are involved in the working out of this provision of the Treaty, but these need not be entered into here.

Another article of the Treaty provides that, in addition to the Commission's general jurisdiction over questions involving the use of boundary waters, any other matter of difference arising anywhere along the common frontier shall be referred to it for examination and report, by either the Government of the United States or the Government of Canada.

A FINAL COURT OF APPEAL

The tenth article of the Treaty is one of extraordinary significance. It provides that "*any questions or matters of difference arising between the high contracting parties involving the rights, obligations, or interests of the United States or of the Dominion of Canada either in relation to each other or to their respective inhabitants, may be referred for decision to the International Joint Commission by the consent of the two parties.*"

It will be seen that there is absolutely no limitation of any kind to the character of the question that may be referred to the Commission under this article of the Treaty. It is not confined to matters of dispute along the boundary; it is not limited in any possible way. It is as broad as the jurisdiction and interests of the United States and Canada. It might be a commercial question connected with the Gulf of Mexico, or the navigation of the Panama Canal, or fishing rights in Hudson Bay. It might even be a question of national honor. And further, provided the two countries agree to refer such a question to the Commission, the treaty provides that the decision of the Commission is final. This article makes the Commission in a very real sense a Hague Tribunal for the people of North America.

The Commission since its organization has dealt with a variety of questions, involving



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(One of the ablest lawyers in the
Maritime Provinces)

PAUL B. MIGNAULT, K. C.
(A leader of the bar of the Province
of Quebec)

HON. CHARLES A. MAGRATH
(Chairman for the Dominion of
Canada)

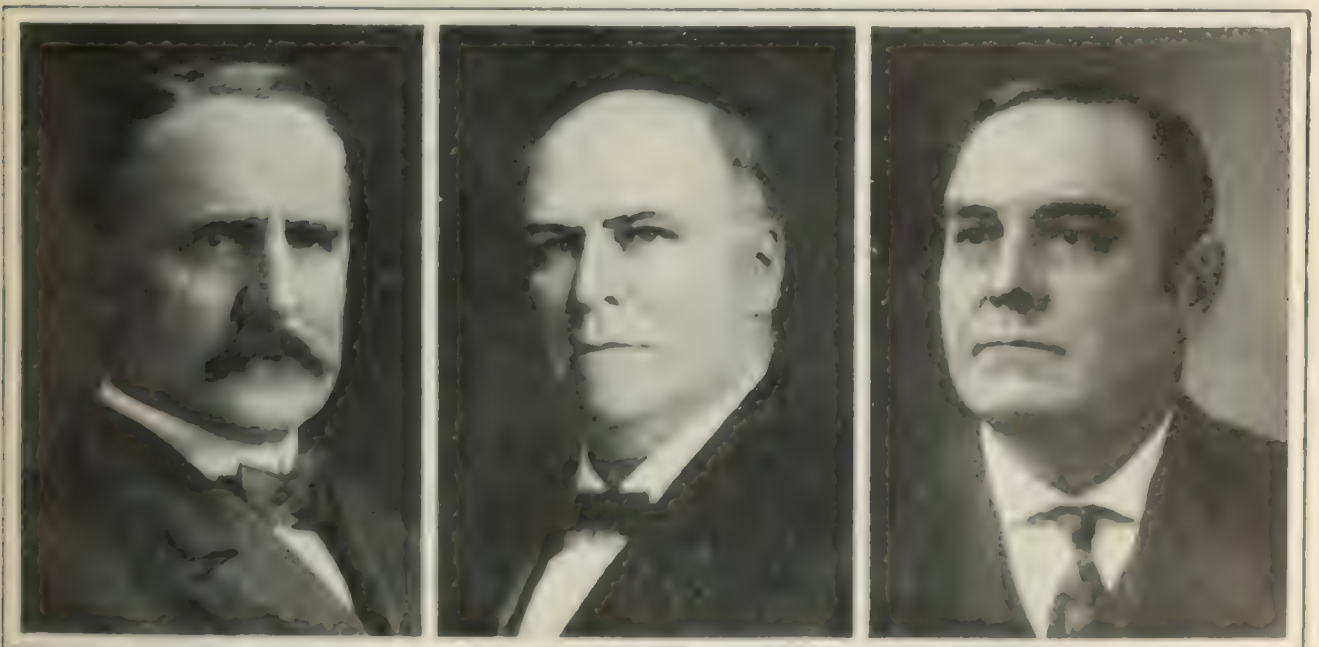
THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS

the use of boundary waters for power and other purposes, from Maine in the East to Montana in the West. For two thousand miles of the international frontier its jurisdiction, as defined by the Treaty, is supreme. It is the final court of appeals for the people of both nations.

IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERESTS INVOLVED

When it is remembered that these boundary waters support a population of over 7,000,000 people, American and Canadian;

that the navigation interests alone of the Great Lakes represent an enormous investment; that approximately 95,000,000 tons of freight, valued at more than \$800,000,000, and carried by over 26,000 vessels, are transported on these waters annually,—more than three times the volume of freight taken through the Suez Canal; when you add to this the rapidly increasing power interests along these waters, and all that depends upon them; and the vital uses of the Great Lakes and their connecting waterways for



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Formerly Member of Congress
and Chairman and President of
the Navigation Commission

HON. ROBERT S. CASEY
Formerly President of the Great Lakes
Navigation Commission

HON. WALTER S. GARRISON
Formerly President of the Great Lakes
Navigation Commission

THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS

domestic and sanitary purposes; it is not very difficult to appreciate the opportunities for usefulness that lie before the International Joint Commission, or the value of that tribunal to the people of the two countries.

Of the questions that have already been referred to the Commission by the Governments of the United States and Canada, for investigation and report, two are of special importance. The first requires the Commission to report what levels of water in the Lake of the Woods can be maintained which will best meet the needs of all the various interests on both sides of the boundary,—navigation, agriculture, fishing, lumbering, and power.

To most people the Lake of the Woods country is a comparatively unknown region, and the popular impression probably is that it is of little or no importance to the inhabitants of either the United States or Canada.

That is not the case. The investigation which the Commission has already carried out shows among other things that the navigation, power, and other interests that will be affected by the Commission's decision have invested something over \$100,000,000 in the Lake of the Woods district; that the natural resources of the region are enormous and only beginning to be developed; and that communities as far apart as Duluth and

Winnipeg are more or less directly interested in the fixing of a level on this lake that will give the maximum benefit to the people on both sides of the boundary.

POLLUTION OF WATERS

The other question is in many ways the most important with which the Commission

has yet had to deal. It involves the ascertaining by means of sanitary surveys of the localities and extent of pollution of boundary waters; and the recommendation to the two governments of the best methods of correcting the evil. This matter has been under investigation for two years, and a report has already been submitted on the extent of the pollution. It discloses the gratifying fact that the great bulk of the Great Lakes water remains in its pristine purity, in spite of the fact that millions of people on both sides have contracted the very bad habit of dumping all their sewage into these waters, and that the entire shipping of the Great Lakes, carrying in one season not less than 15,000,000 passengers, has followed the same evil practise.

Serious pollution, however, was found at many points along the boundary, particularly in the Detroit and Niagara Rivers, where the cities of Detroit and Buffalo, with a number

of smaller communities on both sides of the rivers, have been doing their best, or worst, to make the waters of these rivers unfit for human consumption. Severe epidemics of typhoid fever in the lake cities have for years warned these communities that, while they were spending hundreds of millions of dollars on their streets and buildings and in other ways adding to the comfort and convenience of their inhabitants, the most vital consideration

of all, that of public health, was being grossly neglected. If the International Joint Commission should achieve nothing more than to awaken the cities and towns of the Great Lakes to the vital importance of protecting their water supplies, it will have more than justified its existence as a permanent body.



MR. LAWRENCE J. BURPEE
(Canadian Secretary)



MR. WHITEHEAD KLUTTS
(American Secretary)



THE TWO NICARAGUAN HARBORS—FONSECA BAY ON THE PACIFIC AND CORN ISLANDS ON THE ATLANTIC—OFFERED TO THE UNITED STATES FOR NAVAL BASES

[The map also shows the Nicaragua Canal route, which was abandoned in favor of the route across Panama. In the treaty now under consideration at Washington the perpetual right to construct a canal across Nicaragua is granted to the United States, thereby eliminating the possibility of any other nation obtaining the concession.]

AMERICANIZING NICARAGUA

HOW YANKEE MARINES, FINANCIAL OVERSIGHT AND BASEBALL ARE STABILIZING CENTRAL AMERICA

BY CLIFFORD D. HAM
(Collector-General of Customs in Nicaragua)

[The moral influence exerted by perhaps a hundred American Marines in the capital of Nicaragua, maintained there as a legation guard, has resulted in a state of law and order probably never before known in the little republic. The conditions described by Mr. Ham in the following article are particularly interesting when contrasted with the state of affairs existing in Mexico during the same period.—THE EDITOR.]

TO Nicaraguans the treaty now awaiting approval by the United States Senate is most important. I firmly believe that the majority of them are in favor of it. A few political opponents who are chronically against the Government oppose it, because they are "out." If they were "in" the treaty would probably have their approval, but the purchase price to us would have been raised.

Just what the treaty means to both countries is shown in the following brief résumé:

Advantages to the United States:

(1) A perpetual and exclusive right to build a canal through Nicaragua.

(2) Two naval bases (one on Fonseca Bay in the Pacific and the other on Corn Islands in the Caribbean), both within comparatively short distance from the Panama Canal.

(3) Forever eliminating the danger of a foreign power seeking and obtaining those concessions.

(4) The promotion of better diplomatic and commercial relations with our Latin-American sister republics.

(5) An important link in the chain, which we are attempting to forge, of preparedness and national defense, and the protection of our investment in the Panama Canal.

When we remember that the nearest coal and oil station under our control on the Pacific



THE AMERICAN MARINES PLAYING BASEBALL WITH THE NICARAGUANS

Ocean, north of Panama, is in Lower California, and that on the east we have only stations in Cuba and the island of Culebra, near Porto Rico, the strategic value of these two bases can be readily understood.

Advantages to Nicaragua:

(1) The payment of \$3,000,000 and the effect of its careful expenditure in or for the benefit of the republic.

(2) The tendency towards a permanent and lasting internal peace. The professional revolutionist will become extinct, and revolutionary movements from personal ambition will be discouraged.

(3) A practical illustration of measures discussed and approved in Pan-American conferences, congresses, and on official visits.

Nicaragua feels that these rights are worth considerably more than the sum offered, and that it is a bargain compared with what we have paid, or are paying, for Panama Canal rights and the Canal Zone territory.

IN FINANCIAL DISTRESS

Nicaragua still is in a very bad financial condition, for most of which the present government is not to blame, although it has some things to answer for. The debts were saddled on the country by former administrations, or else represent property destroyed during revolutions. The monetary reform—begun in 1911 and completed last fall, when the conversion of paper currency was finished—also cost Nicaragua a considerable amount, which should be offset against the debt.

Altogether the little republic owes \$15,000,000 gross, which can be scaled down to \$12,000,000. This is a heavy burden. Their hope is in the United States and the canal

treaty, which, if passed, will undoubtedly enable a bonding arrangement to be consummated.

Is the United States still interested in Nicaraguan matters? The answer must be "yes" if the Monroe Doctrine amounts to anything. In January, 1914, three European nations—Germany, Italy, and Great Britain—were at Nicaragua's throat demanding payment of debts due their nationals. This is mentioned merely to show that the United States cannot escape its Monroe Doctrine obligations even if it wishes.

Nicaragua threw up its hands to the demands of these European governments, and answered that while it recognized the claims, it had no money and could not pay. Uncle Sam intervened at this stage in the person of Secretary of State Bryan, who told the representatives of the European nations that if they would be patient the United States would see to it that in time the Central American country would pay.

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN MARINES

The question has often been asked, What are American marines doing in Nicaragua? They are merely a guard maintained in our legation at Managua for the same reason that a guard is stationed at Peking,—to protect the lives and property of the American Minister and his family. Do they need protection? During the three days' bombardment of the city by the Liberal revolutionists in 1912, numerous shells and bullets fell near or whistled by the American legation. I know, because I saw and heard them.

There being no revolution now, one might



THE BASEBALL TEAM OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS GUARD STATIONED AT NICARAGUA

wonder why the legation guard is retained. A prominent merchant,—a European who has lived in Nicaragua for many years, and knows the country and its people,—came to me recently and asked if the American guard would be withdrawn. "If they are withdrawn," he continued, "I shall sell my stock and leave the country, notwithstanding I have a good business and have prospered more or less. A revolution would surely follow with all its horrors."

Business men who are Nicaraguans, educated men of property and standing (both Liberals and Conservatives, but not politicians), tell me the same thing. The Nicaraguan government wants the marine guard to stay. It is the best insurance for peace, stability, and prosperity,—inexpensive, and doing no harm except to political revolutionists and their friends in and out of Nicaragua.

Nicaraguans of property and education (those who are not politicians) are pleased with the legation guard, as it means order and stability. Both Liberals and Conservatives have so told me. Politicians are divided on the subject. The Conservatives favor the presence of the marines, because it means no revolution and peace; and, being the "ins," that is what they want so that the country can be developed. The Liberals, being the "outs," want the marines removed at once, as revolution would follow—so say many Nicaraguans—and what care Central American politicians about a revolution, even if many people are killed, much property de-

stroyed, and heavy expense incurred, provided they have a chance to get "in."

The only practical difference in party principles in Central America—perhaps I ought to limit the remark to Nicaraguan political parties, and to confine myself to personal observation—is that one is "in" and the other is "out." With the exception of the pro- or anti-United States issue, and one or two not material questions (Church-and-State is one), there are no issues and no differences about such matters as tariff, labor, trusts, corporations, and so on. The names "Liberal" and "Conservative" are terms only.

The question of how the "artesanos" regard the presence of the American marines is very pertinent. They are the skilled laborers, the small tradespeople, and the middle class generally. They are a fine lot. The more I know and come into contact with them the better I like them. They are industrious and want work.

BASEBALL TURNS THE SCALE

At first these middle-class people were unfavorable, and resented the presence of the American soldiers. Then they got interested in seeing the marines playing baseball. A few got balls and bats, and soon others joined. The American soldiers aided and instructed them. The "artesanos" found the soldiers were personally all right and good chaps, and mutual acquaintance began.

Under the guidance of the officers and soldiers of the marines local "nines" were



THE QUARTERS OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION GUARD OF MARINES AT NICARAGUA

formed, to play among themselves. Afterwards they and the marine team began to play. The Nicaraguans at first were woefully beaten, but the soldiers encouraged them and they kept at it. Now they occasionally defeat the marines. The result is a league of Nicaraguan clubs, some at Managua, others at Granada and Masaya. The marine club visits and plays with them all.

The Nicaraguan children play ball in every vacant lot. American base-ball terms only are used,—“strike,” “foul,” “batter-up,” “you’re out,”—for the Spanish language does not provide them.

Immense crowds full of enthusiasm attend the Nicaraguan baseball games. They are under the patronage of the President and the Archbishop, who frequently attend. Two of the marines are always invited to officiate as umpires. The result of all this is that the American marines are now very popular with the “*artesanos*” and many other Nicaraguans who once looked askance.

Baseball has done it. It would be a crime to withdraw the marines and stop the baseball craze in Nicaragua. It is the best step towards order, peace, and stability that has ever been taken. It beats the work of politicians and statesmen. People who will play baseball and turn out by the thousands every week to see the match games, are too busy to participate in revolutions. Three cheers for the American marine who is teaching baseball and real sportsmanship! Incidentally, it should be said that the members of this legation guard of marines are a fine set of representative Americans. They have behaved splendidly.

SOME NICARAGUAN HISTORY

In our baseball enthusiasm let us not forget the main question: Why were American mar-

ines sent to Nicaragua as a legation guard? Up to 1909 José Santos Zelaya, head of the Liberal party, had maintained himself in power for seventeen years, sending the constitution to the scrap-heap, holding farcical elections, and doing many other improper things. He jailed or banished and looted his political opponents. He reduced grafting to a science. His exactions and tyranny became worse and worse.

There were sixteen revolutions or wars with other Central American republics during those seventeen years. The revolutions all failed, but more and more people became alienated. Finally, the revolution of 1909-10 succeeded, because the people were tired of tyranny, spoliation, and disturbance.

It has been charged that the United States Government overthrew Zelaya by sending an army of marines. Of course it did nothing of the kind, although it might well have done so, after his insulting treatment of that gentlemanly and scholarly young American Minister, John Gardner Coolidge, who left before the receipt of his asked-for recall, rather than submit to the discourtesies and humiliations of Zelaya. The legation secretary, John H. Gregory, stood it as *Chargé* for a while, and he, too, left.

In an effort to bring the Central American republics together and to do away with wars and revolutions, Secretary of State Root, in 1907, had brought about joint treaties among the five countries and the establishment of a permanent Central American Court of Justice to settle their differences by arbitration. The plan proved more or less a farce, because President Zelaya flagrantly and repeatedly violated the stipulations of those treaties, flouting the United States under whose auspices they had been signed (I am quoting from official State Department



THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN BLUEFIELDS

documents). He violated Honduras, and discredited treaty obligations to the detriment of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala. He kept Central America in a turmoil. In Nicaragua, republican institutions ceased to exist except in name. Free speech and the press were strangled, and a prison was the price of every patriotic movement. The majority of the Central American republics protested to the United States against the situation, and in consequence the Nicaraguan Minister at Washington was given his passports.

THE FIRST LANDING OF MARINES

The charge that Zelaya was driven out of power because hundreds of American marines were sent to Nicaragua, and thus prevented his government from exercising sovereignty, is one of those historical stories from which the real facts take all the glamour. The only marines present during the revolution against Zelaya were landed from an American ship at Bluefields, when the government troops and revolutionists were threatening to fight a battle in the town, the business men of which are mostly Americans. The marines threw a guard around the place, and notified the two factions they could battle to their hearts' content outside, but not inside nor too near. That was the extent to which the American marines had any connection with the downfall of the Zelaya Liberals.

When revolutionary leaders took possession of the government they found it a wreck. The treasury was empty. The monetary system had long before been debased from silver currency to an irredeemable mass of paper

The revenues had been depleted by favoritism and grafting. The foreign debt was \$6,472,689, of which \$5,733,000 were English bonds. There were also recognized, adjudicated debts of \$1,615,999. Claims against the government for acts committed under Zelaya were \$1,865,800. The cost to both sides of the revolution of 1909-10, in expenditures and claims, now falling on the new government, was \$2,822,027. This made a total of \$12,593,515, though many of the claims were worthless.

Then there was the paper currency, with nothing to back it except the credit of the government. It amounted in September, 1910, when the new government assumed charge, to 28,764,103 pesos, which has since been converted into a gold currency under the monetary reform at the rate of 8 to 1.

The revenues had not equaled the expenses for a couple of years. The financial and commercial situation was desperate. The interest on the bonded debt held in England was defaulted.

AN APPEAL TO THE UNITED STATES

The new government wanted help and wanted it badly. Their only recourse was to the United States,—the friendly appeal, of a small country in the throes of financial and other distress, to a powerful and wealthy neighbor.

Here is the message of the Nicaraguan Provisional President to the United States: After asking for recognition, promising to call a constitutional convention and to hold an election for President within a year, it said:



THE EXECUTIVE BUILDING ("WHITE HOUSE") OF NICARAGUA.
AT MANAGUA

In my administration I shall try to rehabilitate and develop the public finances and to refund the national debt, and to that end ask the aid of the American government to place a loan on the security of part of the customs duties whose collection will be made in a manner agreed upon between the United States and Nicaragua. . . . With the object of facilitating the fulfillment of these and other arrangements I ask that the Government of the United States send to Managua a Commissioner in case any of these negotiations require the formality of a convention.

It was up to the United States. The Monroe Doctrine imposes obligations as well as benefits. Either the States had to give the assistance requested, or abandon Nicaragua to a turbulent and revolutionary fate and to its European creditors.

The State Department did the proper thing, and agreed to help as requested. It sent the best Latin-American diplomat available, the late Thomas C. Dawson, as Minister to Nicaragua to confer with the new government and form a plan of rehabilitation.

Nicaragua did everything recommended by the Washington Government. A constitutional convention was called to formulate anew a republican form of government. The customs were turned over to a trustee,—an American,—in the mutual interest of the Government of Nicaragua, the British bondholders, and the American bankers who financed the conversion of the Nicaraguan currency. The monetary reform formulated by Mr. Charles A. Conant was strictly carried out. Nicaragua had to borrow \$2,750,000 and economize distressingly, but the new government wanted sound money so that industries and commerce would develop. Later on a President, Vice-President, and two houses of Congress were elected, to suc-

ceed the provisional government.

The State Department, among its other helpful assistance, complied with Nicaragua's request to aid in securing a loan from a group of American bankers, so as to establish a gold monetary system and thus retire the almost worthless paper currency. The bankers arranged a favorable loan, and gave much advice and assistance to the little republic.

During these financial reforms, which took some time, the politicians in Central America and the United States were shouting "dollar diplomacy" in loud tones, and trying to prevent the rehabilitation which might interfere with their plan to get "in" again. But "dollar diplomacy" has lost its sting since the American people have made every effort of diplomacy to establish banking and commercial relations with Latin America, and since "dollar exchange" has become the watchword.

AMERICAN MARINES AN ANTIDOTE FOR REVOLUTION

Right in the midst of the efforts being made by the United States to help Nicaragua, one of the chiefs of the provisional government,—whose written faith had been pledged to the American Government,—tried to wreck the whole arrangement, aided and abetted by Nicaraguan politicians who wanted to get "in" by throwing the provisional officials out, and who saw no chance by waiting for the promised election. The revolution of 1912 ensued. The efforts of the United States Government were mocked. American property in Nicaragua was seized, and the attempt was made to throw over the work of reform, including the proposed elections, and to establish a dictatorship in which Liberal politicians would have been prominent, using General Mena, the revolutionary leader, as a puppet.

The United States had two alternatives. One was to keep out, leaving the revolution to run its bloody course, with American and other foreign property destroyed, people killed, possibly a dictatorship established, and its own standing and prestige in Latin America and the rest of the world made a by-

word and a mockery.

Unless the United States as a nation was a weakling, whose faith was utterly unreliable, it could do but one thing; and that it did. It sent a force of marines to Nicaragua, to protect American and foreign property and lives and to put down the political bandits who were killing and looting—just as has recently been done in Haiti. And a handful of marines has been left in Nicaragua to protect the American legation and Minister, and his family and assistants.

No brief is held by me for either political party in Nicaragua. Both the "ins"

and the "outs" are able to criticize their opponents and to defend themselves. But in justice to the present Nicaraguan Government one thing should be said: It deserves credit for sticking steadfastly to its promises

for political and financial rehabilitation, despite much distress. It has cut its budget in two. It has kept faith with the United States. Will the American nation keep faith with Nicaragua?



A WING OF THE NATIONAL PALACE AT MANAGUA

(Above are the offices of the Minister of Foreign Relations; below are the offices of the Collector General of Customs)

THE PENDING TREATY WITH COLOMBIA

BY EDWIN MAXEY

(Professor of International Law, University of Nebraska)

THE treaty now pending in the United States Senate, between Colombia and the United States, for the adjustment of claims by the former against the latter is a document of more than ordinary interest. This statement is true whether we consider it from the political, the legal, or the historic viewpoint. It reopens a diplomatic incident of more than a decade ago and countenances a refusal upon the part of Colombia to recognize accomplished facts. But this is not necessarily conclusive against it, for what in the language of diplomacy is known as a *fait accompli* is always subject to review in the court of public opinion, where the statutes of limitation are not so rigidly applied as in the courts of law. Let us then in a spirit of frankness and candor examine the facts upon the basis of which Colombia now seeks reparation from the United States.

In 1903, the Hay-Herran treaty was signed by the diplomatic agents of the two countries acting under the advice of their respective governments. By the terms of this treaty, the United States was to pay Colombia ten million dollars in gold, and an annuity of a quarter of a million dollars a year, gold, beginning nine years from the ratification of the treaty. When this treaty was signed, there was no intimation on the part of Colombia, or anyone else, that the United States had overreached or attempted to overreach, bully, trick or deceive an unwary vendor or to drive a hard bargain at the expense of a weaker neighbor. Of such there is no evidence in the treaty or elsewhere. And it is worth remembering that the treaty was negotiated and signed on the part of Colombia under the direction of President Marroquín, who was at that time

exercising the powers of a dictator, which powers he continued to exercise until after the treaty was rejected, by a Congress which he was not compelled to call and which as political creations of his were ready to do his bidding. It is, therefore, within the facts to say that, between the time of negotiating the treaty and its rejection by Colombia, President Maroquin had seen a new light. Nor is it at all improbable that the light which had bedazzled his vision was the prospect that negotiations might be drawn out until after the expiration of the franchise of the French Company when their rights could be confiscated and the forty million which the United States was to pay the Canal Company would go to the Colombian treasury, of which the aforesaid Maroquin was the watch-dog.

PANAMA'S REVOLT

But whatever may have been the motive or the arguments for the rejection of the treaty, whether the desire to enrich the Colombian treasury at the expense of the Canal Company, which was the rightful owner of the property to be transferred, or to enrich certain Colombian politicians at the expense of the United States treasury, or the inability of the Colombian Congress to alienate Colombian territory, the effect of rejecting the treaty was well understood by the people of Panama. By them it was interpreted to mean that their interests were being jeopardized by the government whose duty it was to protect those interests, and that their progress was being unwisely retarded by one who should use every reasonable effort to promote it. Nor was this an unnatural interpretation for them to place upon it. Other people under similar circumstances would have reached a like conclusion. Given a modicum of intelligence, and natures not altruistic to the extent of being incapable of being moved by considerations of self-interest, and what could be more natural than for them to be disappointed in the act of the Colombian government which had all the appearance of ruthlessly disregarding the larger interests of the province of Panama.

The matter was not argued at great length. To the people of Panama it seemed that what was necessary was action, not argument. And accordingly they acted with promptness. Within four days after the rejection of the treaty and adjournment of the Colombian Congress they had declared their independence and set up a government of

their own. Having reached the conclusion that their political guardians were recreant to their duty, they proceeded with dispatch to discharge them and to act in their own right. That every citizen of the province took part in the revolution is improbable, but the indifferent readily acquiesced in what the leaders did. So far as I can find there was a much smaller percentage of Panamans opposed to the revolution than there was of Tories during the American revolution. Even the Colombian soldiers in Panama joined in the revolution. Within four days the revolutionists were in full control and their independence was recognized by the United States and very soon thereafter by the countries of Europe. A treaty was negotiated between Panama and the United States providing for the payment to Panama of the same amount which under the Hay-Herran treaty was to have been paid to Colombia and granting to the United States substantially the same privileges as were granted in the Hay-Herran treaty.

COLOMBIA "GUESSED WRONG"

What then is Colombia's grievance? What is the nature of her injuries? And who is responsible for them? True, she has not received the ten million which she expected to get, nor the annuity, both of which went to Panama, nor the forty million which went to the French company, nor the bribe to the Bogotá politicians which stayed in the United States. But the fact that she did not get the first two is wholly her own fault and to the last two she never had any legitimate claim. I say her own fault, because the United States stood willing and ready, and there was no question as to her ability, to carry out the provisions of the Hay-Herran treaty had Colombia not rejected it. In order to gain an uncertain advantage she sacrificed a sure thing. She was speculating, and guessed wrong. Whether in public or private business, what usually happens to the speculator who guesses wrong is a loss. Colombia now thinks that the loss due to her mistake should be borne by the United States. But to us it seems to be expecting too much of the United States to expect her to indemnify the Latin-American states against losses due to their own errors of judgment, and still more unreasonable where the error, as in this case, seems to have been one of motive. The plea that Colombia had no power to ratify the treaty was hypocritical, for as soon as the revolution broke out she was anxious to reopen negotiations with the

United States and ratify the treaty. Their constitutional powers were the same in both cases, but their keenness for legal refinements weakened perceptibly when instead of gaining them time it was costing them coin.

If Panama disposed of property which belonged to Colombia at the time the transfer was made or in which Colombia had a legal or equitable interest, the injury has been done by Panama. Now, as Panama is a responsible state and received the consideration for the property transferred, Colombia should look to the one who perpetrated the wrong and reaped the fruits thereof. She should establish the fact that Panama is but a trustee of the fund which in equity and good conscience belongs to Colombia. This is a justiciable question which could very properly be submitted to a board of arbitration and their award would settle the legal and equitable rights involved.

THE BURDEN OF PROOF ON COLOMBIA

It is not conclusive to say that "Colombia feels aggrieved, and whatever may be said as to whether or not this feeling is justified, no one will deny that she has sustained financial loss in the separation of Panama from her." The very nub of the whole question is whether or not her feeling that the United States has done her an injury is justified, for if not she is asking alms instead of asserting a right. In order to give her case standing in court she must assume the burden of proof in establishing the fact, not merely that she "feels aggrieved," but that she has suffered an injury and that not simply *someone*, but that the *United States* is responsible for that injury. If we are to be dispensers of charity for the promotion of happiness and good will throughout the world, let it be clearly understood that what we are doing is dispensing charity rather than mislead ourselves or anyone else as to the nature of the transaction by purporting to pay debts which we have never incurred and which, as a matter of fact, do not exist.

\$25,000,000 AS REPARATION FOR WHAT?

Such being the nature and extent of Colombia's grievances and the responsibility of the United States therefor, what is the reparation provided for by the pending treaty? The United States agrees to pay Colombia a lump sum of twenty-five million dollars, to give her coastwise vessels free transit through the canal during the continuance of our lease, and expresses regret. In return for this, Colombia agrees to do nothing, but to be

nice and neighborly in her future relations with the United States.

While the treaty does not specify for what injuries the lump sum of twenty-five million is reparation, we are not precluded from inquiring. Nor is this an inopportune time for such inquiry. Though a part of it may be compensation to Colombia for the loss of her reversionary interest in the Panama railway, no one claims that all of it is for this purpose. This claim is one the justice and amount of which could have been much more accurately determined by arbitration. But waiving the inexpediency of settling this by negotiation rather than by arbitration, there is still a considerable part of the lump sum to be accounted for. Is this balance to be paid as damages due to Colombia by reason of the premature recognition of Panama by the United States?

It is true that President Roosevelt recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama within a very short time after the declaration of its independence by the people of the Isthmus. But a recognition of independence is merely the expression of opinion, by the recognizing state, as to the existence of certain facts. Clearly the lapse of time between the assertion of its independence by a political community and the recognition of that independence by other states, cannot be the sole determinant of the correctness of the judgment or the good faith of the recognizing state. Being the expression of an opinion as to the existence of accomplished facts, promptness or delay in acting is a matter of indifference so long as there is a bona-fide belief that the action accords with the facts.

Nor must the recognizing state act at its peril in determining upon the existence of the facts. Provided it acts in good faith, there is no precedent for holding that an error of judgment in deciding that a political community seeking recognition, whether of belligerency or of independence, is entitled to it furnishes the basis of a claim for damages. This is simply another way of saying that one state has no reasonable right to expect omniscience on the part of another state. A necessary corollary to which is that the failure to exercise an infallible judgment does not render a state liable to respond in damages for the real or fancied wrongs resulting from such failure.

England never asserted a claim for damages against France for premature recognition of the independence of the United States, although that was a glaring case of the expression of a hope rather than a judgment.

Although Spain complained of our recognition of the South American republics, she did not make it the basis of a claim for damages.

THE CHARGE THAT THE UNITED STATES FOMENTED REVOLUTION

In order to recognize the validity of Colombia's claim against the United States for damages resulting from the independence of Panama, we must reach the conclusion that the United States fomented the revolution and officially and wilfully aided the revolutionists in establishing their independence. But where is the proof to support such a conclusion? I have read all that I can find bearing upon the history of the event and confess that I can find no convincing evidence of guilty coöperation on the part of the United States in bringing about the changed political relations on the Isthmus. The conclusion rests upon assumption rather than upon proof. Moreover, the assumption is a gratuitous one, rather than one which is necessary in order to explain the facts.

There was ample incentive to revolt, apart from any outside inspiration or interference. The people of the Isthmus had never derived any very substantial benefit from their political connection with Colombia. Only about one-tenth of the revenues collected from them were spent for their benefit and what protection they received they received from the United States. To be thus used as a political asset for the benefit of a knot of corrupt politicians at Bogotá was certainly not well calculated to strengthen their feeling of allegiance. Viewed in the light of Colombia's past indifference toward the welfare of the Isthmian provinces, it seems entirely natural that, when their interests were selfishly sacrificed and their reasonable hopes blighted by the exhibition of political narrowness and stupidity, tinctured with hypocrisy, in rejecting the Hay-Herran treaty, the people of the Isthmus should have done exactly what they did, namely, dissolve the political bond which kept them from rendering the service and reaping the benefit which God and nature intended they should.

It is an injustice not to concede to those people, situated upon the world's highway of commerce, some degree of intelligence and some degree of self-interest. Not to have manifested a determination that their great natural resource, due to their situation, be used to their own and the benefit of mankind, rather than senselessly wasted, would have been unmistakable evidence of an impera-

tive need for the appointment of a commission of lunacy. When the United States refused to allow a shipload of Colombian soldiers to fight in the vicinity of the railway and sent them back to Cartagena it was but acting in accord with the terms of the treaty of 1846 and conforming to the policy outlined by Seward in a dispatch to Mr. Burton of October 9, 1866:

The United States have always abstained from any connection with questions of internal revolution in Panama or any other of the states of the United States of Colombia, and will continue to maintain a perfect neutrality in such domestic controversies. In the case, however, that the transit trade across the isthmus should suffer from an invasion from either domestic or foreign disturbances of the peace in the state of Panama, the United States will hold themselves ready to protect the same.

JOHN HAY'S TESTIMONY

In its refusal to allow the use of the railroad for the transportation of troops, the United States was not, therefore, introducing any new interpretation of the Treaty of 1846. And it is worth noting that it exercised this right against the troops of Panama as well as against those of Colombia. As against the unsupported assumption of guilty participation in the revolution by the United States, I place the word of John Hay, than whom no one was in a better position to know, and whose ability, truthfulness and sense of honor do not suffer by comparison with that of any other diplomat America has produced. In a letter of December 8, 1903, to James Ford Rhodes, the historian, Mr. Hay says:

When I think of how many mistakes I have made which have escaped notice, I ought not to be dissatisfied with being lambasted in an occasional case where I have done right. It is hard for me to understand how any one can criticize our action in Panama on the grounds upon which it is ordinarily attacked. The matter came on us with amazing celerity. We had to decide on the instant whether we would take possession of the ends of the railroad and keep the traffic clear, or whether we would stand back and let those gentlemen cut each other's throats for an indefinite time, and destroy whatever remnant of our property and interests we had there. I had no hesitation as to the proper course to take and have had no doubt of the propriety of it since.

In no less uncertain tone does he speak of the part taken by President Roosevelt. In a letter of January 20, 1904, to Professor George P. Fisher, he says:

I am sure that if the President had acted differently, when, the 3rd of November, he was confronted by a critical situation which might easily

have turned to disaster, the attacks which are now made on him would have been ten times more virulent and more effective. He must have done exactly as he did, or the only alternative would have been an indefinite duration of bloodshed and devastation through the whole extent of the Isthmus. It was a time to act and not to theorize, and my judgment at least is clear that he acted rightly.

ARE WE TRESPASSERS IN THE ZONE?

But the present administration, which is now urging the ratification of this treaty, does not really believe in the theory of guilty coöperation on the part of the United States, or anyone in an official position to represent the United States. For if it did, the present treaty becomes a mere subterfuge, and, far from being generous, it does not right a moiety of the wrongs which the United States has inflicted upon Colombia. Under this theory, the treaty with Panama is no justification for our possession of the Canal Zone, we are without title or color of title, but by reason of the fraud are trespassers and have no right to the improvements which we have placed there. This is a well-known principle of English and American law and was recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Kutter v. Smith*, 2 Wall., 491. The canal having been built on Colombian soil by a wilful trespasser belongs to Colombia and not to the United States, as those not parties to the plot had all along supposed. Though restitution would at this stage be disappointing, it would be a legal duty, if the United States conspired with Panama to oust Colombia from her rightful possession of the Isthmus.

The present administration is not, however, prepared to admit any facts which will involve the United States to such a degree or smirch a preceding administration to such an extent. And fortunately such facts do not exist. The administration appears, however, to be willing that "in order to satisfy the sense of justice of Colombia" the United States shall be mulcted moderately and that a preceding administration shall be smirched gently. The offer to Colombia to arbitrate the whole controversy is not conclusive that she has a strong case, for Colombia well knows that no nation would at the present time submit to arbitration the question of

whether or not she had acted in good faith, and this as we have shown is not incidental but the fundamental question to be determined.

The provision allowing the Colombian coastwise vessels to pass through the canal free of toll is not a little surprising in view of the recent insistence of the present administration that the provision in the act of Congress exempting our own coastwise vessels from tolls should be forthwith repealed. Why we have greater power in regard to other coastwise vessels than in regard to our own is not clear. Should Great Britain insist that this violates the provision in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in regard to "all vessels" being guaranteed equal treatment we would be under the necessity of either convincing Great Britain that all vessels means all vessels when applied to our own, but not when applied to those of Colombia; or else buy off Colombia at a price which will "satisfy Colombia's sense of justice."

There are those who object to the expression of regret, which amounts to an apology. But this feeling is not well founded, for either we have wronged Colombia or we have not. If we have, an apology is certainly due her. If we have not wronged Colombia, there is no excuse for the treaty. To satisfy her sense of outraged justice regardless of its justification might readily have a tendency to encourage an epidemic of such feelings upon the part of our other neighbors, and Mexico might, eleven years hence, demand several million and some regret for our hesitation in recognizing Huerta.

The pious hope of the administration that the treaty "will give prestige to the United States throughout Spanish America," seems to evince a lack of knowledge of human nature. Prestige is not the product of concession. Whether between States or between individuals, prestige is not enhanced by yielding to arbitrary and unjust demands. I shall not attempt to discredit such demands by applying to them the epithet "belated black-mail," but if anyone else should so characterize them I would not be in a position to dispute the accuracy of the characterization.





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MEXICAN FAMILIES ABANDONING THEIR HOMES IN SECTIONS RENDERED DESOLATE BY YEARS OF CONSTANT ARMED STRIFE.—(FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH)

FROM DIAZ TO CARRANZA

THE STORY OF FIVE YEARS' MISRULE AND INSURRECTION

FOR the past five years there has been civil strife in Mexico without interruption. The wheel of fate has turned unceasingly, bringing forward new leaders one day, only to cast them into oblivion the next. At least a dozen men have at different times received the homage of the multitudes; and a number of these have in turn been welcomed by outsiders as the long-awaited one destined to lead the Mexican people back into the paths of peace and prosperity.

Five years ago the republic was enjoying a fair measure of peace and prosperity, and was accorded the respect of the entire world. Gen. Porfirio Diaz had been "elected" and on December 1, 1910, inaugurated President for the eighth time. A substantial balance was in the treasury, and there was apparently no immediate prospect of change in the situation.

Some murmurings of discontent might have been heard, to be sure; but they seemed to be no louder than at any other time during the thirty years' rule of Diaz. There was good reason for dissatisfaction, for the Diaz régime had seemed to give undue prosperity to a few and to keep the rest submerged. But the Dictator's personality was so dominating, his power so great, that he retained the allegiance of the military and was in a position to ignore the complaints of the peon.

The Madero Insurrection Against Diaz

It happened, however, that a leader came forward at that time to champion the cause of the downtrodden Mexican people. He was learned enough to formulate an imposing and appealing program of reforms, and wealthy enough to command attention and to have his doctrines circulated widely. That leader was Francisco I. Madero, Jr. He had been so audacious as to present himself as a candidate in opposition to Diaz, and had been cast into prison. Afterwards released, he continued his propaganda from the safer soil of the United States.

Mexicans in the northern provinces found much they liked in the Madero promises. They had suffered most from the two great evils which had developed under Diaz,—the exploitation of natural resources by foreigners, and the acquisition of vast estates by a small group of rich families.

The insurrection spread rapidly and gained strength. On the 7th of May, 1911, President Diaz professed willingness to retire "after peace is restored." Eighteen days later he decided to resign without further delay. He left the country at once, and Dr. Francisco de la Barra (Minister of Foreign Relations, and former Ambassador to the United States) became Provisional President pending an election.

The Madero Presidency

On October 1, 1911, the people of Mexico participated in their first general election of a really popular kind. There was only slight opposition to the candidacy of Madero, leader of the revolution, and he was duly chosen and inaugurated.

His troubles soon began. He made an honest effort to plan for the division of land among small proprietors; but so radical a change could not be brought about at once, and the lower classes became restless. He found it hard to satisfy the demands of his immediate followers; yet he appointed his uncle to head the Treasury and paid his own brother \$700,000 out of the public funds for moneys advanced during the revolution.

At the end of six months there was actual revolt against Madero, by the same elements which had fought Diaz; but the cause lacked a leader, and lost headway.

The Felix Diaz Rebellion Against Madero

When Madero had served nearly a year, Felix Diaz (a nephew of the former President) launched an insurrection at Vera Cruz. Something went wrong, for the revolt was easily suppressed and Diaz thrown into prison. Under any other Mexican ruler, he would have been put to death at once. That was in October, 1912.

Four months afterwards Felix Diaz "escaped" and appeared in Mexico City at the head of a substantial revolutionary force. They seized the city, and confined President Madero and the Government troops in the National Palace. Several days later (February 18, 1913) Gen. Victoriano Huerta, commander-in-chief of the federal army, deserted Madero and forced his resignation.

The "Unrecognized" Huerta Régime

The climax of Felix Diaz, leader of the revolt, was ignored and the army proclaimed Huerta Provisional President, the choice being immediately ratified by a subservient Congress.

Madero's brother was executed forthwith; and four days afterward Madero himself and his Vice-President, Piño Suarez, were shot dead "while attempting to escape." Few people believed it anything else than murder.

From the beginning it was evident that Huerta was not likely to establish order. He was purely a military rule, and it sufficed to keep him in office for seventeen months. Two farcical elections were held, but no one dared to become a candidate and

Huerta himself could not legally be chosen President. He assumed dictatorial power, and on one occasion imprisoned 110 members of the Chamber of Deputies. A member of the Senate who protested too vigorously is reported to have been put to death.

The Wilson administration withheld formal recognition of the Huerta Government, for three reasons: (1) the fate of Madero, (2) the failure to hold a real election, and (3) the fact that Huerta was not in control of the larger part of the country. In his message to Congress on December 2, 1913, President Wilson referred to Huerta's "usurped authority" and "pretended government," and to his own "policy of watchful waiting."

It was during the Huerta régime that President Wilson sent several personal representatives to Mexico, to investigate and report upon conditions. Chief among these was ex-Governor John Lind, of Minnesota.

The attitude of the United States embarrassed Huerta in his relations with other foreign governments, and tended to aid his enemies at home.

The Constitutionalist Insurrection Against Huerta

Within three months after General Huerta's elevation to the Presidency the reform elements in the northern provinces were again in revolt, and the outside world began to hear of Venustiano Carranza and the Constitutionlists. By December, 1913, they controlled the entire north and were gradually pressing southward. The most successful military leader was Francisco Villa, a former bandit. Carranza's democratic ideas followed his flag. He confiscated and divided many large estates, selling the parts to the poorer classes at low prices, on favorable terms.

In February, 1914, the revolutionists captured their first port, Mazatlan, and by April 8 they had reached Tampico, the great oil port. Five days later that city fell into their hands. During the attack the United States became accidentally precipitated into Mexican affairs.

The Tampico Incident and the American Occupation of Vera Cruz

Some American marines, landing at a wharf in Tampico on April 10, 1914, were arrested and later released with an apology. There had been previous affronts; and the American naval officer demanded further

apology in the form of a salute to the flag. Not an unusual request, it was nevertheless refused. Huerta supported the position taken by the Mexican officer at Tampico, while President Wilson and Congress stood behind the American officer. After eight days of haggling, an ultimatum was delivered to Huerta, which he completely ignored. The United States was left in a position which seemed to call for action.

Meanwhile a German steamship was approaching Vera Cruz, loaded with war materials for Huerta's troops. The President and his advisers decided to seize the custom house there, and prevent the landing. Early in the morning of April 21, the necessary orders were flashed by wireless to the fleet, and by sundown the port was in full control of American sailors and marines. The lines were later extended, and the whole city was occupied. Seventeen Americans were killed during the landing and subsequent fighting, the Mexican casualties totaling 126 killed and 195 wounded.

South American Mediation Initiated

On April 25 it was announced that the diplomatic representatives at Washington of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile,—the three most important South American republics,—had tendered their "good offices" to arrange a settlement of differences between the United States and the Huerta government. The offer was accepted, and on May 20 a series of conferences was begun at Niagara Falls, Canada. Besides the South American diplomats, there were three delegates from Mexico and two from the United States (the late Justice Lamar and Mr. Frederick W. Lehmann).

The conferences practically ignored the Tampico incident, and discussed the more serious problem of Mexico's internal affairs. Within a week they agreed upon the retirement of Huerta, but for a full month thereafter they disagreed upon the choice of a successor who would be satisfactory to the opposing factions. Representatives of Carranza were consulted, but did not formally participate. Finally, on July 1, 1914, the conference came to an end, without positive result. Articles of peace were signed, yet our troops remained at Vera Cruz.

The Resignation of Huerta

The position of Huerta had gradually become more difficult. Foreign recognition and financial support were withheld, first

on account of the fate of Madero and later because of Huerta's inability to extend his authority over even half of the country. Meanwhile the armed forces of Carranza, led by Villa, were regularly winning victories. On July 9 they captured Guadalajara, the second largest city.

General Huerta—perhaps mindful of his predecessor's fate—at last sought safety in flight. He resigned on July 15, 1914,—having been Provisional President for seventeen months,—and left Mexico on a German warship, bound for Europe. Last summer Huerta attempted to return, but was intercepted by United States authorities and charged with planning a Mexican revolution on United States soil. While in prison awaiting trial, illness developed which resulted in his death at El Paso last month.

The Minister of Foreign Relations, Dr. Francisco Carbajal, automatically became President and served for nearly a month, when the approach of the Carranza forces caused him to dissolve the government and abandon the city. General Carranza formally entered the capital on August 19.

The Carranza-Villa Break

As is so frequently the case, the victors immediately began to quarrel among themselves. Within a month after Carranza's entry into Mexico City, Villa was in open revolt against the "Supreme Chief" for whom he had fought so valiantly. Exactly what Villa wanted has never been made clear. He denied Presidential ambitions.

Carranza desired to be chosen President in an election, and therefore shunned the office and title of Provisional President. A convention of Constitutionalist leaders met and chose Gen. Eulalio Gutierrez for that office; but Carranza refused to approve the selection, maintaining that the convention had not complied with conditions he had fixed. Gutierrez appointed Villa as commander-in-chief of all the forces opposing Carranza, and directed him to proceed. Carranza hastily withdrew from Mexico City, his rule there having lasted only three months.

The Withdrawal from Vera Cruz and the Beginning of Border Outrages

It was at this moment, curiously enough, that the Administration at Washington saw fit to withdraw the United States troops from Vera Cruz (November 23, 1914), after seven months' occupation. Carranza, menaced at Mexico City by the Villa-Zapata combina-



A TYPICAL GROUP OF MEXICANS WHO HAVE BECOME PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS OF A KIND LITTLE ABOVE THE GRADE OF BANDIT

tion, saved himself by merely transferring his government to Vera Cruz.

Hardly had our soldiers returned, when they (or some of their comrades) were called upon to police the border. Twice during the first half of December, 1914, the United States forces in Arizona were materially increased. The Chief of Staff of the United States Army, General Scott, himself conferred with the belligerent factions, in an effort to persuade them to move away from the border.

At about this time there began a period—now yet ended—characterized by attacks by lawless bands upon Americans, not only in Mexico but upon United States soil, in Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. Our soldiers especially were the victims.

Meanwhile the struggle in Mexico continued, the followers of Carranza—under a new leader, General Obregon—gaining a series of victories over the Villa forces. In January, 1915, the Constitutionalist convention deposed Provisional President Gutierrez, and selected Col. Roque Gonzalez Garza to succeed him. Garza ruled for ten days and then fled before approaching Carranza forces. Later in June, 1915, the convention deposed Garza and chose Francisco Lagun Chazaro for the Presidential office.

General Obregon reported victories over

the Villa-Zapata-Angeles forces, on January 5, March 27, April 8, April 15, and June 6. While some of these engagements were important, none was decisive.

The Second Latin-American Mediation

President Wilson believed that the situation demanded action on his part; and on June 2, 1915, he called upon the factions in Mexico to act together promptly for the relief of their desolate country, otherwise the United States would employ means to help Mexico save herself. The whole of northern Mexico had become paralyzed through incessant conflict, and even in Mexico City the populace was starving as a result of interrupted railroad communication.

During the month of July the capital city changed hands three times; and President Wilson once more acted. The diplomatic representatives at Washington of six of the republics of Central and South America were invited to meet with the American Secretary of State and discuss means for ending the chaos in Mexico. The result was an "appeal," signed by the seven diplomats and sent (on August 14, 1915) to certain Mexicans who possessed authority or power. It proposed a conference of those directing the armed movements in Mexico, and offered friendly and disinterested help.

A prompt acceptance came from Villa, but Carranza—after giving warning of dangers which might ensue from interference—rejected the proposals.

As Carranza was admittedly the dominant factor in Mexico, the diplomats were forced to invent a new plan. They met again on September 18, and agreed to recognize the faction which at the end of three weeks had best demonstrated ability to maintain order. Upon the expiration of that period they declared that the Carranza party was the only one possessing the essentials for recognition as the *de facto* government, and on October 19, 1915, the United States and eight of the republics of Central and South America extended formal recognition.

The Present Situation

Thus we find Mexico, after five years of constant civil strife, in a pitiable condition. For the first time since February, 1913, there is a recognized government; and yet that government is powerless to maintain order. Villa refuses to believe himself beaten, and Carranza dares not occupy the Mexican capital.

If there has been political or social gain, it is merely theoretical, the realization of which not only lies in the future but is by no means certain. Economically and industrially, half of the country has been at a stand-still. The condition of the Mexican National Railroad

is typical. The gross earnings for the last fiscal year were \$1,776,982 (Mexican currency), compared with \$61,447,791 three years before.

The position of Americans in Mexico has, since the downfall of President Madero, always been dangerous and at times desperate. In the beginning there were many thousands of these Americans, engaged principally in the development of the country's resources. Most of them have left Mexico. Of those who decided to remain,—and those who went back because of the position assumed by the United States in withdrawing from Vera Cruz and recognizing the Carranza government,—several hundred have been killed. At the present moment we find the British Ambassador at Washington again advising his countrymen to be ready to leave northern Mexico.

As for the United States Government itself, it is cordially hated by all factions. The followers of General Diaz cannot forget that the Madero revolution was directed from our side of the border. The adherents of Huerta remember the constant snubbing and final imprisonment. Recognition of the Carranza party was not intended as a graceful compliment, and its effect is more than outweighed by the long period of doubtfulness and hesitancy. Villa's hatred of Americans, always in evidence, is now without measure or bounds.



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MEXICAN REFUGEES—A FAMILIAR SCENE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER

TRAINING STUDENT SOLDIERS

OBLIGATORY MILITARY INSTRUCTION IN OUR LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

BY WYATT RUSHTON

WHEN in 1862 Congress passed the first Morrill Act granting to the several States public lands with which to establish agricultural and mechanical colleges, and providing that these colleges should include "instruction in military science" in the curriculum, this country recognized for the first time the vital importance of training as a part of the equipment of a volunteer army.

The Civil War was then near its height. There had been serious defeats at Bull Run and elsewhere in the early campaigns for the unorganized and poorly trained Union volunteers. There had been thousands of volunteers in 1860 and '61 eager to go to the front, but without officers to train them. This condition the Morrill Act sought in some way to remedy and to take thought for in the future. "These colleges, founded in every State," said Representative Morrill, the author of the bill, "will to some extent guard against the sheer ignorance of military art which shrouded the country, and especially the North, at the time when the tocsin of war sounded at Fort Sumter." After the war and the militia, these colleges were to constitute an integral part of the national defense.

As the result of this act, and of a second and revised act in 1890, there are now ninety-six colleges in the country in which military instruction is offered under the direct supervision of the United States War Department. Nearly thirty thousand college boys,—almost as many as there are professional soldiers now in the mobile army of the United States,—are drilling this year under the command of regular or retired Army officers detailed for the duty of instruction in these colleges. The War Department furnishes these boys with the essential parts of their arms and equipment, as well as instruction, and then requires them to measure up at least to the standard set for the militia of the several States. The cadets of the civil institutions of the country are a definite part of the present scheme of national military education.

The system of training for the duties of

soldiering which is maintained in these "land-grant" colleges is not, however, a part of the work of the regular Army or of the State militia. Military instructors in the various colleges are emphatic in declaring that their departments are not mere "feeble imitations of West Point." These departments have a peculiar and distinct purpose. Their purpose is to train officers for an emergency volunteer army in case the country should be attacked.

"We are trying to develop a sense of responsibility in the young men of this country," says Major-General Leonard A. Wood, "a sense of responsibility towards their military duty. We educate them to perform all sorts of civil duties, but do not give sufficient attention to their military duties." It is for the purpose of training college men in leadership for the defense as well as for the peaceful upbuilding of their country that courses in military science and tactics are made obligatory in all "land-grant" colleges and many other collegiate institutions.

The regular instruction in the armory and on the drill-ground at the colleges during the winter months has about the same relation to the summer student camps and the business men's camp maintained by the War Department at various points over the country that the regular sessions of these colleges bear to the summer schools and the "short courses" which they provide for special classes of students. During the regular session the student carries his regular school work along with his military training. In the camps and at the barracks attention is concentrated for the time on military training, and by dint of constant drilling the "rookies" at the camps are turned out in five or six weeks with a training approximately the same, or perhaps a little more complete, than that of the regularly enrolled college student who has attended his four hours of drill a week after school hours.

The standard of instruction put before both the college student and the camper is that of "what every officer must know." Lieutenant P. G. Wrightson, Commandant of Cadets at the University of Wisconsin,

puts it thus forcibly: "We do not teach the student everything he ought to know to be a perfect officer; we do not even teach him everything he should know to be a thorough officer; but we do teach him what he has *got to know to be a capable officer at all.*"

The course thus outlined consists of training in the school of the soldier, of the squad and of the company, the manual-of-arms, the fundamental principles of rifle shooting, of first aid, and camp hygiene, while it likewise includes such things as the preparation of military papers, the making of maps, maneuvers, and signaling of all kinds. None of the higher strategy such as is contained in the curriculum at West Point is taught.

About one-third of the instruction is theoretical. After the first few months, as little drilling is done as possible. Commandants try to place before their students the intellectual aspects of the game of war, as well as the necessity of physical fitness of individuals for it.

For the purposes of drill, the students furnish their own uniforms, either of a dark blue or an olive drab. The colleges themselves provide the armories and drill-grounds, and for the rest every need is supplied by the Federal Government itself. Two up-to-date 3.2-inch field guns, similar to those supplied to the National Guards of the several States, are furnished to artillery companies in institutions of sufficient size and standing. Krag rifles, such as were used in the Spanish-American war, are supplied in sufficient quantities for the use of every student under drill. Proper equipment is also furnished to the signal, engineering, and hospital corps of the institutions where such corps are maintained.

In all of the colleges embraced in the scheme of military education over which the War Department has control, the obligation to take the instruction offered rests either upon the whole student body or upon specially designated classes. In the larger institutions, where the numbers of the students are overwhelming and the college work in the higher classes leaves little time for anything else, drill is only required of the two lower classes. Cadet officers in these institutions are, however, chosen almost uniformly from the upper classes. For the time consumed from their college work they are usually paid an honorarium which, though small, is oftentimes an aid toward the paying of college expenses.

"Military instruction at the University of Illinois," say the military regulations of that

institution, "is not a matter of choice with the students or with the authorities; it is a matter of law. The Congress of the United States and the General Assembly of Illinois have made it a special and imperative feature of the charter laws of this institution,—an obligation in return for the advantages of a free education."

This obligation to take military training results in large numbers of cadets at some institutions, particularly where a cultural curriculum is maintained in addition to the agricultural and mechanical education offered. The University of Illinois had drilling, during the fall of 1915, two thousand one hundred and forty students. Other large institutions of the Middle West, where the State universities are predominant, furnish scarcely less surprising figures. The University of Wisconsin has fourteen hundred cadets in two regiments. The University of Minnesota likewise has an even larger number, divided between a first and second regiment. Other schools throughout the country maintain either a regiment or several battalions, each accompanied by all the appropriate military paraphernalia.

Certain disadvantages naturally accompany the advantages of this phase of preparation for the national defense. Commandants of cadets in the various institutions do not feel that the system is perfect by any means. Its weak points are the lack of previous military training in the high schools, the inability of the instructors to enforce military discipline in all cases, and the fact that often the faculty of the college does not take the work of the military department seriously enough.

Many of the land-grant colleges receive as much as one hundred thousand dollars a year from the Federal Government. Of this, scarcely more than one-tenth is spent for military instruction. Moreover, as has been pointed out, the faculty often does not give the military department the authority which is due. Often the instructors are not really considered as members of the faculty, with the full rank to which they are assigned by the charter laws of the institution. The fault sometimes lies with the officers themselves. Often they are ill-fitted for the work of teaching. Sometimes, not being college men themselves, they fail to understand properly the spirit of college students. Generally, however, they wish to be considered something more than the directors of a mild and innocent form of athletics. They hold that training for the duties of an officer is something more than that.

The military curriculum in these civil institutions undoubtedly needs to be stiffened up and extended. The commandants would like to have it made possible for them to keep a greater number of students in the larger institutions of learning enrolled, and to teach the advanced students more of the details of officering. They would like to cover something else besides the "high spots."

It should be realized that only as those "higher up" are carefully instructed in the art of the national defense can we really have a citizenry "trained and accustomed to arms."

A reasonable demand ought to go up from the people of the several States that Congress strengthen this academic but by no means unimportant arm of the national defense. The people should demand of their Congressmen a law allowing for a larger detail of officers for the service of teaching, a training school, if possible, for the work of teaching, at West Point or elsewhere, and in general a greater extension of the system for training civilian officers. Congress by successive acts has already done much for the colleges; it should do more.

THE WASTE BY FLOODS

BY PERCIVAL FASSIG

THIS is flood time, and in some sections fear has already laid its hand upon the people. But as soon as July comes around again, floods will be forgotten and will receive little or no thought until next flood time. The great damage done by the floods of 1913 has been practically wiped out, and, excepting for a few sections, has become merely history. At the time, wonderful changes were proposed; army engineers and specialists were brought together in consultation, and thousands of dollars spent in devising plans to prevent the recurrence of such a disaster. However, should another flood of like dimensions occur to-day, the damage would be as great or even greater.

In 1913 our Congressmen were rampant. The havoc being wrought by the floods, they said, must be stopped. Only those living in the flooded districts can fully realize the hardship,—the loss of life and property,—that was caused. Congressmen got busy with the Engineering Corps of the Army, and officers were sent to the scenes of disaster. But, apparently, little or nothing was done. To-day the old fear is back, and with each heavy rain the people hope that the water will pass away without a repetition of 1913. This has been the case each year since that memorable one.

One wonders why our public affairs should receive such treatment. Can we not get our affairs out of the present unbusinesslike rut? With the millions expended in improving rivers, it is strange that no thought is given to the prevention of floods. Two projects so closely related ought to be considered as a

whole. After fully fifty years of river-tinkering, our benefits therefrom are practically nil. Would it not be advisable to make flood prevention part of our river-improvements project? If Congressmen must have the support of river improvements, why not try to give the people some benefit also?

There is no doubt that damage by floods can be lessened, and that the cost of prevention will be far less than the destruction wrought by the floods. Of course, this is not necessarily a national issue; but neither is the improvement of rivers. So long as Congress is pledged to river improvement, it should assume control of flood prevention, letting the States pay for those parts of the project that are purely local. The army of employees connected with river improvements, and the engineers in charge, should be in a position to put a flood-prevention project through with little additional cost so far as relates to rivers under improvement.

Unfortunately, much of the work done for river improvement increases the flood possibilities. We go ahead with one project, without any thought beyond that in hand. Every structure placed in a river retards its flow or discharge. Likewise every structure built on the shore line, or near it, contracts the channel and causes a similar effect. This not only relates to structures in connection with river improvements, but to the building of bridge foundations or anything else in a stream. The subject of flood prevention is so dovetailed with all kinds of river work that it can scarcely be separated.

Furthermore, our railroads and many of the large corporations are responsible for at least a portion of the flood damage. Take any large manufacturing district along a river, and we find that foot after foot of the river-bed is taken by encroaching. There are sections of the Ohio River where the channel has been contracted fully one hundred feet. Congress has passed laws against encroaching on navigable streams, but those laws are not strictly enforced. Many railroad sidings and stretches of main lines are built on ground filled in over the banks of our streams. The methods employed are often so small as to seem incredible. Sometimes the filling was dumped at night. Again, cinders were strewn along the right-of-way, and swept over the bank, a little at a time. Any way to avoid suspicion.

One case in particular was that of a saw-mill below Cincinnati. For years the owner had the waste thrown into the Ohio River. He was finally stopped by the court. Then he had the waste dumped on the bank, and each rise carried the material into the river. After much effort on the part of the engineers, the court stopped that practise also. Had the dumping continued, it would have added greatly to the contraction of the river, as the material lodged on bars or aided in the formation of new ones.

There is scarcely a city, town, or village along a river or creek that does not add its mite to increasing flood danger. Not only do they tacitly permit the dumping of waste along the banks and into the streams, but their refuse finds its way into the waters. Most of our inland streams are positively filthy (pestilence breeders), and their waters, heavy with dirty sediment, are pumped to the residents for domestic use. Frequently the water of the Ohio River is so dirty that it is not fit for any use; yet some of the large cities supply it in its undiluted state.

So it is with bank erosion. Practically all of the natural protection has been cleared away, and no steps taken to replace it. The material washed from the banks is carried along until deposited and bars formed. Every bar contracts the channel more or less, and either lessens the discharge area or holds back the water like a dam. Records show that we have had more floods in late years than formerly. There is seldom a year without a flood along the Ohio; in some years they have two and three, and the floods are of longer duration and cause more damage.

On the lower stretch of the Ohio they already have had a flood this year which caused much suffering.

Not only bank erosion, but tons of earth is washed from the hills and low-lying lands, which finds its way into our streams. It might be claimed that this has always been the case. True, but not to the extent it is to-day. Our hills in many sections are bare, where formerly they were covered with trees and bushes. The same is true of the low lands and the banks—trees, willows, and bushes practically covered them, and the erosion was reduced to a minimum. To-day the low lands are cultivated and the banks covered with refuse.

Here is where our Bureau of Forestry could render good service. Not alone by lessening erosion and thereby preserving acres of surface land, but by beautifying the hills and banks, and restoring our nut-bearing trees and bushes. Many of the hills, too steep for cultivation, should be covered with trees and bushes—anything to prevent the wash of ground. Furthermore, leaves and brush hold back the water draining into the streams. At present, the water rushes from our hills after a heavy rain, there being nothing to restrain it, and deep gullies are washed into their sides. But where the hills are covered with leaves, grass, and brush you do not find the heavy flow nor the deep gullies.

Flood prevention is a subject deserving of serious study and research. Under existing conditions, much good can be done by the engineers in charge of river improvements and by the Forest Service at not greatly increased expense over what it costs to conduct the work now in hand. But the subject is so great, and the benefits to be derived so far-reaching, that it deserves extensive research. Every State affected should be required to bear its portion of the expense, because to get the best results no one city or State could devise plans without reaching into another State.

Each drainage basin must be considered as a whole to get the best results. Columbus and Dayton, in Ohio, are now engaged on flood-prevention plans; and no doubt they will reduce their liability to damage. But the rivers draining those cities are a part of the Ohio River basin, and to get the best results the Ohio must be taken care of, and in turn the Mississippi, into which the Ohio empties. So that flood prevention is in fact a national issue.

NEW MONARCHY FOR OLD

CHINA, FOUR YEARS A "REPUBLIC," BECOMES A LIMITED MONARCHY
BY STANLEY K. HORNBECK

"Men, not walls, make a city."

"A great man is one who knows the times."

—CHINESE PROVERBS.

YUAN SHIH-KAI, long recognized as the ablest statesman among his people and for the past four years their president, informally ascended the "dragon throne" of the Hans on New Year's Day.

The "electors" of China affirmed their preference for monarchy in October. The Council of State then tendered the throne to the President, and, after proper protestations of reluctance, Yuan Shih-kai agreed on December 11 to accept the imperial office.

Four years ago this four-thousand-year-old monarchy, China, treated the world to a great surprise when, in the course of four short months, she discarded the twenty-fifth of her successive ruling dynasties and converted herself into a "republic." A local mutiny had developed in four weeks into a nation-wide revolt. After a futile resistance of four months, the Manchus gave up the throne and ordered one of their Chinese subjects, Yuan Shih-kai, to establish a Republic. The change involved the political destinies of nearly four hundred million people and four million square miles of territory.

The fourth anniversary of the beginning of the revolution occurred on October 10 last. During the month which followed, the voters cast their ballots in favor of a return to the monarchical form of government. Does everything in China go by fours?

What has this now passing "republic" been doing? How far has Yuan Shih-kai carried out the mandate given him by the abdicating Manchus? Why this recent decision in favor of a monarchy, and how?

HOW THE "REPUBLIC" CAME INTO BEING

It is necessary in the first place to understand that the Chinese Revolution was not primarily a movement toward making China a Republic. It was in the beginning anti-dynastic. The motto of the revolutionary

societies had been: "Down with the Manchus." The cry, "Establish a Republic," was in large measure a campaign slogan, in order to get rid of the Manchus, develop enthusiasm for a complete change of government.

Yuan Shih-kai became legal successor to the authority of the Manchus through the following provision in the Edict of Abdication of February 12, 1911: "Let Yuan Shih-kai organize with full powers a provisional government and confer with the republican army as to the methods of union, thus assuring peace to the people and tranquillity to the Empire." The Edict continued, however, to the effect that he should "form one Great Republic of China."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen had been chosen by the revolutionary leaders as their chief executive. He resigned in favor of Yuan Shih-kai as national president, and on March 10, 1912, the National Council, at Nanking, adopted a provisional constitution, under which Yuan was to carry on the government.

Trained in the old school, an astute politician and statesman, of autocratic temperament, having a loyal body of henchmen who had remained true to him and to the traditions of his successful administration as viceroy of Chihli, Yuan proceeded step by step to replace the young officers and frequently inexperienced civilians who had come into power during the revolution by his own men and other officials who had had experience under the old régime. It was his task to restore authority and to establish a new government, and he chose to employ men upon whom he could rely.

THE TWO-MING TANG (PEOPLE'S PARTY)

Yuan's success in depriving the radical leaders of office and keeping them out was the chief factor in uniting the forces of the disappointed and discontented into an or-

ganized opposition. In the summer of 1912 the Kwo-ming Tang, or People's party, was formed, and to its standards rallied the most radical of the Republicans.

When the first National Assembly met in Peking in April, 1913, the Kwo-ming party, with a majority, regularly opposed legislation which the President desired. In spite of the Assembly, and without its consent, Yuan concluded the Five Powers' Loan, which put new and substantial resources at his command. This, together with the assassination of one of their leaders, which they declared had been instigated by the government, drove the Kwo-ming Tang to a frenzy. Finally, when Yuan cashiered the Kwo-ming governor in one of the Yangtse provinces and sent troops southward, the leaders of this party raised the standard of revolt.

That was in the summer of 1913. Yuan's generals put down the rebellion without much difficulty, and its instigators and leaders were forced to flee. Then, in October, the government succeeded in forcing a vote in the Assembly for the election of a permanent president. Yuan was elected for a term of five years, with General Li Yuan-hung as vice-president. With his position thus assured, and after his government had been recognized by the Powers, Yuan proceeded to dissolve the Kwo-ming party on the ground of the complicity of many of its members in the recent rebellion. This amounted to a prorogation of the Assembly, for, purged of the Kwo-ming members, that body no longer had a quorum.

DOING AWAY WITH REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES

No one very greatly regretted the disappearance of the Assembly. It had been in session for five months and had accomplished almost nothing constructive. The Kwo-ming Tang members had dominated the committee on the constitution, and the efforts of that committee had been concentrated on the problem of lodging all authority possible in the Assembly and placing limitations at every point on the power of the President. The product of its labors now went into the waste-basket, and the government took up the problem of making a constitution.

The President decided first to create an advisory council. To this end, he and his cabinet and the governors of the provinces appointed seventy-one representatives, who assembled in Peking in December as the

"Administrative Conference." This Conference authorized the dissolution first of the National Assembly and then of the provincial assemblies; thus China became, and it has continued, "a republic without representative legislatures."

THE REVISED CONSTITUTION

The President and the Conference concluded that it would be most convenient, for the time being, to revise the provisional constitution. For this purpose there was created a "Constitutional Compact Conference" composed of representatives elected throughout the country on the basis of very high electoral and eligibility qualifications. Of course, the government in large measure determined the composition of this Conference and the character of its work.

This Conference produced, and the President promulgated on May 1, 1914, a revision, designated "The Constitutional Compact of the Chinese Republic," which has stood as the fundamental law of China from then until the present moment.

The revised provisional constitution lodged very great power in the hands of the President. Among other things, it gave him virtual control of the budget. It authorizes the creation of a Legislature, of a Council of State, and of a National Convention to draft a permanent constitution.

The Constitutional Conference next decided that the Council of State should consist of seventy members, and the President proceeded to appoint conservatively minded men, satisfactory to himself, as councilors.

Among the first of its acts, the Council recommended that the provisions for the election of the president be reconsidered. This recommendation was acted upon, with the result that a new law was drafted and promulgated, which provided that the president's term of office should be for ten years; and that, if the Council of State should decide it expedient, the president might continue in office for another term. The promulgation of these provisions, adding to the already very great power given the President, occasioned little adverse comment among the people.

The Constitutional Conference soon had ready laws and rules for the election and organization of the legislature. Very high educational or property qualifications, or both, were prescribed for voters and candidates. The legislature was to consist of a single chamber of two hundred and seventy-five members and should hold one session

each year. The president was given absolute veto power.

Attention was next devoted to a law for the National (Constitutional) Convention. This law still stands, and according to its provisions the Convention is to consist of three hundred and thirty-five members, some appointed, others elected from various constituencies. It shall be the business of the Convention to pass upon a constitutional draft prepared by a committee of ten appointed by the Council of State. If the Convention fails within a four months' session to agree upon a constitution, the President shall dissolve it and order the election of another Convention. It was obviously intended that the Convention be dominated by the government and that the work be entirely satisfactory to the President.

Shortly after the conclusion of the negotiations with Japan in May, 1915, the President issued orders that the lists of voters for the primary elections should be completed by September 13, and in July he directed the bureau concerned with the election of representatives to the National (Constitutional) Convention to hasten its preparations.

THE AGITATION FOR MONARCHY

Thus far had the legal reconstruction gone when suddenly there began to come rumors that the people were discussing the possibility and advisability of reverting to the monarchical form of government.

It is, of course, somewhat significant that the preparation of the machinery by which the proposal was ultimately "referred to the people" was being hastened by the government at the very moment when the suggestion that the question be considered was insistently put forward. At the same time, in view of the fact that the time was approaching when the final step in the organization of the republican government was, seemingly, about to be taken, it was natural that any group interested in averting this consummation and preferring some other form of government should at that moment come forward with counter proposals.

The discussion finally came into the open with the organizing of a "Peace Planning Society" which began an active agitation in favor of monarchy. Conspicuous among the organizers and leaders of this society were some of the close friends of Yuan Shih-kai. On August 16 the society published a long manifesto in which it represented Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, Adviser on

the Constitution, as having said: "A monarchical system of government is better than a republican system," and, using this as a text, proceeded to urge that China needed and must have a monarchical government.

Two days later the *Peking Gazette* published an interview in which Doctor Goodnow declared that he had been misrepresented. A restoration of the monarchy in China would, in his opinion, be justified only under certain conditions. He declined to express an opinion as to whether the conditions could be met in China at the present time.

Doctor Goodnow had, however, submitted a long memorandum to the President discussing the relative advantages of various types of government. In this he had said:

China . . . has for centuries been accustomed to autocratic rule. . . . The Chinese have never been accorded much participation in the work of government. The result is that the political capacity of the Chinese people is not large. . . .

China's history and traditions, her social and economic conditions, her relations with foreign powers all make it probable that the country would develop . . . constitutional government . . . more easily as a monarchy than as a republic.

In the interval a Chinese newspaper, the *Asia Jih Pao*, came out with an interview attributed to the President wherein Yuan said that he was unwilling to become an emperor under any circumstances. He considered, however, that the question of forms of government was a legitimate subject for discussion, and he would not interfere with the discussion so long as it did not lead to disturbance.

OPPONENTS OF THE CHANGE

Objections to the proposed change were raised chiefly in the south, but no organized opposition made its appearance. Certain newspapers, adherents to the views of the dissolved Kwo-ming party, and many business men expressed themselves adversely, the business men not unnaturally tearing the possible consequences of any change. The foreign newspapers published in the "settlements" in some cases favored and in some cases opposed the change, the chief ground urged for opposition being the danger of disturbance which would ensue.

The fact that Li Yuan-hung, the Vice-President, moved out of the palace and was several times absent from the meetings of the Council of State was hailed by the opposition as an indication that he was against the proposed change. But the evidence is inconclusive. Li did not resign his office.

He has apparently assumed an attitude of neutrality. Himself one of the leaders in the establishing of the republic, he would naturally be disinclined to give support to the return-to-monarchy movement. At the same time, having witnessed the difficulties of the "republican" government, and being an ardent admirer of Yuan Shih-kai, he may be not at all hostile to the idea of a limited Yuan monarchy.

Probably the strongest of the opponents of the change, and certainly the most influential, was Liang Chi-chiao. Long an advocate of constitutional monarchy, recently a staunch supporter of and a holder of high offices in the republican government, easily the foremost of Chinese publicists, Liang explained his opposition in a powerful article in which, addressing Yuan Shih-kai, he concludes:

Why should I have opposed you when you first suggested the first change of government and oppose you again now? Because a change in the *conduct* of a government is a sign of progress, while a change in the *form* of a government is a sign of revolution. A sign of progress leads a nation to progress, and a sign of revolution leads a nation to revolution. I have always opposed a revolution; hence I am opposing you now as I opposed you before, for a revolution always retards the progress of a nation. . . . To say that because you wish to reform the conduct of a government a change of its form is necessary is nonsense.

REFERENCE TO THE ELECTORATE

Early in September the Council of State recommended that the President call a convention or "devise other proper and adequate means to consult the will of the people"; and on October 8 it passed a bill providing for an electoral convention to decide for or against the proposed restoration. The military elements were by that time urging that the President declare himself emperor, but Yuan refused to consider this. On October 12 he issued a manifesto saying that he had received petitions from representative sources expressing the unanimous opinion that the republican form of government was unsatisfactory and requesting him to establish a constitutional monarchy. But, according to the constitutional compact, sovereign rights were vested in the entire body of citizens, therefore he must leave the decision to the people. The question was, therefore, referred to the electorate.

On October 28 the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires, the British Minister and the Russian Minister at Peking called on the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and

with the Japanese Chargé as spokesman, inquired verbally concerning the possible results in case China should undertake to make the change. The Japanese Chargé disclaimed any desire on the part of his government to interfere in the internal affairs of China, but suggested that, as there were evidences of opposition in south China, and in view of the disturbed state of world politics, the change should at least be delayed. The three ministers explained that the French Government, though not represented, gave its support to these views. (A few days later the Italian Government announced its concurrence in the attitude of the three Powers.)

On the next day, it was reported in Washington that the American Government had declined to express an opinion or to take any action in the matter.

The formal reply of the Chinese Government was given through the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, who called at the legations of the foreign powers and made verbal statements. Thanking the powers for their friendly interest, he declared that the question was already in the hands of the Chinese people and the consideration could not, therefore, be postponed. His government had been informed by the officials in the provinces that they would be able to keep order. He besought the coöperation of the powers in restraining a small number of rebels who might seek to operate in foreign countries and in the "foreign concessions" in China. He made it evident that his government considered the matter one of purely domestic concern.

DECISION FOR MONARCHY ALL BUT UNANIMOUS

In the meantime, the choosing of representatives to decide the question had begun. The canvass of the returns showed that all but fifty of the 2043 "electors" who were chosen had declared for constitutional monarchy. The Council of State immediately sent Yuan a petition asking him to accept the throne, and on December 11 it was announced that Yuan had consented to become emperor.

That the question of the form of government was submitted to the electorate, and that the electors voted for the monarchy indicates, to begin with, two things: first, that the President had concluded that the change was desirable or necessary; second, that he was confident that it could be effected successfully and without likelihood

of serious opposition. Yuan has been and is practically absolute. Had he not favored the change, he would have discouraged discussion and he could have prevented its consideration. He had control of the organizing of the electoral machinery; he knew in advance what return he could expect in the elections.

HAVE "THE PEOPLE" SPOKEN?

The decision in favor of monarchy must be credited first to Yuan Shih-kai, who was undoubtedly affected by the pressure of the military element and influenced by considerations of foreign policy. The confirmation of the decision may be credited to the limited aristocratic electorate, which was essentially of the government's choosing. The *people* as a whole have not known any too much about the question under discussion, and they have not *in the mass* decided either way. Their customary leaders and spokesmen, however, of the well-to-do classes have expressed themselves by their votes in favor of the monarchy, and, according to such theories of representation as, for instance, that which prevailed in England before 1832, the expression of these leaders is an expression of the will of the people. In that sense, the "people" of China have voted for the monarchy.

China has been a republic only in the sense that a state having an elected chief executive with a limited term of office is a republic. Yuan Shih-kai Emperor will rule little differently from Yuan Shih-kai President, but a state in which there is an emperor, with a life term and a fixed succession, will, of course, be a different state from that in which the people have a legal right to change their executive at intervals, however long.

CHINA'S PRESENT NEEDS

As far as China's immediate future is concerned, her greatest needs are security, order, and an efficient officialdom. The people have been little concerned as to what the government shall be called or how organized, if only it will afford them security and do them justice. They have always considered that the test of a satisfactory government is to be sought in the happiness of the people. There is little doubt among qualified observers that China's position among the nations will be strengthened by the assurance that a strong executive is securely established in authority at Peking. As for the more distant future, a country

that has experienced twenty-five changes of dynasty, established a temporary republican government, and again reverted to monarchy, may, if the time comes and it so chooses, ask another emperor to abdicate and establish another republican government.

DISTURBANCES FOLLOWING THE CHANGE

Before agreeing to accept the throne, Yuan announced that no change would be made "this year." Probably the intention is that the change shall not be effected until after the Constitutional Convention shall have met and framed a permanent constitution.¹ In view of the "suggestions," of October 28, and as a measure of practical expediency, this would be good political strategy. Nevertheless, we have the news that at the New Year's reception Yuan sat on the imperial throne and was announced as "his imperial majesty."

That the change would not be accepted without some disturbance was a foregone conclusion. The assassination of Admiral Tseng, governor of Shanghai, on November 10, was an act in protest against the movement. On December 5, a party of would-be rebels attempted to seize a government training ship lying in the river at Shanghai, but without success.

The rebellion which has broken out in Yunnan is somewhat more serious. The latest and most reliable reports indicate that the rising is confined practically to the one province, where the ex-Tutuh (military governor) Tsai Ao is in command of a body of insurgents.

Tsai Ao is one of the "young Chinese" who, after studying military science in Japan, played an important part in the revolution. As Tutuh in Yunnan he made an excellent record by restoring and maintaining peace in that somewhat restless province. In 1913 he was offered a seat in the Council of State at Peking, and later was appointed director of the Bureau for the Surveying of Lands. Early in December last he left Peking, on the plea of ill-health, and he was next heard of as leader of the revolt in Yunnan. As he is reported to have been among the first of those who circulated petitions for the restoration of the monarchy, Tsai Ao's action is somewhat incomprehensible. In estimating the significance of the revolt, it must be remembered that Yunnan is furthest removed of the provinces from Peking; and also that the Yunnanese have

¹ The dates for the Convention are already under way.

been particularly exasperated by the government's relentless campaign for the suppression of opium-growing, which was a lucrative occupation there.

It is scarcely conceivable that the rebellion will make any great headway. In the first place, the armed forces of the nation, especially the better trained troops of the North, are under the absolute control of Yuan—to whom they are loyal. Nearly all of the military governors in the provinces are either old followers or personal friends of Yuan, and the few exceptions are practical men and essentially conservative in disposition. In the second place, monarchical government fairly represents the political ideal of the people as a whole. Third, even his worst enemies concede that Yuan is the ablest man to whom the nation can look, both for reconstruction within and for defense against what, after all, is the greatest menace to its liberties—danger from without. Yuan's preeminence is demonstrated by the fact that the Manchus looked to

him—whom they had two years before disgraced—as their best hope in the hour of danger; that Sun Yat-sen yielded the position of chief executive in his favor; that the bankers of the Five Powers Group signed their loan contract with him personally in spite of the opposition of the Assembly; that the best of the revolutionary generals, along with the former officers of the Manchus, remained loyal to him when their misguided colleagues embarked upon the ill-advised and easily suppressed rebellion of 1913; and, finally, that for thirty years the representatives of foreign countries, both official and unofficial, who have come in contact with him have felt and have shown confidence in him.

If Yuan's government is overthrown, it will be by forces greater than and very different from those engaged in the rebellion in Yunnan.

"It is easy to avoid a naked spear, but not a hidden sword."—CHINESE PROVERB.

CHINA'S VAST RESOURCES

HOW JAPAN AND AMERICA CAN CO-OPERATE TO AID IN CHINESE DEVELOPMENT

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKE

AMERICA, Japan, and China stand in the Far East arrayed with desires and aspirations of somewhat the following nature:

The United States wants an "open door" to the marts of the continental Asia, equal opportunity to all who trade in China, and special favors to none. Equally fair and righteous is her traditional policy regarding the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire.

Japan, like the United States, wants to sell her goods to China: has been trying to sell more than she wisely can. If she could monopolize the entire Chinese market, she would.

Furthermore, Japan wants more land for her people. Her population is increasing at the rate of 1.4 per cent. a year. In 1910 Japan had 343 persons to a square mile, while California had only 15.

Japan also wants to make money. China is her second best customer, and Japan's fight for her share in the Chinese trade is therefore backed up by elemental logic.

Regarding the preservation of the territorial integrity of China, Japan is even more emphatic than America. This may sound odd coming from a Japanese. But stop a moment and ask two pertinent questions:

If Japan were to countenance—let alone encourage by her example—the partition of Chinese territory, what would Russia do? And Germany, France, and England?

Suppose Japan were able to take and hold a large portion of Chinese territory and ignore Europe's protest, what would become of her when the European war is over? Our American friends must credit us with having enough common sense to see the folly and madness of such a procedure.

What Japan really wants is customers for her goods, rather than a lot of Chinese, brewing everlasting hatred for men and things Japanese over the ashes of homes burnt down by an invading army.

China wants many things. She wants the security of life and property. Even above that, she wants enough food and raiment.

CHINA NEEDS CAPITAL

So stand the three powers in the Far East. And they do not seem any too happy, one with the other. What is needed there? What is the solution of the problem? Simply and emphatically this: Give the Chinese the wherewithal to get food and raiment, and a little more beside,—give him purchasing power. In 1912 the Japanese bought from foreign countries \$5.99 worth of goods per person, whereas the Chinese imported only \$1.04 worth. This means that if China had the purchasing power of even her poor neighbor across the Yellow Sea, she would buy every year \$1,732,500,000 worth of foreign goods more than she is buying to-day. (The calculation is made on the basis of 350,000,000 Chinese and 55,000,000 Japanese.) As Japan furnishes 18 per cent. of China's imports, it might mean an annual increase of \$311,850,000 in the exports of Nippon.

But the effect of the increase in Chinese purchasing power would be even more spectacular on the American export trade. America is the original home of quality goods and of lofty price. It would mean a sudden rise in the Asiatic trade of America.

How can the purchasing power of the Chinese be raised? Who or what is going to raise it? The answer is: Nobody and nothing but the resources of China herself.

UNDEVELOPED COAL LANDS

Take the concrete case of the Fushun Coal Mine, in Southern Manchuria. The coal deposit along the Hun River is a matter of old-time knowledge with the Manchus. Some of the Korean ancestors used to scratch the beds with pickaxes. They did not know that the deposit ran about ten miles along the River Hun, with a thickness of from 80 feet to 175 feet,—any more than the present dwellers of the Yangtse Valley know of the heaps of iron and coal under their feet.

For many centuries the Manchus worked the Fushun coal deposit. Even in the days preceding the Russian occupation of the mines, the natives used to work them in a leisurely, primitive fashion. During the rainy season, from June to August, they stopped working altogether, for there was too much water and too little air in the shafts; and when they resumed, the miners used to spend a month pumping out water and making repairs. The mines gave work to from two hundred to five hundred coolies.

Such was the Fushun collieries not more than a quarter of a century ago. And yet, there are in the Fushun field alone 800,-

000,000 tons of workable and profitably minable coal. In all Japan we have only 1,738,000,000 tons. Thus one coal mine in China has nearly one-half the coal wealth of the entire Empire of Japan.

In Chinese hands, the Fushun collieries produced a few thousand tons a month. Under Japanese administration the production for the entire year 1914 amounted to 2,500,000 tons. The South Manchurian Railway Company, which operates the mines, is the largest employer of Chinese labor in Manchuria. The Fushun Collieries alone give work to 15,000 coolies all the year through. Every ton of coal produced with Chinese labor means putting into the pockets of the Chinese a certain amount of money, however small; it means the increase of the purchasing power of the Chinese.

Hundreds of thousands of Shantung coolies cross over from Chifu into Manchuria every year to work in the fields and mines. Each gets about fifteen cents a day. They spend about one cent each for lodging, four cents for meals, and three cents for the barber,—the one great luxury of the Chinese. They save the balance, seven cents every day. With all that, the Chinese are not stingy. They are painfully economical with their funds, to a point that would insure them a measure of worldly independence. After that, for the bodily comforts of themselves and their folks, for the good of business enterprises, they are ever ready to spend their money.

I have instanced the Fushun Collieries. There are other important coal fields already being worked. The Kailan Mining Administration in Kaiping and Lanchau districts, Chihli Province, was working 12 shafts in 1914 with 13,700 men; German-operated mines in Shantung (now in the Japanese hands); Jamieson Collieries in Chinchua-chen, Honan; Pao Chin Collieries in Eastern Shansi; Lin Cheng Mines, connected with Peking-Hankau Railway by an eleven-mile branch at Ya Koing; Pinghsiang Mines in the Province of Kiangsi, and others. Even so, the exploitation of the Chinese coal fields is still in its kindergarten stage.

DEPOSITS OF IRON, COPPER, GOLD, TIN, AND ANTIMONY

The development of China's iron resources is still more backward. At the Tayeh iron mines, the amount of ore heaped up on top of the ground has been estimated at 300,000,000 tons. No one seems to have ventured even to guess the amount of iron

stored up and down the Yangtse; in the Tungkuang Shan district, some 55 miles above Wufu, in the province of Anhui; and along the river valley in Szechuan. Investigation of mineral wealth in the provinces of Shansi and Shensi has advanced only to the point of keeping the mining world open-mouthed and big-eyed with expectation. In Manchuria, a suspicion of the presence of iron became a fact when the Mukden-Antung line went over her eastern hills. Ores found along the line contain about 50 per cent. of iron. At Tiehling, north of Mukden, natives have for years been taking out iron in their primitive fashion. The only reason why Mr. T. T. Read, late Professor of Metallurgy at Peiyang University (upon whose report modern knowledge of the mineral resources of China largely depends), does not see a great future for iron mines in Shantung is because the Germans have not been able to find much of the metal there.

In Yunnan and Kueichau, Le Clerc and other travelers have reported an extensive presence of the metal. The scientific knowledge we have of it, however, is negligible. In Hunan, along the southern border, near Chinchau, the natives are taking out iron ore of good quality. In the province of Fukien, about 70 miles from Amoy, "a large deposit of magnetite" (said to be 10,000,000 tons) is reported. In Kuantung and Kuangsi, active work of mining and smelting is carried on at Heinhuihsien and Yanganhsien.

The copper deposits of Yunnan, Szechuan, Anhui, and Kansu are nobody's secret now. Transportation facilities and adequate capital are all that is needed.

Gold in North Manchuria,—along the Tumen, the Amur, the Sungari, and other rivers,—is much fabled by travelers who have peeped into that territory. At Chau Yuen, Shantung (about 40 miles from Chifu), is the best-known gold mine in China. Gold is found also in Szechuan, at Molo and other places; also along the borders of Kansu and Tibet. Yunnan is reported to have a promising future as a gold producer.

And that is not all. There is silver at Jehol, in the Province of Chihli. Tin in the Mengtse district, in Yunnan, is worked after the leisurely native fashion; yet it furnishes about 5 per cent. of the world's production of the metal. And China, even to-day, stands as the largest producer of antimony, Hunan being the most active field. On the third day of last month, the correspondent of the Associated Press reported from

Hankau that a number of the Chinese compradores had amassed a fortune by cornering the output of antimony. They were foresighted enough to see the tremendous demand for the metal to be used in the manufacture of ammunition. The Province of Hunan is said to be supplying something like 90 per cent. of the antimony used in the manufacture of shells. A certain proportion of antimony is necessary to render the steel shells brittle and therefore much more deadly by making them burst in the greatest possible number of fragments at the time of explosion.

Lead is there in Hunan, Kueichau, Szechuan, Yunnan; zinc in Kueichau, and nickel in the two provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan. It has been found that North Manchuria homes an excellent quality of asbestos.

THE DREAM OF A RAILWAY SYSTEM

Railway construction work is not a smaller field than mining for capitalists. In September, 1912, President Yuan Shih-kai authorized Dr. Sun Yatsen to organize and head a corporation for financing and building trunk-line railways. In a speech before the National Railway Union at Peking, Dr. Sun traced his dream of a railway system upon the map of China. It had a length of about 67,000 miles, and would cost \$3,000,000,000 to build. China has to-day a little over 6000 miles of railways in operation. The United States over 360,000 miles. And yet China is larger than the United States, and has three times as many people. It is difficult to see wherein Dr. Sun's "dream" is as fantastic as some treaty-port newspapers in China seem to think. Just what the expenditure of billions of dollars in so highly productive an enterprise as the building of a transportation system, through millions of square miles of well-settled land, would do to the purchasing power of the people is something too immense for arithmetic.

Beside railway construction work, there are public utilities of other kinds. The upper reaches of the Yangtse River are a series of modest Niagaras for those who would utilize water-power for electric power and lighting plants in the cities of Szechuan. Building street railways is another profitable field for capital. Even at Shanghai, barely seven years ago, there was no such thing as a street-car. To-day, there are three services: one British, another French, and the third built, financed, and operated by Chinese.

These mining, railway, and public-utility enterprises would give work to millions of coolies. The Chinese are always willing to

work. All that they need to prosper is a fair amount of protection for property and person.

WHY CHINA CANNOT DEVELOP HER OWN RESOURCES

But, if the resources are there, waiting and ready for development, why does not someone open the treasure-trove? Why are not the Chinese themselves doing it?

For two reasons: First, and chiefly, lack of capital; second, the Chinese know, through long and painful experience, something about their government officials. Graft in China is more than an art; it is a science. That is the reason why Chinese of wealth are willing to buy stocks of a foreign corporation doing a profitable business in China; but never, or at least very rarely, those of a purely Chinese company. This explains why the Chinese Government can raise foreign loans so easily (in fact foreign countries are pressing loans on China which she does not want, most of the time), and yet finds it difficult to float a domestic loan.

In short, the Chinese themselves have not the money to develop their immense resources, and they do not enjoy sufficient security of property to encourage them in a large industrial undertaking.

JAPAN IS ABLE TO SUPPLY LEADERS

If not China herself, then why not Japan? Japan, like China, lacks one thing needful—capital. She has almost every other qualification. She has well-trained engineers to undertake the work of mining and of building and operating railways, electric trams, lighting and power plants, and other public utilities. But of money she has little to spare.

AMERICA CAN WELL FURNISH CAPITAL

The United States, on the other hand, has plenty of capital. Every day that passes is keeping idle gold in her treasury. The great European war seems to have shifted the financial center of the world from London to New York. Why does not America, then, play the fairy and wake the sleeping treasures of ancient China with the touch of her magic golden wand? She certainly can do it, if she so desires.

There are, however, some considerations of ways and means in connection with her activities in China. The South American republics are opening up at a great pace; their

is insistent. After supplying Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, has America engineers and administrators,—trained, bright, and young,—who are ready and willing to invade the heart of China?

Then, there is the question of climate and other life-and-health conditions which enter vitally into an American invasion of industrial China. Still another thing: Young Americans who are at home with the Chinese in their thoughts, literature, and mode of life are about as rare as stars at noonday. Infinitely more vital than all these is the question of affording to industrial plants and undertakings a prompt protection in the hour of need. The government of China, it has been already said, is far from affording ample protection to life and property. It is not feasible to undertake industrial development in China unless you have a button handy, and unless that button will respond to your finger pressure with a force ready and sufficient to put things to rights.

Japan is in a much better position, geographically and in a military sense, to answer such a button than the United States.

A SOLUTION OF THE FAR-EASTERN TANGLE

Why should not the United States let Japanese energy and engineers and workmen work with American capital in the development of China's resources?

The Japanese are willing and eager to earn dividends for American capital, if America is willing to give just rewards for their labor. China would welcome American capital, for she knows that there is no string of territorial consideration tied to it. Chinese coolies would be delighted to find work in mines and factories. The hardest kind of work has no terror for them. It is empty stomachs, and the appalling and ever-growing number of them, that they fear.

And America,—why should she object to handsome dividends on her investment, to the increase of China's purchasing power, to the expansion of American trade with the Far East, to a better understanding between her and Japan?

Besides, this answer to the Far Eastern question solves also the California problem. Let American capital and Japanese energy develop northern Manchuria and Yunnan, and you will see with what an indecent lack of manners "the polite race on earth" would turn their backs on the smiling foothills of California and the thirsty cities of Arizona.

ECONOMIC UNPREPAREDNESS

AMERICA'S LOSSES THROUGH WASTE AND MISMANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS

(Professor of History and Political Science in the University of Arkansas)

[Professor Thomas is one of the outspoken thinkers of the Southwest, who has the full courage of his opinions. It is not necessary to endorse his proposal to absorb dividends by taxation, in order to do justice to the sincerity with which he points to the great public losses accruing from our national wastefulness and our former sacrifice of public assets. There is dire need for public economy and a wise conserving of social values.—THE EDITOR.]

WHILE President Wilson devoted the greater part of his address to Congress to military preparedness, some who heard it tell us that he appeared to be most interested in economic preparedness. Our real strength must come, said he, from "the organization and freedom and vitality of our economic life. The domestic questions which engaged the attention of the last Congress are more vital to the nation in its time of test than at any other time." While he appears to mention this as an adjunct of military preparedness, it fits in with the problems of peace, for war is not the only "test" that modern nations have to face. As a part of this policy of economic preparedness he insists that "At the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently."

Most people would claim for our economic life a good deal of vitality, though many would hesitate to say that it has enough for times of great stress. Many would also say that it is neither organized nor free. If it were thoroughly organized and

vital, most of the present waste would be stopped. Below is a table of estimates of losses due to lack of organization and efficiency. Some are but rough guesses, but others are the estimates of careful students.

These figures are based on notes taken irregularly from my readings for the past few months. Only a few subjects have been mentioned—a good many similar items were not noted—yet they foot up nearly enough to pay the running expenses of our extravagant national government for a year. One writer estimates that rats consume enough grain to feed one hen for every man, woman, and child in the nation.

As for conservation, most of our resources are already in private hands. While some are being held back, the most of them are being used promptly. Lack of intelligence in their use is indicated by some of the figures on losses:

By forest fires.....	\$50,000,000
Extraction and treatment of minerals.	300,000,000
Floods	288,000,000
<hr/>	
Total	\$888,000,000

WASTE FROM INEFFICIENCY AND UNPREPAREDNESS

Losses due to tuberculosis.....	\$330,000,000
“ “ “ typhoid fever.....	50,000,000
“ “ “ hospital mismanagement.....	50,000,000
“ “ “ smoke nuisance.....	100,000,000
“ “ “ cattle tick.....	50,000,000
“ “ “ rats	360,000,000
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Total	\$940,000,000

PROFITS TO INDIVIDUALS

These figures are strong proof of the lack of intelligence. But there are other figures which indicate that the owners have been intelligent enough and selfish enough to pile up enormous profits.

DIVIDENDS DECLARED IN JULY, 1915

By 45 gold and silver mining companies	\$11,551,133, or	130%
By 22 copper companies....	15,673,607	
By one zinc company (The New Jersey):		
Regular dividend	2,000,000, or	20%
Stock dividend	25,000,000, or	250%
Surplus carried forward..	25,000,000, or	250%
By one coal company (The Lackawanna):		
Dividend	3,460,117, or	52½%
Surplus of profits.....	2,513,478, or	40%
Old surplus	1,025,000	

Since organization the forty-five gold and silver companies have paid out \$211,587,610 in dividends, the twenty-two copper companies, \$443,615,821. One of these copper companies, the Calumet and Hecla, has paid out \$125,250,000, which the *New York Times* says is 5500 per cent. The New Jersey Zinc Company paid the figures given above after having paid out \$5,000,000 a year for the past three years, all on the modest capital of \$10,000,000.

The foregoing are only a few definite figures taken from the financial columns of the *New York Times*. I should like to give figures relating to oil and gas and iron, but have noted no recent reports. The public well remembers the large dividends in Standard Oil immediately after the decree of dissolution, especially that of the Standard Oil of Indiana, which paid out \$29,000,000, exactly the amount of the fine imposed by Judge Landis and set aside by the Supreme Court as excessive. A November news item stated that the stock of this company had advanced \$15,750,000 within the past year, while that of thirty-six oil companies had advanced \$148,137,017. Some individual shares are quoted at \$1600.

All the while the price of gasoline and oil has been steadily advancing. After giving a long list of such advances the reporter naively adds: "The results of increased prices and greater production this fall has already found reflection in the dividend payment of several companies," and he names two that have paid extra one of \$1.00 for the quarter and one of \$4.75.

The iron and steel business has been "look-

ing up," but I have no recent statistics about dividends. Up in Minnesota the people sold most of their mines to private owners, but they finally waked up and decided to keep the rest. In one year they collected \$325,000 in royalties on the ore mined under lease. Yet this represents only one-thirtieth of the ore mined in the State. If the State now owned all its mines and operated them under lease, it would receive \$10,000,000 a year. In other words, the power of taxation has been surrendered to the owners of the mines, just as elsewhere it has been surrendered to the owners of the oil wells.

Lumber is one resource that is not being used very promptly because the fortunate owners know that it will be worth a great deal more in a few years and they are demanding the rest which still belongs to the public. A few years ago the Bureau of Corporations reported that 12,000,000 acres had been sold for \$30,000,000, though at the time of sale it was worth \$240,000,000, an outright gift of \$210,000,000 plus the power of taxation through enhanced prices.

Where do the people come in? They may be divided into two classes, the producers and consumers. Strikes are a chronic condition, especially in the copper and coal mines. Think of the conditions in Michigan and of that Calumet and Hecla dividend. The people are paying the cost. Some years ago, after a long and bitter strike in Pennsylvania, the wages of the coal miners were advanced 9 cents, the price of coal 25 cents. When the tax of 1 cent a gallon is put on gasoline the price probably will go up 5 cents. That is, the people will pay the oil companies 4 cents to collect from them 1 cent for the government. The same thing may be expected in the iron and steel industries.

In view of these facts is it unreasonable to ask that the question of a continental army shall divide time with that of economic preparedness? And to suggest that no more of our resources be turned over to unguarded private ownership?

In the matter of taxation it is not the purpose of this article to offer a complete federal budget, but only to make a few suggestions. The proposed tax on gasoline and steel will produce some revenue, but at a fearful cost. For social and economic preparedness a tax on dividends, with a very heavy tax, at least 75 per cent, on stock dividends, will be far more effective. To this should be added a tax on gifts and inheritances.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

AMERICAN business conditions and military and naval preparedness are two prominent topics treated in our "Leading Articles" this month. There are also interesting excerpts from the comment on the war in foreign periodicals, notably the article by the editor of *La Revue* (Paris) in criticism of English leadership (page 220); an Austrian discussion of a method of finding employment for men made cripples by the war (page 226); an account of the important activities of the so-called "economic general staff" in Germany (page 228), and an Italian discussion of the Armenian situation (page 230). The effect of the war on the world's Protestant missions is summarized on page 232 and geographical aspects of the conflict are represented by articles on the Balkan railway lines and the course of the Danube River from the Black Forest to the Black Sea.

Among the January magazines, the *North American Review* signalizes the return to this country of its editor, Colonel George Harvey, with an extended editorial note on the situation in England to-day, especially with reference to relations with the United States, and English views of President Wilson. Colonel Harvey's conclusion from his observations while abroad is that on the whole the prospects for the Allies at the opening of the year are good, at least as far as pecuniary endurance is concerned.

Other articles in this number of the *North American*, in addition to the contribution of Admiral Fiske, from which we quote on page 224, are: "Seamanship and the Merchant Marine," by Lincoln Colcord; "The Chicago and Alton Case," by George Kennan; "The Colombian Treaty," by "Latin-American"; "Constitutional Change without Revision," by Joseph H. Choate, Jr.; "The Open Forum Movement," by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant; and "Suffrage and Prohibition," by L. Ames Brown.

One of the principal articles in the *Forum* is Mr. Hereward Carrington's study in the psychology of the soldier, portions of which are summarized on page 234. Other articles in the January number are: "Art, Promise, and Failure," by Willard Huntington Wright; "Understanding Germany," by Max Eastman; and "Herbert Spencer's 'The Great Political Superstition,'" by President Nicholas Murray Butler.

On page 241 we quote from the article entitled, "Lo, the Poor Immigrant!" in the January *Atlantic*, by Frances A. Kellor. In the same number there is a contribution by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on the subject of "Labor and Capital—Partners." General H. M. Chittenden writes on "Manifest Destiny in America," and John Koren on "Social Aspects of Drink," with special attention to the prohibition argument; an appreciation of the late Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, of Saranac Lake, is contributed by Stephen Chalmers, and there are three war articles: "Germany and Cotton," by W. J. Ashley; "The Balkans and Diplomacy," by J. W. Headlam; and "Can Sea Power Decide the War?" by Roland G. Usher.

Colonel Roosevelt's article in the January *Metropolitan* is entitled "America First.—a Phrase or a Fact?" and is a sweeping arraignment of the administration at Washington for its foreign policy.

In the *Yale Review* for the current quarter the arguments against preparedness are ably presented by Anson Phelps Stokes. We are quoting on page 223 from former Secretary George von L. Meyer's article in the same number on "Our Navy In the Event of War." Other contributions to this issue of the *Yale Review* are: "The War and the British Realms," by A. F. Pollard; "The American Democratic Ideal," by Brooks Adams; and "Invading Alsace," by a French officer.

The usual wealth of anonymous material of distinctive literary quality and a piquancy that is frequently lacking in our "heavier" reviews appears in the current quarterly issue of the *Unpopular Review*. One of these excellent articles, that giving the "Rear-Rank Reflections" of a Plattsburg "Rookie," is summarized for the benefit of our readers on page 225. "Efficient Democracy" is another interesting discussion.

RETAIL BUSINESS CONDITIONS

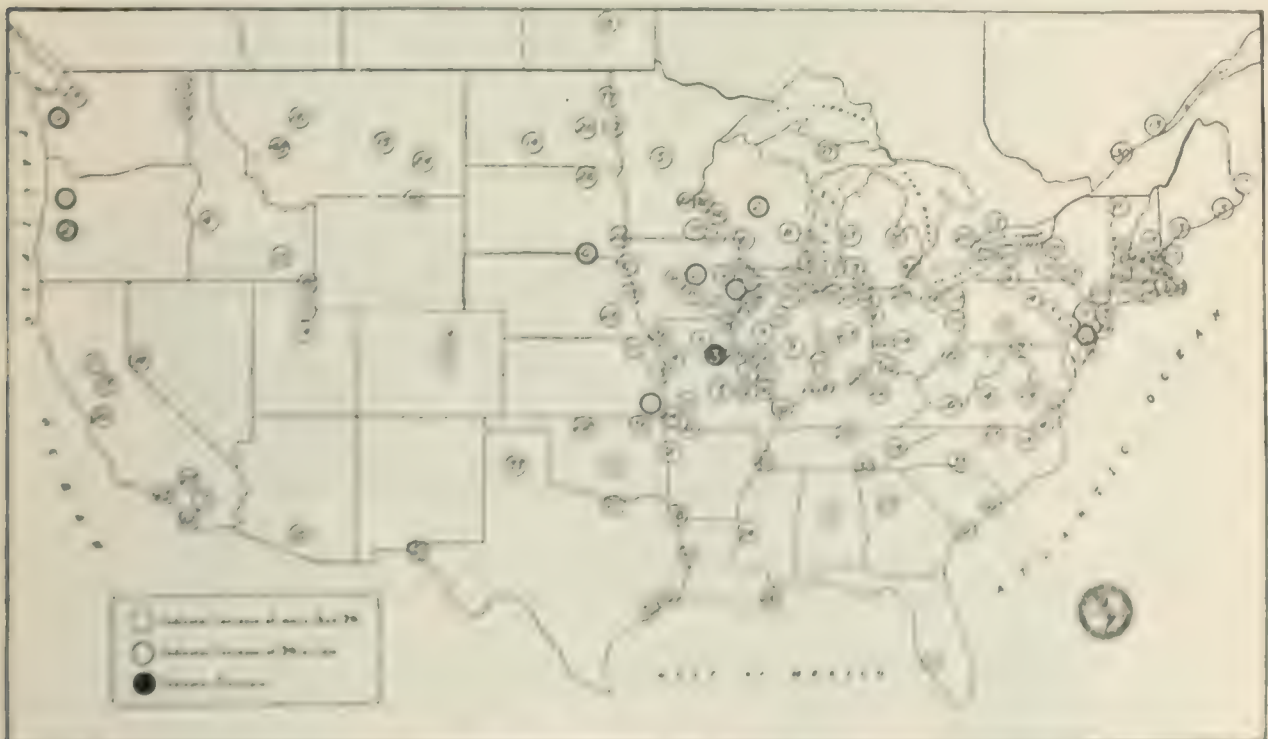
NOTHING is more common than broad generalizations regarding the current business situation. Yet the average business man who attempts to gather for himself the data from which to make a study of conditions in the retail trade of this country finds himself seriously handicapped by lack of attested facts. The Associated Advertising Clubs, under the leadership of Mr. Mac Martin, of Minneapolis, have been for many weeks engaged in securing statistics of sales, stocks and collections in the six lines of retail trade throughout the country that are regarded as having closest contact with the consuming public, viz., department stores, grocery, drug, hardware, jewelry, and clothing stores. The dealers who have reported these facts to Mr. Martin have also given in definite percentages the increase or decrease in the amounts they are spending for their own advertising. The final report appears in the January number of *Associated Advertising* (Indianapolis).

One year ago the Advertising Clubs conducted a like investigation, and while it was then commonly believed that business was at a low ebb and had been greatly reduced within the preceding year, the inquiry showed that the sales of the typical retailer had decreased on the average throughout the United States only 2.3 per cent., that is, that the

average consumer had curtailed his purchases only to that extent. At the beginning of 1916, it is generally believed that there has been a very great increase in consumption within the past year. Mr. Martin's report, covering the index month of November, 1915, shows that American retail sales increased 15.93 per cent. over the sales for the same month in 1914; that retailers increased their advertising 2.5 per cent.; that collections were 5.6 per cent. above normal; and that retailers increased the stocks they were carrying 4.81 per cent.

Mr. Martin's committee took into account the fact that the population of the country is increasing at the rate of 2 per cent. a year, but considered that at the same time retail establishments are increasing more rapidly than are consumers. It therefore regards the indicated increase of 15.93 per cent. as conservative. Only one city among those canvassed showed an actual decrease in 1915 as compared with 1914, and only nine cities showed as little as 2 per cent. increase. The average consumer increased his purchases in the different sections of the United States, as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year, as follows:

New England States.....	16.58
Middle Atlantic States.....	13.66
South Atlantic States.....	18.44



THE MAP, PREPARED FROM DATA GATHERED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS SHOWS THAT OUT OF ONE COMMUNITY OF ALL THOSE REPORTED BY THE INVESTIGATIVE SPECIALIST AT ALL TIMES IN RETAIL SALES FOR 1915 AS COMPARED WITH 1914

(The light circles indicate increases of more than 5 per cent.; the dark circles, 10 per cent. and over.)

East-South Central States.....	23.41
East-North Central States.....	15.12
West-North Central States.....	14.43
West-South Central States.....	24.08
Mountain States	15.45
Pacific States	11.23

The investigation showed that the increases in retail sales were made without corresponding increases in the stocks carried by retailers. The retailer seems to have learned that he can do a larger business with a smaller stock investment than he thought practical before the war. Better profits have resulted.

The question may occur to some readers, Why were these particular lines of retail trade selected for the investigation? The purpose of the committee was to gain an index which might be applied to any class of merchandise. While the committee fully realized that there are certain goods handled by grocers which may be considered luxuries the grocer for the most part deals in absolute necessities, and as his sales increase or decrease, so the sales of any other necessity may be expected to increase or decrease. On the

other hand, while there may be some articles sold by the jeweler that may be classed among the necessities, his sales for the most part are of articles that a purchaser is not inclined to buy when practicing strict economy. As go the sales of the jeweler, so would go the sales of the automobile agent, the high-class tailor, the florist and the confectioner. The druggist and the clothier deal in a great many articles which people can do without when they economize and which they are prone to purchase when they are spending freely. In the statistics gathered by the committee, the increase in consumer demand shown for articles distributed by the clothier and the druggist comes very near the average for all.

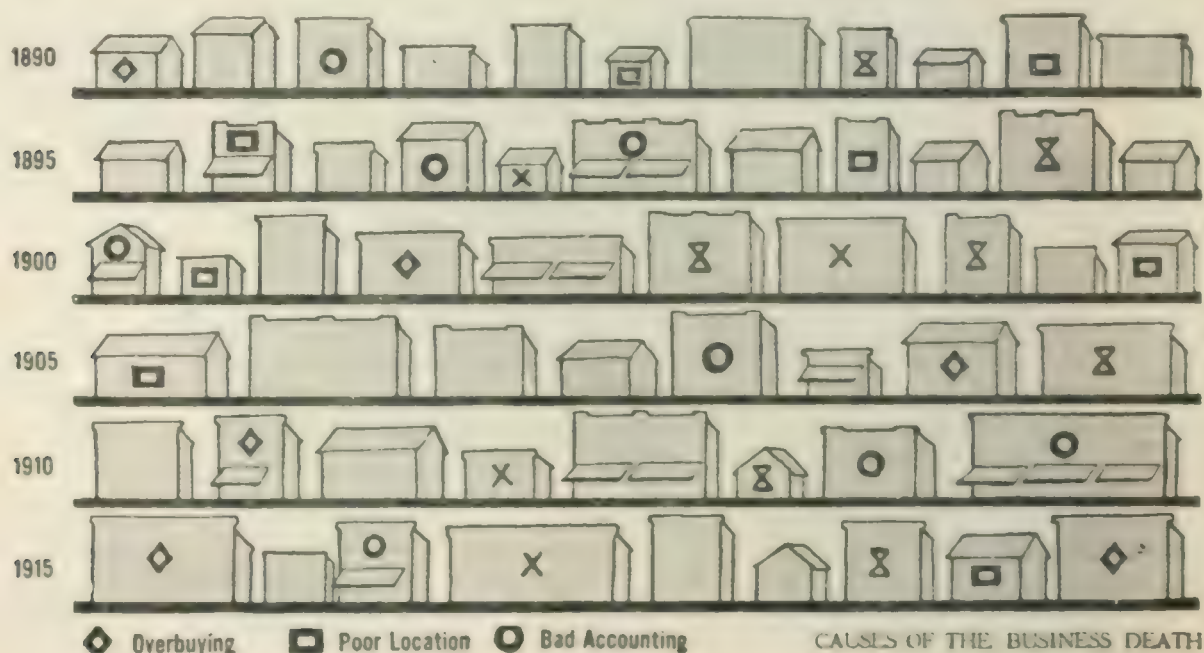
The hardware dealer is in a class by himself. His wares, while necessities, are often closely related to building operations. It is, therefore, only natural that in 1914 it was found that the sales of the hardware merchant had decreased 5.2 per cent. In 1915, on the other hand, the hardware dealer showed next to the greatest increase of sales, —18.3 per cent.

THE BUSINESS DEATH RATE

THE average length of life of business concerns in this country is a subject of which comparatively little has been written. The experience of Waterloo, Iowa, a fairly typical Middle-Western city of lesser rank as to population is graphically described by Mr. Stanley A. Dennis in the January number of *System* (Chicago). There seem to have been several good reasons for choosing Waterloo for this particular investigation. It is

a prosperous city, neither very large nor very small, as Middle-Western towns go. The population of the place in 1886 was 6000; to-day it is about 34,000.

The inquiry made by Mr. Dennis covered manufacturing establishments and wholesale houses, as well as retail. For our present purposes, however, we shall limit ourselves to the consideration of facts about retail business in Waterloo, as a city of that size would



not naturally be selected as a typical field for study of industrial conditions or business on a large scale. During the thirty-year period covered by the investigation Waterloo has grown steadily and may undoubtedly be regarded as an average American city in the matter of business mortality. Yet it is brought out in the article that, of the nineteen retail grocery stores that were doing business there thirty years ago, not one exists to-day. Not all of these stores failed, however; some changes were due to removal, and others to combination and various natural developments. Mr. Dennis sought to secure data from which to answer the following questions:

- (1) What is the annual death rate among enterprises in business centers?
- (2) What is the average life of a business?
- (3) Does it in any way correspond with the period of business activity which the average man enjoys?
- (4) What cities and sections reflect the highest and lowest business death rates?
- (5) In what lines of business are the death rates lowest and highest?
- (6) Are business death rates increasing or decreasing? Is increased knowledge and efficiency balancing the pressure due to increased competition and rising costs?
- (7) What is the average cost of failure in business and how is it distributed over employees, consumers, and other enterprises?
- (8) What business ills cause the greatest mortality, and what have permanently successful concerns done to make themselves immune from these troubles?

These ten leading lines of retail trade were picked as representative: Boots and Shoes, Cigars, Clothing, Drugs, Dry Goods, Furniture, Groceries, Hardware, Jewelry, and Meats. In seven of these ten lines, more than 40 per cent. of the total number of

stores went out of business within five years from 1886, 45 per cent. of the 511 concerns that were in business in the ten lines at one time or another, between 1886 and 1916, failed within five years from the time they opened their doors. The detailed figures in the order of apparent hazard are as follows:

	Per Cent.
Dry-goods merchants in business 5 years or less	17-68
Jewelers in business 5 years or less.....	13-50
Shoe dealers in business 5 years or less....	23-49
Hardware dealers in business 5 years or less	10-48
Meat dealers in business 5 years or less....	36-48
Grocers in business 5 years or less.....	76-45
Druggists in business 5 years or less.....	17-43
Cigar dealers in business 5 years or less...	18-39
Furniture dealers in business 5 years or less	8-38
Clothiers in business 5 years or less.....	14-35

Neglect to handle collections firmly is assigned as the chief cause for the failure of a large majority of the retail grocery stores that went out of business during the first five years of the thirty-year period. The next most important cause was failure to charge incoming and outgoing goods properly, while the third was failure to establish a good system of store management. There were other causes, of course: lack of capital, extravagance, speculation, and fraud.

In the case of the dry-goods stores the chief cause of failure was over-buying, or, in other words, failure to determine what the trade required. More than 50 per cent. of the dry-goods stores that failed went under on this account. About 30 per cent. of the dry-goods failures were assigned to unwise credits. When Waterloo had 6000 people there were nine retail dry-goods stores. Now, with a population of 34,000, there are four.



RATE IN A TYPICAL AMERICAN CITY

X Poor Collection Methods

X Lack of Capital

A FRENCH CRITICISM OF ENGLISH LEADERSHIP

UNDER the title, "John Bull, Wake Up!" Jean Finot, editor of *La Revue* (Paris), contributes to the January issue of that periodical a searching criticism of the course pursued by the British Government in the war. For the British people he has only words of praise. What they need, in his view, are more resolute, vigorous leaders in the present crisis.

The article in its published form is remarkable for the great number of censor's excisions. In a postscript M. Finot says:

Frightfully mutilated by the "diplomatic censorship," our study appears in an unwonted form. . . . We bow religiously, however, before the regulations touching our foreign affairs. May the sacrifices that we make prove of some value to the diplomacy of the Allies in general, and that of Quai d'Orsay in particular.

Irritating though it is to miss so many crucial words from the text, there is enough of interest in the article, despite its truncated form, to furnish absorbing reading. We reproduce below several of M. Finot's chief contentions; much, of course, had to be omitted owing to the censored passages.

Lulled into security, the writer begins, by her material prosperity, England seemed to have really sunk into decadence. Her own writers pointed out the fissures through which a slow, inevitable death was creeping over the most envied nation on earth. Disquieting warnings were addressed to the people from all quarters of the globe. They were exhorted, in particular, against the Germanization which was transforming Great Britain into a mere German colony. One day the valiant British line deigns to yield. Abandoning its "splendid isolation," it united with France, and later with Russia, in an *entente cordiale*.

Thus England saved her position as a great nation, whose destiny promises to be more brilliant than ever.

The present war has demonstrated above all the vitality of the British people. Preeminently opposed to militarism, their modest army of 250,000 has, without interior shock or compulsory service, been raised to 3,000,000. A nation of 45,000,000 souls putting so great a volunteer force on a war footing is an unusual phenomenon in history. Lovers of the English joyfully testify that here is a people endowed with moral and material

powers of the highest value to the mankind of to-morrow.

What, finally, can we say of the inestimable services they have been and are rendering to the Allies, and thereby to humanity?

And yet a feeling of disillusionment overcomes not alone their allies but the English themselves in considering the rôle played by their government since the outbreak of the war. What is the cause of the angry mutterings on the other side of the Channel? And how is it that England, whose diplomacy always astonished the world by its logic and steadfastness, now seems like a weathercock exposed to all the winds of heaven, and particularly to those, of a doubtful nature, blowing from Germany and compromising the sacred interests of our great and noble ally?

One crass fact stands out in the philosophy of this war. It is due to Sir Edward Grey and his hesitating policy. If England had not deferred by five days its declaration that it would intervene in a decisive manner should Belgian neutrality be violated, Germany would have relinquished a conflict in which a formidable and unexpected foe would participate. Sir Edward Grey, through his indecision, allowed events to take their irretrievable course.

This explains the hatred of the Germans against Sir Edward and his people. Baffled, they cried out treason against those who wished to shut them up as in a mouse-trap. England, however, could not act differently. Morally unconscionable, and counting upon English indecision, the Germans were convinced of John Bull's inertia. His entrance on the scene thwarted their calculations all the more that they could no longer quit the game.

The war was inevitable from the point of view of historic necessity. A few more years, and the "Pax Germanica," which was playing havoc with Europe, would have made it the slave of Germany. The latter, continuing to exploit the world in her fashion for fifteen years more, would have seen the finish of France, England, Italy, likewise of Russia, for all would have been virtually conquered by their adversary of to-day. The historian of to-morrow will not forget . . . the tragic days of the end of July and the beginning of August, 1914. He will gather an additional argument in favor of the influence of individuals upon the march of progress. Just imagine a Pitt or a Beaconsfield at the head of the Foreign Office.

And hesitation and uncertainty continue to reign in English diplomacy!

M. Delcasse could with a little will-power have assumed direction of the diplomatic affairs of the Allies. But, tired out . . . and laboring under the illusion that Sir Edward Grey was another Palmerston, he let things go.

And diplomatic blunders without end have been and are, alas! still being perpetrated. The Balkan campaign, in particular, so unfortunately undertaken, is a thing to be regretted.

The writer refers to his former strictures

on the great blunders committed by the Allies in their *pourparlers* with Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria, particularly with regard to the disposition of Constantinople.

Owing to the close relation between Italy and Rumania, it was expected that if the former joined the Allies the latter would follow suit, that Greece, in consequence, would be compelled to take the same side, and Bulgaria remain neutral. The Eastern complications

would thus have been straightened out, the Allies on the road to a decisive victory. All this was frustrated by the inexplicable attitude of the English Foreign Minister.

How many other incidents have occurred equally astounding and incomprehensible!

The Serbians have never since the outbreak of the war been dupes of the criminality of the Bulgarians. At the end of September, having no longer any doubts as to King Ferdinand's designs, they asked authorization of the Allies to attack Bulgaria before the latter's complete mobilization. The decisive word was left to Sir Edward Grey. . . . Ten days later, Germany attacked the bridge over the Danube. Serbia's fate was thus gravely compromised, because she was prevented from attacking the Bulgarians at the propitious moment. . . .

M. Finot cites an English authority, Gibson Bowles, who contends that to save England from ridicule and ruin not a single member of the Foreign Office should remain.

German success in the Balkans, the writer observes, means the end of the English blockade. European and Asiatic Turkey form a reservoir of men and means for the Germans

Cet événement initial du début offrit aux Alliés
Homme du monde accompli, d'une loyauté généralement admise,
il apparaît depuis plusieurs années comme un homme
par les services rendus à son pays.

Il se devait à lui-même, et l'Angleterre le lui devait aussi, un repos honorable et bien mérité. Pourtant,

Et l'hésitation et l'incertitude continuent à régner dans la diplomatie anglaise !

THE FRENCH CENSOR'S TREATMENT OF M. FINOT'S ARTICLE

which threatens a long continuance of the war. Moreover, there is the menace of a Holy War, and an attack upon the Suez Canal may cause grave complications.

A new hope rises on the horizon. Mr. Asquith, conscious of the blunders committed, will essay to avoid them in future. The victory of the Allies, no longer doubted by anyone, despite the spectacular success of the Germans, will be realized, even though at a great cost of men, time, and money.

To create a new world which must emerge from this war, what is needed is the collaboration of the ablest men, but not of those most worn out. France has in that respect given a partial example to her English and Russian allies.

For the rest, in observing the England of to-day we find a phenomenon analogous to that which strikes one in France. The people, taken as a whole, are far superior to those who govern them. In that regard the traditional monarchy resembles the republic.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE WAR

SOUTH AMERICA has in recent years set a wholesome and gratifying example of what arbitration can accomplish in the way of settling international differences. In the overwhelming cataclysm which is convulsing Europe the action of the South American republics shines out like a beacon light of hope. Alfred Theslet discusses, in a recent issue of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Larousse), the attitude of the South Americans towards peace in the conditions, psychological and physical, which differentiate that continent from Europe, and other points.

The whole world was stunned and saddened by the sudden outbreak of the war, remarks the writer, but no people were more disconcerted than the South Americans. For among these young nations of ancient lineage, the Roman law, grafted upon a sturdy stock, had produced marvelous results. Transplanted to that part of the New World, it had attained a surprising development. Judicial decisions had been extended to nations. Judgments by arbitration, theoretical at The Hague, with no concrete examples, were a reality in South America.

Besides settling many thorny litigations of neighbors which occasioned chronic uneasiness, more than one *casus belli* was dissipated by some international Solomon.

How is it that arbitration, first evoked by a sovereign of Europe and Asia, but steadily combated by an opposition of interests and contradicted by facts (the Russo-Japanese War, increase of naval armaments, etc.), how is it that, quitting the realms of Utopia, it could create for itself elsewhere so important and serious a following? Two causes may be assigned for this phenomenon,—the one, inward, natural; the other exterior, objective.

An all-embracing arbitrament could no more proceed from the Peace Palace than order from the French Convention. On the other hand, that Palace was a superior school of law, as the Convention had been a pre-eminent school of civics. Just as South America had profited, in its efforts at emancipation, by the lessons of the Revolution, it aimed to further perfect itself by a great European experiment; the more so, since that civilizing agency was favored by a particular circumstance,—unity of origin, language, manners, spirit.

In truth, a happy political and ethical combination has made that vast continent, which is independent of any other, a domain of nations similar though distinct, among whom human antagonism, so baleful in many portions of the globe, can give place to a useful emulation. Not since the time when a Trajan united Italy, Gaul, Iberia, Africa, the Orient, and Greece in a common desire for advancement, has the world known a harmony, a solidarity comparable to this new Latin miracle.

Arbitration, the highest expression of public law, could not, logically, be established at first blush between the heirs of the Romans and the descendants of barbarians. Nicholas II. cherished that generous illusion. However, it has not been sterile, since, in a soil better prepared the new tree has borne fruit.

Besides community of origin, of language, the mentality of the Spanish Americans aided the elaboration and application of a grand international code as effectively as French solidarity had, under Napoleon I., favored the fusion of customs and the perfecting of the judicial organism. The characteristics of this mentality are humanity and chivalry. Now, though arbitration is in essence judicial, sentiment enters in in a large measure. Each pleader thinks himself in the right; a spirit of magnanimity must

actuate the litigants, therefore, in order to submit their differences to a third party. In war one must conquer the enemy; in arbitration one must conquer one's self.

Such are the subjective factors which explain the success of arbitration in South America on the very eve of events so wholly contrary to that ideal. But, it will be said, such arbitration is only a family affair.

Without dwelling on the fact that litigation among relatives occasionally transcends in acuteness that between strangers, it may be observed that the South Americans, besides ranging themselves from the first Hague Conference on the side of the most pronounced pacifists, resorted to international arbitration before applying it to domestic differences dating from the Spanish rule. The writer cites a number of instances of successful international arbitration, concluding with the intervention of Edward VII., who set definitive limits to the chain of the Andes from the Strait of Magellan to the Bolivian mountains.

This peace without war, whose moral significance transcended its material consequences, had its fitting corollaries. In the first place, a limitation of armament henceforth useless, and a concentration of aims with a view to common action. Delivered by its own wisdom from intestine danger, South America could turn towards a broader horizon. She desisted some dark spots and deemed it advisable to protect herself against a sudden storm. Thus arose the A B C,—a diplomatic formula which unites in a powerful sheaf the moral strength of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and forms an effective counterweight to the extreme interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. And various permanent reciprocal arbitration treaties have been concluded between the greater number of South American states and Spain, France, Italy, etc.

Such a practical extension of arbitration can not be wholly due to psychological causes. What are the objective ones that have favored an institution so little successful in the Old World? There people breathe a subdivided air, so to speak; in South America the various peoples elbow one another, melt into one another. It is an automatic, unconscious process. Thanks to the language,—the most Esperantist,—propitious skies, favorable environment, cosmopolitan cities like Buenos Aires are veritable social crucibles. There for three-quarters of a century people of the most varied nationalities have pursued their vocations peaceably side by side. Transfer this commercial harmony to politics and you have universal peace.

OUR NAVY IN THE EVENT OF WAR

IN his Manhattan Club speech in New York, last November, President Wilson declared that never in our history was the navy stronger and better prepared than at the present moment, and that all we have to do is to increase the pace and carry on the policies that have been pursued in the past. Taking issue with this roseate view of our naval preparedness, Mr. George von L. Meyer, who was Secretary of the Navy under President Taft, points out in the *Yale Review* what he regards as serious defects in the equipment and personnel of our present naval organization.

In order that his readers may not infer that his judgment in these matters is a mere matter of individual opinion, Mr. Meyer reminds us that in the hearings before Congress less than a year ago, one of our officers testified that it would take five years to develop the organization of the navy department and the fleet to a high state of efficiency. Another officer high in authority, after calling attention to the remarkable work of the German army's general staff, announced that Congress has thus far failed to provide a general staff in our navy. "We have no tested war plans, no tested organization for war, no tested mobilization scheme; and, as to gunnery, our competitors have accomplished feats greater than any that we have ever attempted."

Mr. Meyer lays special emphasis on the shortage of men,—a condition that goes on from year to year without any serious attempt at remedy. It is well understood that, at the present time, a ship that has its full complement of men is a rare exception, and it is estimated that to provide the necessary crews for all the ships in the navy that would be useful in time of war would require twenty thousand additional men. Meanwhile, it is becoming more difficult, with the increased size of our ships, to provide them with sufficient crews when completed. The torpedo destroyers of the Atlantic fleet are twenty-five per cent. short of their proper war complements. About a dozen destroyers are in reserve with half complements. About a dozen more are to be placed in reserve immediately, and only about twenty will be left in active service.

What could our navy do by way of protection of our coast against a foreign invader? A report of a German general, published before the war, showed the possibility of Germany transporting to the United States and landing four army corps, convoyed

by its fleet. It would seem that such a force might without difficulty secure a base extending twenty-four miles inland, and with the aid of the railroads to move men and siege-guns; this force would be able to threaten New York City with destruction and compel the payment of billions of dollars as ransom to the German invaders.

In Mr. Meyer's opinion, we can at the present time place no reliance on the submarine fleet to protect our coast. The German submarines, sailing four days in order to reach the Irish coast, have been able to patrol for thirteen days before returning to their base, requiring only ten days out of thirty for overhaul. Our best submarines, those of the K class, traversing the same distance as the German submarine, could stay but one day on patrol duty and be able to get back to their base for a ten-day overhaul.

Mr. Meyer's most serious criticisms of our naval administration are embodied in the following paragraphs from his article:

Are we to continue the policies which have resulted in a submarine flotilla that, according to the evidence of one of our most enlightened officers, had only a few submarines prepared for sea service when required for the maneuvers with the fleet last May and October, and only one fit and prepared for sea service this autumn?

Are we to go on falling far behind the other countries in the development of aeroplanes and hydroplanes, which have played such an important part in locating the armies of the enemy, the movements of ships, the position of hidden batteries, and have been instrumental in driving off the enemies' airships? The arming of airships has taken great strides, and yet we have no equipment in that direction worthy of mention.

Are we to continue the unfortunate and disastrous policy which has been going on for the past forty years of allowing a Senator or Congressman to establish or build up, in his district, naval stations not required by the navy, without military or strategic value, and with the additional disadvantage of being badly located for the supply of labor? Vast sums have been expended uselessly in this way. Many of the stations that have been built do not meet the requirements of a modern fleet, namely, extensive anchorage and depth of water needed by the super-dreadnought.

The great naval powers have seen the necessity of concentrating fleets in two or three stations, and that it is not advisable or advantageous to have a great naval base in a commercial harbor. Realizing this, England, at an expense of over \$20,000,000, has established a great naval base at Rosyth. Five years ago, a naval board of experts recognized the importance and great value of Narragansett Bay as a naval base, with its vast anchorage, natural depth of water, and two entrances of easy defense. Captains of industry have appreciated that it is

cheaper to dismantle plants which are unprofitable and to concentrate at advantageous locations.

Finally, what he regards as the fundamental defect of the Navy Department is its lack of a competent military organization, charged with the preparation of the fleets for war and with their conduct in war. As a consequence our navy is being built and administered on a peace basis, and not being efficiently prepared for war service. Our leading naval officers have for years advocated the organization of a general staff, but Congress has always refused to grant it. It should be clearly understood, says Mr. Meyer, that even though Congress were to appropriate for a navy as large and as well built as that of Great Britain, and to supply it with the necessary number of officers and men, it could not be used efficiently against a powerful enemy unless it had in time of peace been supplied with a directing brain, a general staff, to equip it for war, and train it in war duties.

Have We a Naval Policy?

A distinguished officer of our navy, Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, writing in the *North American Review*, declares that every great naval power in the world except our own has worked out for itself a definite policy, having first decided what it ought to do and then how to do it. In the case of the United States, however, there has been no deliberate adoption of a definite naval policy.

Ever since its beginning, in 1775, the United States has excelled both in the material and the personnel of its navy. As Admiral Fiske points out, our ships have always been good, and in many cases have surpassed those of similar kind in other navies. He attributes this fact to the strong common-sense of the American people, their engineering skill, and their inventive genius. He reminds us that the first warship in the world to move under steam was the American ship *Demologos*, sometimes call the *Fulton the First*, constructed in 1813; the first electric torpedoes were American; the first submarine to do effective work in war was American; the first turret ship, the *Monitor*, was American; the first warship to use a screw propeller was the *Princeton*, an American; and the Admiral adds that the naval telescope sight was an American invention, although he modestly refrains from stating that he himself was the inventor. Admiral

Fiske not only has a good opinion of the construction of American ships of to-day, but considers their equipments of the best, and regards the American battleship as the finest and most powerful vessel of her class in the world.

As to personnel, the American seaman has always excelled, and so has the American gunner. No ships, says Admiral Fiske, have ever been better handled than the American ships; no naval battles in history have been conducted with more skill and daring than those of American ships; no exploits in history surpass those of Cushing, Hobson, and Decatur.

In spite of the excellent account that our men and ships have given of themselves, it appears that in the handling of the navy as a whole we have never excelled; though, in Admiral Fiske's opinion, no better individual fleet leaders shine in the pages of all history than Farragut and Dewey. Instead of operating our material and personnel in accordance with carefully laid plans, the matter has been left largely to the inspiration of the commander on the spot. Both material and personnel have suffered from lack of a naval policy, but operation has suffered incomparably more. Since the people do not comprehend the supreme importance of being ready when war breaks out to operate the material and personnel skillfully against an active enemy in accordance with well-prepared strategic plans, they fail to provide the necessary administrative machinery.

Admiral Fiske attributes the success of the British navy in the present war not so much to the individual courage and ability of the officers and men, or even to their skill in handling their ships in squadrons, as to the fact that a definite naval policy has been followed. In other words, "the British nation has had a perfectly clear realization of what it wants the navy to do, and the navy has had a perfectly clear realization of how to do it."

If this country should decide that the navy must be so prepared that, say twenty years hence, it will be able to protect the country against any enemy, there would be for us the distinct advantage of "having ahead of us a definite, difficult thing to do, which will at once take us out of the region of guesswork and force us into logical methods. We shall realize the problem in its entirety; we shall realize that the deepest study of the wisest men must be devoted to it, as it is in all maritime countries except our own."

A PLATTSBURG "ROOKIE" SPEAKS

THE First Training Regiment, which camped and drilled at Plattsburg, N. Y., last summer, had in its ranks not a few scholars and literary men. One of these contributes to the *Unpopular Review* certain "Rear-Rank Reflections" on the general subject of military preparedness which are of special interest at this time in connection with the country-wide discussion of the subject. The first of these reflections relates to organization:

Here we were thirteen hundred eager, unskilled men from civil life, parodying what happens when our country goes to war. A miracle of transformation was wrought upon us. In two days we had ceased to be a mob. In a week we had got by the first appalling fatigue. In a fortnight we had developed out of nothing our own noncommissioned officers. We could be scattered in thin lines through brush and thick-
et, hurled forward or checked by gestures from an invisible officer or by whistle calls, and reassembled without confusion. A still greater achievement had controlled our blinking, office-tired eyes and our shaking wrists. Our captains had commanded us to shoot straight for the honor of our companies, and we had obeyed. The minor mysteries of the shelter tent and sleeping bag had been more easily mastered. We had one and all hardened under our fifty pounds of equipment into rugged health.

More remarkable was our moral change. From a well-meaning miscellaneous lot of bankers, engineers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, magistrates, professors, and men of letters, unaccustomed to taking orders, we had become a most odd psychological unit. We all jumped at the sound of a bugle or a whistle, we hung on the substance and tone of a command, even though it were that of an undergraduate corporal. Three weeks had made an effective if ragged regiment of us. Physically and morally we had successfully taken the first steps towards preparedness for war, and taken those steps right.

This "rookie" had no illusions about the way in which this miracle had been worked. It needed little reflection, he says, to see that the health, order, and spirit of Plattsburg could never be improvised. It depended on long founded experience and intelligence. "Imagine what would befall us, if all the cooks, doctors, officers, and regular privates were suddenly withdrawn and the Business Men's Regiment left to its own devices,

Even in time of peace, the result would be calamitous."

As from the rear rank the "rookie" daily saw the miracle wrought by the regular officers in charge of the camp, his admiration grew for them.

How American they were, yet how novel. They were as far from the slackness of rural America as they were from the restlessness that marks our urban efficiency. They were always quick, but never fussed. What they knew, they knew perfectly. Yet they had one and all begun just as so many slouchy country lads, or snappy city lads. How had they attained such simplicity and dependableness? In many ways; some were fresh from West Point, others wore the service bars of Santiago, Porto Rico, Peking, the Philippines,



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TARGET PRACTISE OF THE "ROOKIES" AT PLATTSBURG

but they were all like brothers of our forthright family. Loyalty to the service, spartan obedience, the habit of quick command had made them out of easy-going men like us rear rankers. Tradition had made them. A hundred years of coping with inadequate resources had sharpened them. Their alertness had in it generations of Indian fighting on the plains. The habit of accepting disregard, of being paid only by the inward satisfaction of service well rendered had simplified them. Wringing success from hopeless tasks, bearing unreasonable burdens, making tolerable bricks without straw, had hardened and composed them. There was a kind of large directness in them, the like of which I had glimpsed in certain French officers in student days. I could not wonder that when a gigantic canal was to be cut, or a fever-stricken island was to be cleansed, the work went to the army. For these company officers of ours moved as an embodied conscience and efficiency.

Summing up from the "rookie's" point of view what had been demonstrated by the business men's training camp at Plattsburg, this writer says:

We had gone through about a quarter of the preliminary training of the Swiss infantryman, under similar conditions. It had been shown that, given superior instruction and the good will of the taught, the usual drudgery of military training may be greatly abridged. Our progress in a month had not by any means made us good soldiers, but it had shown us the way. Doubtless, under similar conditions of instruction, pretty good soldiers could be made, if not in a month, at least in two periods of two months. This was our conviction, and we were glad to have aided, however little, to show how a free country may train its citizenry in arms, without exacting excessive toll of their young years. We had indicated for American use the system inaugurated by the old democracy of Switzerland and the new democracy of Australia. All this was matter of just self-satisfaction.

After all, however, it made for modesty to recall that these men had nearly performed in their month the average lighter

duties of the soldier in time of peace. They could march, camp, shoot, and maneuver a few hours a day. They had had no long forced marches, no prolonged maneuvers. They had been spared the more irksome sentry outpost and police duties. In this "rookie's" opinion, most of the regiment were still far from fit to stand the physical strain of actual warfare. "Here is a whole side of preparation for war, about which there is the wildest misconception. People cannot realize that a stalwart, untrained citizen is no more physically fit to fight than a sturdy, untrained freshman is fit to step into a football match. Quite aside from moral preparation, which takes a much longer time, training involves the education of a special set of muscles. Especially is this true in soldiering."

FINDING WORK FOR MEN CRIPPLED IN WAR

EVEN when the great European holocaust has finally burnt itself out, there will be bitter reminders of its cruelty and folly for scores of years in the shape of the human wreckage left behind. The maimed, the halt, and the blind will remain tragic reminders for one generation and the next. Yet it is encouraging to note the noble efforts already being made in various quarters, notably England, France, Germany, and Austria, to transform this human wreckage into "human salvage."

Surgeons and physicians are daily performing miracles in patching up and piecing out the fragmentary humanity that comes under their care, and when their beneficent work is finished other kind hands are stretched forth to help the victims to regain a normal relation to life by a re-education which shall enable them to become wholly or partially self-sustaining at some trade or profession within the scope of such powers as are left to them.

Particularly notable are the schools for injured men installed at Lyons under the enthusiastic advocacy of that city's patriotic and far-sighted mayor, and the school for the education of the blind wherein an American woman, Miss Winifred Holt, already famous for her benevolent activities in connection with "The Lighthouse" in this city, has devoted her energy and experience to ameliorating the lot of those who have laid

upon the altar of their country the precious sacrifice of their eyesight.

But the healing of the wounded, and their preparation for self-support, must be made effective by a third step, that of finding suitable employment for them when they are ready for it. This branch of social service has been most ably undertaken in Austria, and a valuable account of the method pursued has appeared in an article in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* (Vienna). In this Dr. Rich. Sudek, Deputy Director of the "Official National Employment Bureau for War Invalids" in Vienna tells us that it was found necessary for effective work to organize the activities of the various new and old humanitarian societies and private individuals who became interested in this poignantly appealing subject. He writes:

In the view that it was the business of the state to care for the further welfare of the invalids, the Government began, in the summer of the present year (1915) to unite and centralize the labors of all these units. After a series of conferences to which were invited representatives of the military and civil authorities; and of industry, commerce, trades, and agriculture,—the latter including delegates of every shade of party, from both capital and labor,—the Ministry of the Interior, in conjunction with the Ministry of War and the Ministry of National Defence, created a central bureau in Vienna having the function of placing war invalids in paying positions.

This action took place in July and was

shortly followed by formation of similar bureaus in Prague, Brünn, Troppau, Salzburg, and Linz. The first step was to seek the proffer of open positions suitable for the variously afflicted men. In a few days after the opening of the bureau a most generous response was made, offers of hundreds of positions pouring in. Industry, by which is meant in general the larger manufacturing plants, was first in the field, but agriculture, commerce, and trades did not long lag behind. The experience of the bureau was that comparatively few of the applicants wished to be re-instated in their former occupations, the chief reason for this being that men capable of continuing their former work made direct application for it instead of to the bureau. Even if less capable than previously, their former employers were urged to take them on again by the powerful motives of duty and patriotism. At the time of writing, less than three months after the opening of the bureau, Dr. Duvek estimates that the offers of "jobs" from all over the country came to about 10,000. But as may be imagined the officials found it no easy task to fit the man to the job.

The work of employment bureaus for war invalids differs from that of other employment bureaus chiefly in the proviso that the interests of the employee must take precedence of those of the employer. Of course, the satisfaction of the latter cannot be left entirely out of account, else, in spite of patriotism and the sense of duty toward our heroes, the demand would soon considerably decrease. Both tasks have their own peculiar difficulties. The war invalid desires above all a secure position with right of pension; therefore, at best a government position, or at any rate one in the municipal service. When the National Bureau, however, has such at its disposal, they are few. Among the invalids one seldom hears the desire expressed to return to the former employment; on the contrary, they resolutely refuse it, even when the power of earning is injured but slightly or not at all. Each one considers himself entitled to lasting care.

Dr. Sudek observes that however deserving the individual through perils undertaken and hardships undergone, there are not enough such positions to go around, and this must be gently and patiently explained. Indeed a considerable portion of the bureau's endeavors is devoted to careful study of the crippled soldiers' needs and capacities and personal advice based thereupon. This is facilitated by the filling out of a table of information upon such items as name, rank, education, trade, previous earning ability, nature of wound, amount of pension or cash indemnity received, personal wishes, etc.



Photograph by M-dem Photo Service

TEACHING CRIPPLED FRENCH SOLDIERS DIFFERENT TRADES: INSTRUCTION IN TAILORING

As already stated, most of the applicants desire a place in government or municipal service, and when this is excluded they are apt to be much at sea among the multiplicity of modern trades and crafts. Therefore, they must be guided to choose something suited to the nature and degree of their infirmity.

This must not be done arbitrarily, of course. . . . An effort is made to place the invalid in some sort of work related to his former calling, in which he may make further use of his collected experience and knowledge . . . according to the degree of his intelligence and education. Thus, for an invalid locksmith, for example, there may be places as custodian of materials, clerk or inspector in a warehouse, foreman, etc., according to the degree of his intelligence and nature of his wound. It must be carefully noted, also, if he is able to do much walking, climb stairs, etc. An invalid shoemaker, unable to practice his trade, may be able to work as inspector in leather factories, shoe stores or warehouses, etc. . . . This careful inspection and guidance naturally entails many considerations and much time, so that the directors of such a bureau must not be judged by the percentage of applicants placed.

Special attention is paid to securing permanence, or at least durability of position. Hence many offers must be rejected, where the employer wants the applicant merely to fill a temporary gap. Some men, too, are merely trying to find a cheap source of labor and in offering payment take into consideration the pension already received, so as to cut the wage to the lowest possible figure. Often, likewise, places are offered which are unsuited to invalids in general. In some cases where the bureau is unable to decide on anything suitable recourse is had to technical medical advice furnished by a special commission composed of experienced physicians and social economists. While the applicant is not forced to accept their advice,

he cannot on refusing it claim further aid from the bureau.

Many applicants are without means of subsistence and must be supported until work is found for them, and for this purpose a government fund has been provided. Some of the men have taken advantage of this not only to claim support from the bureau, but to request the prospective employer for an advance, and have then failed to take the offered place, appearing later with various excuses to attempt a repetition of the same maneuver. On this account provision has been made for the support of needy applicants in special barracks connected with the Invalid School until a job is found or until the first pay-day.

Invalids who apply for positions before their health is fully restored are referred to

another commission which places them in a hospital, convalescent home, water-cure (Bad), or similar institution until recovery is complete as possible in a given case. Others who are to be placed in entirely new vocations are given the opportunity to attend the Invalid School or take a technical course in the craft they desire to enter.

The bureau also extends its activities to the higher categories of employment demanding intellectual ability and education. This affords an opportunity for the placing of retired and disabled officers, and the field is said to be extraordinarily rich in technical, executive, and commercial positions. This remarkable and successful undertaking rouses the wish that something of the kind could be undertaken for the victims of our industrial warfare.

THE GERMAN ECONOMIC GENERAL STAFF

THE economic efficiency of Germany under the severe strain of the Allies' blockade of her ports has roused admiration even among those who deplore and denounce her military efficiency. Both, however, are due to the organizing and executive ability of a supreme body known as the General Staff. Much has been written about the military General Staff, but little is known in this country about the economic General Staff. Yet the principles of operation of this body are of deep significance and practical value to Americans, whether for peace or for war.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York.

ONE DAY'S COLLECTION OF COPPER ARTICLES IN A GERMAN SCHOOL

(Owing to the shortage of copper in Germany, school children were requested to bring to school all copper articles owned by their families)

This executive staff was formed by the German Government to take over the consideration and administration of questions of domestic economy, particularly the procuring and distribution of raw materials. It is composed of men prominent in the commercial and industrial life of Germany.

It was organized by the Ministry of War as a "Division of Raw Materials of War" with the special function of making provision for the maintenance of those branches of business affected by the war. It is endowed with extensive powers of seizure and requisition and with authority to appraise such goods according to their market value, as also to fix minimum and maximum prices to the ultimate consumer.

Technik für Alle quotes from the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* an excellent summary of its activities.

The specific problems to whose solution it is devoted are thus specified:

(1) The utmost possible diminution of the consumption of goods customary in times of peace and the indication of substitutes.

(2) The reclaiming of old materials.

(3) The testing and applying of substitutes and the recovery of by-products.

(4) The creation of artificial raw materials by the application of the newest technical and chemical discoveries.

(5) The erection and financial support of new factories and the enlargement of existing plants.

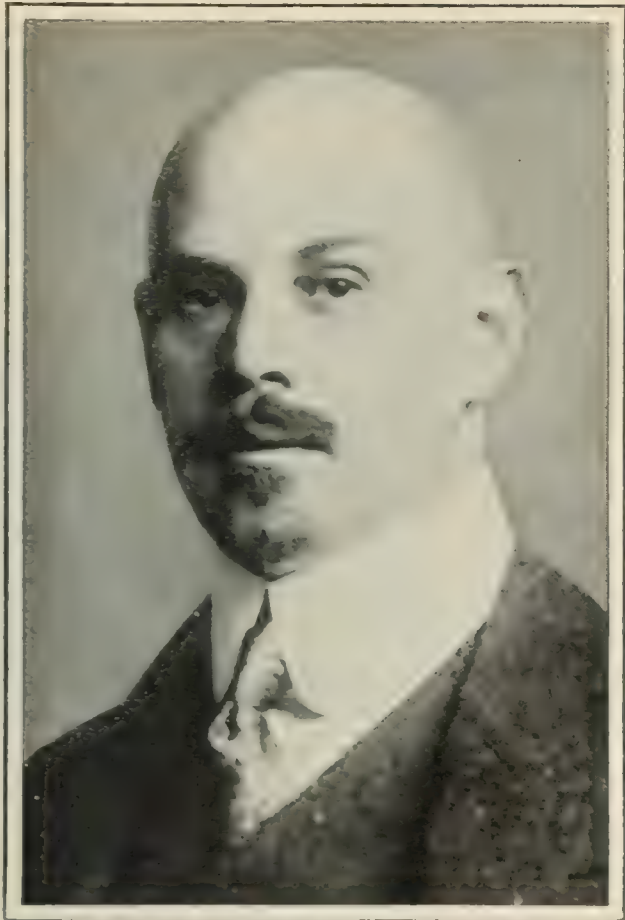
(6) Furtherance of every possibility of import.

(7) The discovery, transport, and distribution of seizable goods in hostile territory occupied by our own forces.

The distribution of raw materials is governed by the stock on hand and the demand in any given industry. The valuation of confiscated or requisitioned property is adjusted to the state of the market. Too low a price is not deemed advisable, because it might discourage such importing as possible. On the other hand, it was necessary to fix a maximum price for many raw materials.

It was also imperative to form organizations to have charge of the transport of confiscated goods from the enemy's country, its storing in suitable places, its valuation and distribution. It is stated that there were weighty practical objections to the immediate taking over by the state of the various raw materials concerned. On this account the subordinate organizations demanded were constituted on the principles of private concerns.

For this purpose the form of the *Aktiengesellschaft* with its Board of Inspection was considered particularly fitted. Profits are not distributed, governmental control is exerted by means



Photograph by Press Illustrating Co.

DR. WALTHER RATHENAU, WHO IS REGARDED AS GERMANY'S SCIENTIFIC CHIEF OF STAFF

(In the organization of German industries at the outbreak of the war, Dr. Rathenau, the head of the General Electric Company, was directed by the Minister of War to take charge of the manufacture of war material. Under his leadership, many substitutes for goods and materials which Germany had imported in times of peace are now produced. His greatest achievement seems to have been the development of the process of making nitric acid from nitrogen and oxygen of the air by electricity.)

of government commissioners having the power of veto. But if an industry is composed of a relatively small number of concerns already united in an organized association, then the place of the *Aktiengesellschaft* is taken by a Bureau of Accounts which is subject to a supervisory committee.

The Raw Material Commissions have charge of all new raw materials within their sphere of action, both domestic stocks and those of occupied hostile territory, they pay the requisition valuations, complete the stocks by imports from neutral countries, distribute the raw materials, and make estimates of cost-price for requisitioned goods, as also of selling price, in which case any accruing profits must be employed for the public benefit on the later dissolution of the company.

Independent of the Raw Material Commissions, but operating as adjuncts, are numerous Appraisal and Distribution Commissions which act as mediators between the parties concerned. It is the function of the Appraisal Commissions to fix the price of confiscated goods with regard to the state of the market in Germany, while the Distribution Commissions distribute to the various factories the raw materials which first go to the Bureau of accounts.



Photograph by Menem Photo Service

ARMENIAN GIRLS RESCUED FROM THE TURKS

THE FATE OF THE ARMENIANS

ONE of the few good results that may be looked for from the War of Nations is the erection of an autonomous, or partly autonomous Armenian state in Asia Minor, although here, as with Poland, there is little likelihood that all the fractions of this unhappy race can ever be united under a single government, for at present the Armenians are divided among three different nations, Russia, Turkey, and Persia, their political lot closely resembling that of the Poles in this respect.

Some aspects of the Armenian situation are presented in an article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), by a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, Signor Filippo Meda. At the outset he notes that but for Disraeli's opposition, the Armenian question might have been settled at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, by constituting an Armenian dependency under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey. A petition signed by 200,000 Armenians had been presented, and several of the delegates were inclined to support the project, but Disraeli and his assistant, Salisbury, opposed it inflexibly. The chief cause of this opposition was the fear that the new Armenian state would follow the example of the Balkan states and gravitate toward Russia, and would thus render Turkey more vulnerable in case of a Russian attack in Asia Minor.

The same indifference to the fate of the Armenians, dictated by considerations of political expediency, prevented any attempt to enforce the article of the Berlin Treaty requiring the Turkish Government to reform the local abuses in Armenia, under the general supervision of the powers. As is well known, this article has always remained a dead letter, and not even the impression caused by the terrible happenings of 1895 and 1896 could induce the powers to interfere. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bourgeois, replied to an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies, that in view of "the delicacy of the subject," his answer would have to be given personally and in writing, and in the very midst of the massacres, the Czar sent an autograph letter to the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, accompanied by valuable gifts. To make the balance between the Allies and the Central Powers even, we are reminded that about the same time the German Emperor sent his photograph, with a friendly inscription, to the Sultan.

While this Italian writer is evidently a decided pro-Armenian, the general exactness of his presentment can scarcely be questioned. The recent revival of the Armenian persecutions in the most aggressive form is matter of recent history, and we must feel all the greater satisfaction that at last some apparently effective steps have been taken by a

neutral whose power and influence are due, not to temporal, but to spiritual force. Of this, Signor Meda writes as follows:

The efforts of Monsignor Dolci, the Apostolic Delegate at Constantinople, through whom Benedict XV has transmitted his remonstrances and solicitude to the Sublime Porte, have been crowned with a considerable measure of success. In fact, the Turkish Minister of the Interior was induced, last September, to send a circular to the governors of the Empire, in which it is stated that the object of the measures taken in regard to the Armenians was only to check the rebellious activity of that nationality and its aspirations for the formation of an autonomous state, and not to massacre the Armenians.

In accordance with this, orders were given to suspend their expatriation, to protect those who had already been expatriated, on their way to the new districts assigned to them, and to provide them with the requisites for the establish-

ment of new abodes. All who should attack them on the way, or who should commit any acts of brigandage, were threatened with heavy penalties, and, finally, it was ordained that all failing to conform to these instructions should be denounced.

It appears that the Turkish authorities did not confine themselves to this circular, as information secured from the Apostolic Delegate is said to confirm the report that certain officials were punished, and that in many places the persecution had ceased. The warmest thanks were sent to the Holy See by the Armenian patriarch, with the earnest wish that the Armenian blood that had been shed, both of Roman Catholics and Gregorians, might serve to cement a union between the two churches.

Of course, at best, this is only a step in the right direction, and any real improvement of conditions can only come when the Turks are brought under the control either of the Allies or of the Central Powers, as will inevitably happen, whatever may be the result of the war.

THE WAR AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

IF the question, What has the war done for religion? could be put to the majority of the clergy, or to a majority of the thoughtful men of the Christian world, Mr. Harold Begbie believes that they would all agree in answering, that the war has taught us the true meaning of religion: "Self-sacrifice, devotion and service." And he goes further and predicts, that from these virtues, now once more dominant in the hearts of men, will surely come the passion of religion, the love of beauty and goodness, the yearning desire for immortality, and a "divine curiosity concerning God."

Mr. Dennis Crane has deftly presented Mr. Begbie's views on religion and the war in an article published in the January issue of the *Hamilton Review*. He asserts that the views expressed in that striking novel, "Twice-Born Men," in which Mr. Begbie shows that new birth is a fact of modern experience, give him a right to speak on religious problems with equal authority with the clergy.

"The immediate effect of the war," said Mr. Begbie, "has been the discovery by many thou-

sands of people that self-sacrificing service rendered to humanity is the highest expression of the spirit. They find themselves by losing their selfishness. In all kinds of ways men and women of all classes are working for others, giving up for others, living for the first time lives of real devotion; and they are happy,—supremely happy."



HAROLD BEGBIE

Mr. Begbie does not think that in the end the lessons of the present war will have been in vain. Human nature may not change in essentials, but the smoothing-iron of universal education tends to render us less liable to cataclysms that are the results of inequalities of knowledge. He sees the new state emerging from the war triumphant in spiritual socialism, and far in advance of the present in economic socialism. As for present-day churches, he ventures that they will largely

cease to exist.

"I am inclined to think that the churches as we now know them will cease to exist," he said. "I do not think that any form of ritual known at present will satisfy the future realistic religious feelings of mankind. Humanity is being born again, and the churches also will have to be reborn. Many noble ministers of religion will assist at that rebirth."

"My view is that the churches, which were already complaining of declining congregations, will become less and less attended. There will naturally always be societies of Christians, brought together by identity of taste or circumstance, but the day of formalism, of great national churches with tremendous machinery, is almost over."

It is his opinion that the average clergyman fails to inspire his flock because he has nothing to give them from the storehouse of his own personal experience.

If a man arose like St. Paul, or Francis of Assisi, or Wesley, or William Booth even, who had experienced something different from what the ordinary man experiences but something felt by the ordinary man to be true, great crowds would gather to hear that man and he might inspire wonderful action, wonderful service. But as it is, few men feel any the better for going to church. That explains the Church's failure.

He has a strong feeling that we are on the eve of astonishing discoveries, that there may be signs in heaven, and he writes:

I am sure that science will advance to the spiritual frontier; I hope that those on the other side may advance to meet her.

I am satisfied that men have seen visions in France, and also elsewhere. There is conclusive evidence that the visions of the angels at Mons were not suggested to the minds of those who saw them by the fanciful story of Arthur Machen; my little book, "On the Side of the Angels," demonstrates that. After all, what is it but an exemplification of the Biblical doctrine that the celestial spirits war on the side of those moral purposes they share?

On the whole, Mr. Begbie is very optimistic over the religious outlook. His own faith in God is absolute, and he does not think that Christianity has failed in the war crisis. He says:

It is not fair to say that, in view of this great war, Christianity has failed. Christianity, as Chesterton has said, cannot be blamed for failure, because it has never been tried. Had there been any big body of Christians in the belligerent countries, war would have been impossible. As it is, people express the greatest horror of it, while overlooking the fact that it is not nearly so horrible as our whole commercial system. The horrors that come from sweating and drinking and prostitution are infinitely worse; they not only slay greater numbers, but slay them in a way that is awful to think of. Commercialism is a greater enemy of God and man than war.

WORLD MISSIONS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF WAR

THE main emphasis of the *World Outlook* for January is West China's mighty province of Szechuan, the native home of natural gas, artesian wells, and virile men. Professors E. A. Ross and E. D. Burton strongly pen-picture its interesting people and its pregnant future from personal observation and study. But the most interesting articles have to do with the Union University, supported by English Baptists and Friends and the Methodists of the United States and Canada. Some of the Chino-Occidental architecture of the buildings is most fascinating; and the joint plans for education are appealing enough to the Governor of the Province and to Yüan Shih-k'ai, China's new Emperor, to have elicited personal letters of commendation—here seen in halftones—and checks to aid, the Emperor's being for \$4000.

The Latin-American Congress on Christian Work, to be held at Panama February 10-20, which a wag has called the Congress that will make the Episcopal Church famous, is luminously explained from the Churchman's point of view in the January *Mission-*

ary Review of the World. While holding with the bulk of Episcopal laymen and the clergy of the Broad Church wing to the decision of the Board of Missions, it presents also the position of Doctor Manning and his party. It quotes the memorial of New York's leading rectors who urge the Board to persist in their determination to send representatives to Panama for the reasons that it is "wise, far-sighted, and fraternal, that it is justifiable upon every ground of right and expediency, and that the effect of it cannot fail to be greatly beneficial, not only to the cause of missions, but to the unity of the spirit of the Church of Christ." An article upon the "Charms of Burma" and one upon the loss to German missions because of the war are other contributions of value. Dr. Zwemer's "Future of the Moslems" is another article related to the war.

LOSSES TO ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY

Nowhere else, not even in the *Rundschau* section of the *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, can be found any such annual summary of progress throughout the mission world as

the editors of the *International Review of Missions* supply in their January issues. The one for 1915 covers seventy-two of the 174 pages of the current number. War clouds are characteristic of reports from most of the fields, more especially India and Africa, where both Catholic and Protestant missions, German and French alike, have lost many of their workers, partly through recall to the French colors, or through repatriation or internment of the Germans. Here and in China there has been displayed a most Christian spirit of helpfulness on the part of British and other missions and missionaries. On the whole, Christianity seems to have suffered: "Bitterness has entered into the relations of those engaged in the service of their common Lord. The moral prestige of Christendom has suffered a blow from which it will take long to recover. . . . Hundreds of devoted men and women have seen the work built up by the unselfish labors of a lifetime apparently swept away in the flood. Many more have had their plans upset and the realization of their hopes indefinitely postponed."

PROGRESS AND PROMISE

Yet there are rifts in the clouds, as the *Review* makes plainly evident. Such are the courageous attempts of the American churches to deal with American-Japanese relations by sending a Christian embassy to Japan through its Federation of Churches, the initiation of a comprehensive missionary survey of India looking to its more efficient occupation, the opening of a Christian College for Women in Madras in which twelve American and British societies are coöperating, and the completion of a thorough survey of the present position of Christian literature in the mission field to form the basis of a fresh consideration by the societies of this important missionary agency. Other marks of progress are these: A union evangelistic campaign in far-away northeastern Sum, in which land the Chinese residents are moving toward Christianity; a more cordial attitude of French officials in Madagascar toward Protestant missions, which has been repressive hitherto; more than 100,000 baptized Christians and catechumens ready for baptism under the Church Missionary Society in Uganda, Equatorial Africa's heart; a new church, built by the famous Negro Christian and reformer, Chief Kibuka, out on the fringe of the Kalahari desert, yet with an audience of as dedication of more than 15,000; mass movements to

ward Christianity in India where the American Methodists alone baptized nearly 30,000 in the year 1914-15, while baptism was refused to 40,000 because no provision could be made for their Christian nurture, still less for their 150,000 inquirers; a forward movement all along the China lines, with special emphasis of the entry into the field of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, which is generously coöperating with the medical missionaries; in Korea an addition of 24,000 to the Christian ranks during the year, now totaling 76,825 communicants and 196,000 adherents, the fruitage of thirty years of Protestant effort; and the recognition in Japan of Christian Middle Schools as part of the government educational scheme, with their right to give religious instruction.

THE ARMENIANS

The American Congregationalists have been almost the sole influence in the education of Turkey along modern lines, particularly the Armenians, who are suffering so direly these deadly winter months of deadlier war. The *Missionary Herald* chronicles the steps in the destruction of work laboriously built up for nearly a century. Its January issue quotes Ahmed Riza Bey's "J'Accuse," in an interpellation to the senate: "I accuse the Government of the Armenian massacres and of the persecution of the Christians in general; and even in the event of the Central Powers being victorious—which in my opinion is improbable—they would considerably influence our position as a state and a nation. Ungrateful nations are not the Christians, but we have turned against our 'friends and protectors.'" Though such boldness led to the arrest of the senator, he was shortly released. The Turks are tightening the screws a bit, having an eye to the liberalizing effect of American schools and missionaries; and with each new success of the Central Powers the behavior of officials becomes more arrogant and the position of the missionaries more uncomfortable. Meanwhile they have distributed some \$300,000, and their women workers have accompanied, as far as allowed, Armenian women on their way to hopeless exile. A large percentage of the \$3,000,000 capital invested in mission buildings has been utterly lost. Some of the stations are still intact, and the missionaries are holding bravely to their tasks of teaching, dispensing relief, safeguarding property and proving their Christian friendliness.

THOUGHTS OF A FIGHTING MAN

A NOVEL study in the psychology of the soldier at the front was recently undertaken by Mr. Hereward Carrington. The facts for this investigation, the results of which appear in the *Forum*, were obtained at first hand from soldiers on the field or in the trenches, or from wounded men who had just returned from the front. The soldiers who were questioned for this purpose had fought in the first battles in Belgium, on the Meuse, the Marne, and the Aisne; in the Argonne and Champagne. Practically all of the material seems to have come from the allied troops on the western front. The questions to which Mr. Carrington sought to obtain answers are thus stated by him: "During those long, weary weeks of waiting and watching, in the trenches, what occupies the soldier's mind? What feelings animate him when he attacks,—when he fires, charges, or runs his bayonet into the quivering flesh of an antagonist?"

In his attempt to answer these questions Mr. Carrington traces the gradual transition that takes place in a man's mind during the transformation from a "civilian" to a "soldier," and traces the sudden change from the civilian-consciousness to the soldier-consciousness. He finds that with the marked change in the environment from civil life to military life there comes a distinct psychological change. Everyone the soldier meets thinks as he does about the same subjects in the same way. All are dressed alike and every one's thought runs in the same groove. "There is no longer the clash of opinion, the interchange of rival thoughts. Gradually, imperceptibly, the images and thoughts of ordinary civil life begin to fade; thoughts of home, wife, friends even, begin to grow dim and recede from memory. The present, the vital present, occupies and grips the mind. Intellect gives way to sense impressions. The mind of the civilian has given place to that of the combatant. Henceforth we must study the mind of the soldier as a thing apart,—as separate and distinct from that of any other human being. He both thinks and acts differently from any other man on the face of the earth."

The workings of the soldier's mind are first studied in the rest-camps or so-called cantonments, then in the general trenches, then in the isolated trenches, and finally in the actual attack on the enemy.

It is found that the men at the very front have the greatest confidence. Many of these

men have already resisted the attacks of the enemy and feel that they can do so again. As we approach the rear this feeling of confidence wanes until we reach its antithesis in the "civil zone," where the feeling of personal fearlessness and confidence is almost entirely lacking. This fact, of course, is one of the chief reasons why a prolonged system of military training is needed to fit the soldier for war. The effects of such training are mental and moral, no less than physical and psychological.

From his study of life in the cantonment Mr. Carrington concludes that the mind of the average soldier undergoes a temporary degeneration, due to the fact that it acts in vacancy instead of attaching itself to things; the mind becomes simple and vacuous.

In the trenches the soldier approaches actual warfare, and here Mr. Carrington pauses to inquire about the psychology of fear in the present war:

Men assert that they rarely experience this feeling,—least of all while on the firing-line. Sometimes they will run into extreme danger at night, and at dawn are astonished at having escaped almost certain death. Then, sometimes, a shiver of reminiscent apprehension runs through them! But nearly every soldier feels a sort of inner conviction that *he* will not be killed,—that *he* will escape by some miraculous good fortune. Some, it is true, do not experience this feeling; but it is safe to say that the majority do experience it.

It seems that men at the front think little of war in the abstract, or even of the enemy; they think rather of themselves, when they are not actively engaged in observing the enemy's movements. All the men questioned agree upon these three essential points: (1) That they do not speak of the enemy or think of him except when an alarm is given; (2) or after an attack; or (3) when the patrols return; that is, each time his presence is vividly recalled to consciousness. When the trenches are under fire from the enemy the soldier's mind centers upon one thing,—how to defend the trench and resist the adversary. The men fire to protect themselves as much as to kill.

In the advance positions, the isolated trenches, the men are swayed more readily by one impulse, by a single word or gesture. The example of the commanding officer is here of the supreme importance.

In the direct attack on the enemy all testimony seems to agree that the instinct of self-preservation becomes uppermost. The

soldier's mind is monopolized by this single idea, and he soon comes to feel that he has mastered all danger. As to the true nature of heroism, while Mr. Carrington admits that in some cases it may be conscious valor, he is convinced that in the majority of instances it is almost certainly not so. The man who performs some heroic feat is unaware at the time that he is doing anything extraordinary.

The influence of the *officer* is all-important at the moment of attack. He determines the mental and moral tone of his soldiers. The soldier, for his part, seeks only to perform those acts which seem to him most suited to gain the desired end.

The psychology of the combatant may therefore be summed up as follows:

Life in the trenches tends to make the mind childish, simple, vacuous; the senses are stimulated; the will rendered intense; the thoughts

are centered upon one idea—of dominating the enemy. Aspirations, regrets, ideas, all find their place taken by bodily sensations and activities. The soldier stands ready to execute his orders at the right moment, without reflection. In whatever he does his acts and thoughts become *one*. The most primitive of all our instincts,—the instinct of self-preservation,—that which we share equally with everything that lives,—comes to the fore, and becomes a vital, a dominating position. All the centuries of intervening civilization are swept away in an instant; and we see before us, not the cultured gentleman of yesterday, but a primitive brute-beast, fighting for his existence and his life in precisely the same way that his ancestors fought,—and with no other, higher ideals in mind! That, perhaps, is the most instructive item of all. It shows us at once and graphically the effects upon the mind of war,—and proves to us that it leads, not only to material destruction, and to mental and moral deterioration, but also to the very extinction of the spirit of man itself,—in the almost instant reversion of civilized man to savagery.

MECCA AND INDIAN REVOLTS

THAT the annual pilgrimage of Mohammedans to Mecca will be a most serious matter in 1916 is the opinion of the Dutch East Indian officials, and steps are now being taken to discourage all prospective pilgrims from going to Mecca in the present year. The number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca in 1914-15 amounted to 28,427, and the government of the Dutch Asiatic Islands has always given the pilgrims all the assistance in its power. In November, 1915, however, the Dutch authorities decided to issue a general warning to all their Mohammedan subjects, which is given in full in the *Vragen des Tijds*, reading, in part, as follows:

Conditions in the Hedjas (the coast of Arabia, surrounding Mecca) since the entry of Turkey in the war, have become very unfavorable. The country itself produces not nearly enough food to supply its own inhabitants, and the British have closed the sea to them. Hadjis (Mecca pilgrims) who started on the trip before the warning, and those who had reached Mecca after Turkey's entry into the war, are in great trouble, being unable to continue their trip or to return after having reached their goal. Dutch ships from the East Indies will take no more passengers for Mecca.

The Dutch consider it not improbable that this "infringement" of the religious rights of Mohammedans may have serious consequences throughout the Mohammedan population of Asia.

"At the beginning of the war," declares the Dutch periodical, "Turkey abrogated the so-called 'capitulates',—according to which subjects of other powers could obtain legal assistance and court trials in their own language at their own consul's office. Since last year the Turkish language alone is used and all law cases are brought before a Turkish Kadi (judge). As Mohammedans in the Dutch East Indies do not acknowledge the Sultan of Turkey as their lord and master, this order is nothing but an attempt to further extend 'Pan-Islamism.' But the time for religious wars is past,—nowadays it's only race-hatred and envy which drive men to slaughter each other."

In June of last year Turkey issued an official "irrigation" in which the subjects of the Dutch East Indies were released from their "obligation to fight a holy war," the Turkish Government desiring to remain on friendly terms with Holland. . . . But the declaration of a "Holy War" under the green flag of the prophet was not a religious step,—it was a political step of the Young Turks. Should Germany and its allies come out victorious in this war, all Mohammedans would be filled with a much greater degree of self-reliance and self-respect, so much so that it may become a matter of surpassing interest to our East Indian authorities. But this is a problem which the government will have to solve.

The pilgrimage to Mecca last year and this year is being used to preach "Pan-Islamism." And every returning *Hadj* is a possible emissary of the Young Turks, impressed with their power, their achievements and their defiance of Great Britain. It behooves us to be careful.

THE BALKAN RAILWAY LINES

A RECENT issue of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains an elaborate article by Henri Lorin, giving the history of railroad construction in the Balkan Peninsula. The writer speaks of the great difficulties encountered by the engineers, owing to the conformation of the land; of the economic condition of the various states, and other points of timely interest. We reproduce, in part, the concluding section, much of the preceding portion containing details which would hardly interest the general reader.

The two Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, which remodeled the political map of the peninsula, likewise radically modified the condition of the railway lines of the old

liant stroke in facilitating the substitution of Bulgarian for Austrian interests. The Russians were not the only ones to ignore for a long time that they were only a two-sided German interest.

In 1912, 1913, Turkey's defeats resulted in notable territorial aggrandizement for Serbia and Greece; with the accession of Novibazar and upper Macedonia, Serbia followed Bulgaria's example and took possession, without waiting for peace, of the railway lines in its new domains. This appropriation evidently justified claims on part of the dispossessed; the Serbian Government has never denied it. But the financial conference at Paris, charged with the settlement of those complicated Balkan accounts, had not yet adjusted them when Austria and Germany made Serbia the pretext for a European war. The Oriental Railways will, consequently, form one of the numerous questions to be discussed in settling the terms of peace; Serbia will, no doubt, have to make due restitution.



RAILROAD LINES IN THE BALKANS

Ottoman Empire; the great conflict now in progress, in which Serbia, Turkey, and finally Bulgaria have successively taken part, has, with still greater reason, produced similar results. The Oriental Railways Company has suffered amputations exactly corresponding to those of the Turkish Empire itself; organized under the régime of the suzerainty of the Sultan (more or less formal) over the entire Balkan region, it was dismembered simultaneously with the dismemberment of that suzerainty. The first blow was dealt in 1908, when Bulgaria declared its independence; the government at Sofia took possession of certain railroad sections in eastern Rumelia. Bulgaria was in need of funds in order to indemnify the Turkish Government and the Oriental Railways Company; Russia accommodated her with them. The advisers of the Czar thought, no doubt, they were making a bril-

All the Balkan railway lines are at the present writing instruments of war. On the eve of the Bulgarian and German invasion of Serbia, in October last, the engineers who had constructed the Serbian railways marked out the works to be destroyed in order to hinder the enemy's advance. When the sword shall be finally sheathed it will be possible to resume the work of civilization in the Balkans, but the lessons of the recent past must not be forgotten. The various Balkan nations, modeled anew by the conflict, will each wish to have its own network of railways; nothing is more legitimate, provided indemnity is made for acquired rights; an equitable adjustment of the different interests will no doubt be reached.

Nor is the financial question the chief problem; the Balkan states, while they should be intent upon developing their particular resources, cannot become great unless they improve their external relations. We know now that their soil has a reserve fund of riches for exportation—minerals, wood, fruit, grain, livestock. It would be expedient for each state to have a perfectly independent access to the open sea—a thing particularly important for the Serbians, whose valor has aroused such rancor that they would be doomed to destruction by their neighbors should not the Allies, to whom they have been so splendidly faithful, defend them in their turn. The obstacles to aggressive Germanism, whose mur-

derous ambitions the war must have revealed to the most prejudiced, must be multiplied: freedom of the straits, a Danube-Adriatic railway line, in the interest of Russia, Rumania, Serbia, Italy—such are the things that will stop it at once.

Let it be noted, moreover, that the highways

from Central Europe to the Bosphorus are likewise those that unite the Occident with Asia; that to the Asiatic limits of the Turkish Empire, which Germany succeeded in converting almost to a colony, these historic highways should hereafter be largely international.

FROM THE BLACK FOREST TO THE BLACK SEA—THE DANUBE'S COURSE

FROM an economic viewpoint, a very important question to be settled at a future peace conference will be that of the control of the Danube. As this great commercial waterway traverses the territory of nine different states, between its rise in the Black Forest and its outlet into the Black Sea, the fact has long been recognized that the only means of avoiding an oppressive or injurious use of it by one country at the expense of another consists in its neutralization.

The various aspects of this question are treated by Signor Leonardo F. Borelli in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Rome). The writer notes that the Danube, second only to the Volga in length among European rivers, is navigable for about 1600 miles, or about nine-tenths of its total length. Throughout its course, with the exception of the deep and narrow part at the Iron Gate, its current is slow and uniform, offering every facility for river traffic. However, when we consider that the Danube, rising in Baden, passes successively through Würtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, and Hungary, between Serbia and Bulgaria, and finally through Rumania and a short stretch of Russian territory, we can

better understand how hard it will be to reconcile the conflicting interests.

The international status of the stream at the outbreak of the war may be stated as follows:

(1) The Upper Danube,—German and Austro-Hungarian,—is governed by regulations enacted by Austria-Hungary between 1851 and 1855. Through navigation is free for all, but the local coasting trade is reserved for the flag of the respective country the river traverses. Serbia was not a party to the treaties of 1851-55, but concluded a separate convention with Austria-Hungary, by the terms of which the Serbian flag was assured the treatment of the most favored nation, in exchange for the facilities accorded Austria for work in the channel at the Iron Gate, even within the limits of Serbian territory.

(2) Navigation from the Iron Gate to Galatz had no definite international regulation. Rumania refused adherence to the conclusions of the London Conference of 1871, but Austria, by virtue of the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, was authorized to levy a provisional tax on traffic to cover the expenses incurred in clearing or improving the waterway at the



THE DANUBE RIVER

Iron Gate, and she exercised sovereign rights, favoring her flag by special tariffs. However the declaration of neutrality as defined by the Berlin Treaty remained in force.

(3) Finally, the Lower Danube, from Galatz to the Black Sea, was entirely under the control of the International European Commission instituted by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and by the London Conference of 1871.

Of the character and sources of the traffic on this great river the writer says:

The commercial importance of the Danube results from the fact that it constitutes the only natural route between Central Europe and the Levant. The numerous canals constructed within the past fifty years in Austria and in Germany, to connect the basin of the Danube with those of the Rhine, the Elbe and the Oder, have given it an added importance. From the Black Sea to Holland and Belgium there flowed an intense flux and reflux of agricultural products from the East and of industrial products from the West.

The enormous network of canals that intersects Central Europe in every direction has aroused apprehension in some quarters that the future of the great seaports of Trieste and Salonica would be threatened, so that the Aus-

trian Government has encountered the greatest opposition to its policy of internal navigation from the representatives of Trieste.

It is, however, our conviction that the economic, industrial and agricultural development of Central Europe is too vast to warrant any fear that the great currents of traffic passing in and out of the Adriatic and the Egean can ever diminish in volume, however great may be the progress in improving the internal waterways; indeed, these will rather serve to stimulate and encourage the growth of commerce.

For the Balkan states, the Danube is of especial importance.

Serbia has here her single means of communication with the sea and with Russia, and of the Rumanian exports of cereals, about 80 per cent. of her total exports, nearly half goes to Belgium and the remainder to England and Austria. A great part of these products follow the river route, and Austria and Germany use this waterway almost exclusively for their exports to Rumania, which constitute 40 per cent. of the imports of that land.

The following table shows the extent of the traffic on the Danube for the years 1911-1914, and proves the check it received during the Balkan wars, and during the early stages of the present world-wide conflict; statistics for 1915 will undoubtedly make a far worse showing:

NATIONALITY	1911		1912		1913		1914	
	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage
England	535	1,183,000	242	548,000	278	670,000	187	467,000
Greece	364	643,000	249	559,000	112	247,000	157	333,000
Austria	200	403,000	143	311,000	158	313,000	82	162,000
Totals	1099	2,229,000	634	1,418,000	548	1,230,000	426	962,000

IS HOLLAND IMPERIALISTIC?

BY far the most important development in Dutch foreign policies, due to the great war of the European powers, is the unquestioned leaning towards that state of governmental preparedness, generally stigmatized as "imperialism." Dutch Social Democrats have hurled at the government the accusation of imperialism and the majority of the Dutch press has taken up the cry, pro and contra imperialism, until this subject has come to crowd other discussions from the magazines.

In a comprehensive article the leading Dutch magazine, *Vragen des Tijds*, takes up the duties of Holland towards its colonies in Asia, coming to the conclusion that "talk about accomplishments in India should only begin after Social Democrats and the whole Dutch nation have come to realize that Netherland's possession of the Dutch East

Indies carries with it, without any semblance of doubt, the sacred duty of the defense of those islands against attacks."

For this reason, the Dutch fleet is to be strengthened by the addition of dread-noughts, battle-cruisers, and submarines to such an extent as to make it a powerful factor to be reckoned with by any nation having designs upon the rich islands of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. For this reason,—the defense of an ideal, of a duty imposed by possession,—strenuous efforts are to be made immediately to provide against possible "surprises" from Japan,—the Empire of Japan being frankly mentioned in the discussion as the only power concerned! "Shall we permit," asks the article in the *Vragen des Tijds*, "that the long-continued efforts of the Dutch colonial forces, which have proven a blessing for the East India islands,

shall be surrendered or abandoned to a greedy and imperious people, whose intrusion may become a curse to the inhabitants?"

The action of the United States, in increasing its naval program, is also cited in defense of the enlarged naval appropriations of Holland. "The dreadnought plans of our government," continues the article, "have been influenced to a large degree by the United States, which is even now arming against a possible invasion by Japan, and we are going to have a big fleet of large battleships,—parliamentary and public opinion being decided on this object!"

The article then suggests frankly that the United States and Holland come to an un-

derstanding in the East Asiatic question, under which either would give instant assistance to the other, should Japan attack the Philippines or the Dutch East Indies. In this manner the strength of the effective fleet could be doubled and Holland would consider it a good bargain. No one could object to such an alliance,—except, perhaps, Japan,—and the United States would gain a protecting friend in the Far East, who would jealously watch for signs of aggression on the part of the Japanese in the Philippines. No one could possibly imagine that with the newly acquired battleships Holland would attempt to conquer Japan or Australia.

KENTUCKY'S "MOONLIGHT SCHOOLS"

WHEN the public school teachers of Rowan County, Kentucky, agreed on Labor Day, 1911, to open the schoolhouses to grown-up men and women on moonlight evenings, the country folk came 1200 strong. The teachers had expected that perhaps 150 persons in the entire county would respond, and they were so enthused and heartened by the first enrollment that they undertook the work with great zeal and the joy of real service in their hearts.

Cora Wilson Stewart, president of the Kentucky Illiteracy Commission and founder of the "Moonlight Schools," tells the story of their beginnings and their progress in the *Survey of New York* January 7. When Miss Stewart served as superintendent of the schools of Rowan County, she was often called upon to act as secretary for illiterate people. She became interested in their problems and started the "no illiteracy" movement in Kentucky, by resolutely setting about to wipe out illiteracy in Rowan County.

Three classes enlisted her sympathy: illiterate mothers separated from their children; middle-aged men shut from the knowledge of the world and unable to cast a ballot secretly or intelligently; young people with undeveloped talents, who needed only education to enable them to contribute to the world of art, science and invention.

There came into my office one morning a middle-aged man, handsome and intelligent in appearance. While waiting for me to dispatch the business in hand, I gave him two books. He fingered the leaves hurriedly, like a child, turned the books over and looked at the backs, and laid

them down with a sigh. Knowing the scarcity of interesting reading through the country, I proffered him the loan of these two books. He shook his head, and said: "No, I cannot read or write." And then the tears came into the eyes of that stalwart man, and he added: "I would give twenty years of my life if I could."

A few evenings later I attended an entertainment in a rural district school. A stalwart lad of twenty sang a beautiful ballad, mostly original, but partly borrowed from his English ancestors. When he had finished, amid deafening applause, I went over and congratulated him. "Dennis, that was a beautiful ballad—it is worthy of publication. Will you write it down for me?" "I would if I could write," he replied, crestfallen, "but I cannot. I've thought of a hundred of 'em better'n that, but I'd forget 'em before anybody came along to set 'em down."

The first three letters written after the establishing of the "Moonlight Schools" came in this order: the first from a mother who had children absent in the West; the second from the man who said he would give twenty years of his life if he could read and write, and the third from the boy who would forget his ballads before anybody came along to set them down.

Educators were very skeptical of the plan at first. But the record of the second year eclipsed that of the first: 1600 were enrolled, one pupil a man of eighty-seven years. The teachers became enthusiastic, and with the exception of a very few straggling individuals, mostly detectives, they had by the end of the third session of the schools exterminated illiteracy in Rowan County.

Meanwhile, the "Moonlight Schools" had been extended to twenty-five other counties in the State, and whether it was in distillery section or among the tenant class, or in mining region or among the farmers, it was ever the same results. Men and women thronged to the schools, striving to make up for the time they had lost, and they



HUNGRY FOR KNOWLEDGE

(A moonlight school classroom; the pupils here are at least ten years old and ten years old.)

pled for a longer term when the session closed.

The Governor of Kentucky, seeing the determined warfare which was being waged against illiteracy, urged in his message to the legislature that an Illiteracy Commission be created to drive illiteracy from the State. The measure creating this commission passed the legislature of 1914 without a dissenting vote, and the seat of the war against illiteracy in Kentucky was transferred from the courthouse in the county seat of Rowan to the State Capitol at Frankfort. The commission is directing the State-wide campaign to remove illiteracy from Kentucky by the time the census of 1920 is taken.

The moonlight school curriculum is fitted to the needs of the illiterate. It employs a special method for teaching the pupils to write. A tablet with indented letters to quickly facilitate acquiring the form, and ruled sheets with wide spaces are used for the adult pupils. Arithmetic, geography, history, civics, agriculture, horticulture, home economics and road building are among the subjects.

Readers have been prepared for beginners, dealing with roads, silos, seed-testing, crop rotation, piping water into the house, value of the daily bath, extermination of the fly, ways of cooking, and such problems as the people are facing every day. For example, a lesson on roads reads:

This is a road.
It is a good road.
It will save my time.
It will save my team.

It will save my wagon.

The good road is my friend.

I will work for the good road.

The script lesson follows: "I will work for the good road," which pledge the student writes ten times, and if the law of suggestion works, he becomes truly a friend and promoter of good roads.

The good work begun in Kentucky is fast spreading over the United States. The statistics of the federal census of 1910, in regard to our national illiteracy reveals the deplorable fact that in that year there were 5,516,163 illiterates in this country, more than the entire population of Denmark.

It is the privilege of American public school teachers to wipe out America's illiteracy. Back to the schoolhouse twenty to twenty-four evenings and, with proper organization, the deed is done; for experience has proved that all but abnormal adults can escape from illiteracy in a month's time, and some in even less.

Moonlight schools are conducted in seventeen States, Oklahoma, Alabama, and North Carolina following closely Kentucky's lead. These schools minister equally to illiterate Indians in Oklahoma, illiterate negroes in Alabama, and illiterate whites in North Carolina and other States. California and New Mexico, the last States to adopt the institution, are finding it useful in the education of the immigrant population of the one, and the large Mexican population of the other.

Could there be more valiant and heroic service to humanity than the stamping out of illiteracy, the most insidious foe of the nation?

OUR TREATMENT OF ALIENS

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, Miss Frances A. Kellor arraigns Americans for the violation of our ancient traditions of hospitality in our treatment of immigrants. She emphasizes the fact,—now widely called to national attention through many newspapers and magazines,—that we have been neglecting our opportunities to make these immigrants good American citizens; that we have substituted for intelligent treatment and hospitality, a “system of heartless exploitation and of neglect, urbane or resentful according to the occasion.”

The immigrant comes to this country, comes to a land of liberty where he is freed from control and surveillance and plunges into new customs, institutions and laws.

Does America make the slightest effort to teach him the difference between liberty and license? No. At the very port of entry he is robbed by the cabman, and by the hotel runner, the expressman, the banker who exchanges his money, the steamship agent, and the hotel-keeper. His first lesson in “property rights” in America is often the loss of his own small possessions. He is held in bondage by the hotel-keeper, who takes up his “through railroad ticket” and keeps it until he has secured a fair return in board bill. The *padrone* gets him a job, and for the privilege of housing and feeding him at a price and under conditions about which the immigrant has nothing to say, keeps him in a job. If he rebels, he is promptly blacklisted. The employment agent gets him into debt with a prospective employer, and *peonage* results. In times of scarcity of labor, contingents of immigrant workmen have been made drunk, shut up in boxcars, and landed in labor camps from which there is no return until spring.

After a year or two, or less, of “American” experience of this kind, suppose the immigrant chances some noon-day to hear an agitator of the Industrial Workers of the World. This agitator is often the first person to listen sympathetically to the immigrant’s troubles. He represents America, he speaks of new liberty and new opportunity, and it is easy to convince the trusting, ignorant alien that *his* way is the way out. No other way has been indicated. It is not that thoughtlessness and violence are the weapons he understands; it is that these are the only weapons given to the immigrant. Moreover the agitator addresses the immigrant in his own language. We forget the power of this appeal. In short, the I. W. W. has come to the immigrant, and the labor union has for years ignored him. There are aristocracies among labor unions as among Pilgrims. And the immigrant, ignorant of English and with no facilities for learning it, listens and follows the only “American” message brought him in a language he can understand.

Miss Kellor reminds the public that while we are now doing splendid work for the

children in several cities, notably New York, Barren Island, the scene of New York City’s garbage disposal, has three hundred children who have had no care whatsoever; they “are immigrants and nobody cares.” Yet the immigrant is more docile to our school-attendance laws than any other element of our population. Dr. Claxton, Federal Commissioner of Education, wrote in a recent report that “the least illiterate element of our population is the native-born children of foreign-born parents.” That these children have the patience and fortitude that characterized our sternly virtuous ancestors is evidenced by the sacrifices they make to gain an education; the work in “stuffy tenements at night making artificial flowers and picking nuts in order that they may have nourishment to carry them to the schools; or they work long hot days in canneries, taken out of schools early in the spring and returning late in the fall, so that they have but a limited portion of these blessings.”

There is much to be written of the fortitude and industry of the parents in the face of astounding difficulties, of their patience and perseverance.

When will the prevalent belief that the average immigrant has nothing but what we give him to commend himself to American civilization be abolished by more careful knowledge of the immigrants? “The immigrant frequently brings his contribution to enrich our civilization,” says an associate superintendent of the New York City public schools. “The things of the higher kind,—the spirituality, the reverence for authority, the love of art and music,—are valuable to soften the materialism that has accompanied our great advance in prosperity, and they should not be crushed in our attempt to remake the immigrant.”

It is difficult, in the face of the sins of omission by the American and the sins of commission by the immigrant, to fix the responsibility for our failure to-day to have evolved one nation out of the many peoples in this country. We shall probably, in the absence of that information which makes sound judgments, be fair if we place the blame on both sides equally. But, regardless of this, I am convinced that we shall never have a strong nation until the strong people cease exploiting the weak; until the people entrenched in position, power, and prosperity assume the burden and responsibility of the welding of that nation; until the Americans define what they want that nation to be, and then set in motion every resource and agency to achieve this result intelligently.

Miss Kellor shows that the ill-treated immigrant can hardly be suddenly changed into a loyal American citizen.

THE NEW BOOKS

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

THE most important and timely of the books of the month is Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart's volume entitled "The Monroe Doctrine: An Interpretation."¹ Professor Hart made his reputation long ago as a student and writer in the field of American history and politics. He has been growing in recent years as a student of international policies and affairs, from the standpoint of American statesmanship. There is a quality of robust Americanism in Professor Hart's own personality that helps him to grasp and interpret the spirit of the United States.

There has never been a time when there was so great need of a study by intelligent citizens of the real position of the United States among nations, and the extent and meaning of its relationships with the rest of the world, and particularly with its Western Hemisphere neighbors. Professor Hart has provided at this opportune moment the essential book for such a study. In a hundred pages we are given an account of the original Monroe Doctrine and all the conditions and circumstances of North America, South America, and Europe in the period following the Napoleonic Wars. The second part of the book, in a series of chapters, gives us the variations of the Monroe Doctrine up to the period immediately following our Civil War. In Part III the "American Doctrine" is presented with all the incidents and illustrations that belong in the period from 1869 to the present time.

In the fourth part of the book, Dr. Hart deals with the subject from the South American standpoint, and also from the angles of Germany and other countries, while the remaining sections of the volume are devoted to a discussion of present world conditions and their bearing upon the permanent interests of the United States and the other American republics. The author is not afraid to express opinions at all points, and he moves boldly towards conclusions. We may quote his final paragraphs, which are as follows:

"Briefly put, the so-called Monroe Doctrine is a formula which expresses a fact and not a policy. The fact is inherent in the political geography of the Americas and in the condition of modern warfare. Even so peaceful a country as the United States, which desires no war and is bound to suffer heavily from any war in which she engages, whether victorious or defeated, may not have the choice. Peace can be maintained only by convincing Germany and Japan, which are the two powers most likely to be moved by

an ambition to possess American territory. But the United States will defend her interests even though they seem at first to be only indirectly affected. If we are not prepared to take that ground, the Monroe Doctrine is dead.

"If we are willing to go to that limit, it must be proved by intelligent preparation. That means a kind of organization through powerful general staffs and centralization of the War Department and Navy Department, which Congress has never been willing to authorize. It means an enlargement of the military and naval forces, and ultimately some form of military training of the Swiss type. It means a willingness to take the world as it is, and no longer to live in the delusion that we are protected by a paper Doctrine of Permanent Interest."

In view of the presence in this country of delegates to the Pan-American Scientific Congress, and the attempts at Washington last month to extend and reformulate the principles of Pan-

American policy, Professor Hart's book is offered to the public at exactly the right moment. Its value, however, is far more than transient; and it will undoubtedly exercise a permanent influence upon American opinion and action.

The World's Democracies

Another book that will be of value to citizens in their study of public questions is entitled "Comparative Free Government."² It is written by Prof. Jesse Macy, of Grinnell College, with the collaboration of Prof. John W. Gannaway, of the same institution. Professor Macy has heretofore written much upon American politics and government, as well as upon constitutionalism and democracy in Great Britain and Western Europe. The present volume gives large space to an account of the form and function of government in the United States and England, with smaller portions devoted to France, Germany, Switzerland, and other European and American countries. With its excellent index, the book will be found of great service to those who would understand how democratic government works in different countries, and the comparative extent of its development. Never has there been a time when the problems of government under popular control have been so pressing as now.



PROF. ALBERT B. HART

¹ *The Monroe Doctrine*. By Albert Bushnell Hart. Little, Brown, 446 pp. \$1.75.

² *Comparative Free Government*. By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway. Yale pp. \$2.25.

A Manual of German Government

Since the outbreak of the war many books have been written about Germany, and some of these have dealt with the German system of government. But most of them have either condemned or praised Germany while failing to give precise or impartial data regarding the actual institutions of government in the empire. The need of a book telling American readers just what the government of Germany is, how its powers are distributed and exercised, and how its functions are administered, has been felt by many candid inquirers. At last such a book is available.¹ It is small and modest in appearance, but it is replete with knowledge and intelligence. It is the first in a series of handbooks on modern government, edited by Dr. David P. Barrows and Prof. T. H. Reed, both of the University of California. The author of the volume is Prof. Fritz-Konrad Krüger, also of the University of California. Every well-informed reader in the field of government will be delighted with this little volume as he reads from page to page, because of its unflinching thoroughness in giving information that is nowhere else available in the English language. Professor Macy's book, mentioned above, which is full in its treatment of the United States, does not pretend to take up the government of Germany except in a brief general chapter. No one would be more ready than writers like Professor Hart and Professor Macy to recognize with grateful surprise the remarkable complete-

ness and system of Professor Krüger's study of German government and politics.

Persia and Turkestan

One of the effects of the war is to develop an intense interest in the geography and the racial, social, and political conditions of regions about which the average man has had no knowledge at all. Thus Prof. Talcott Williams' article in the REVIEW last month, on the Bagdad railroad, found a host of readers who were eager to know all about Mesopotamia. Beyond Bagdad lies Teheran; and the future of Persia, as well as that of Arabia and Turkey-in-Asia, is to be determined by the outcome of the present great war. A new American book tells of a recent journey from Moscow across the Russian steppes and parts of Turkestan, through Persia and its capital, to the Persian Gulf. The author is Mr. Benjamin Burges Moore, of New York, and the title of the book is "From Moscow to the Persian Gulf."² The book is the more valuable for taking the form of a daily record of observations and impressions. The reader comes the better to understand the nature of the problems that are involved in the relationship of Occidental to Oriental peoples. The general decadence of Persia and Turkestan, and the delicacy and difficulty of the tasks of rehabilitation that belong to the next century or two, are plainly set forth in the opinions expressed by Mr. Moore, as also in the facts that he records.

Social Progress: Applied Economics

The Nearing Case. By Lightner Witmer. B. W. Huetsch. 123 pp. 50 cents.

"A brief of facts and opinions" prepared by the Professor of Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, relative to the refusal of the University trustees to reappoint Professor Scott Nearing. This case has been widely discussed as a limitation of academic freedom, but recent official action of the University authorities has made impossible any repetition of the incident.

Aristocracy and Justice. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton, Mifflin. 243 pp. \$1.25.

This volume, the ninth series of "Shelburne Issues," deals with "The Philosophy of the War," "The New Morality," "Property and Law," "Justice," and offers constructive programs in the chapters entitled, "Natural Aristocracy," "Academic Leadership," "The Paradox of Oxford," and "Disraeli and Conservatism."

Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling. By William Healy and Mary Tenney Healy. Little, Brown. 236 pp. \$2.50.

This is the first of a series of "Criminal Science Monographs" published under the auspices of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Dr. Healy, of Chicago, is one of the best known investigators in the field of juvenile delinquency in the United States. Each year

he studies intensively about five hundred juvenile delinquents as they come before the Juvenile Court of Cook County. The personal histories related in this volume with scientific accuracy have all come under Dr. Healy's observation and may be regarded as typical of great numbers of cases in actual life.

American Ideals. By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. Doubleday, Page. 373 pp. \$1.

The author of this book, a lifelong student of education and an experienced traveler and lecturer, sent these two questions to a hundred representative Americans: "What are the leading ideals of the men with whom you most frequently associate?" "What do you consider the chief points of weakness in our contemporary American life?" Many of the answers received to these questions are here reproduced, and the author acknowledges his indebtedness to these correspondents for the view of our modern life that he presents in this little volume.

Practical Exporting. By B. Olney Hough. Johnston Export Publishing Co. 623 pp. \$4.

This is a handbook for manufacturers and merchants and represents the result of fifteen years of actual experience by the author in exporting, as salesman, manufacturer, and commission merchant, followed by eight years as editor of the *American Exporter*. It is the por-

¹ *Government and People of the German Empire.* By Fritz-Konrad Krüger. World Book Co. 106 pp. \$1.00.

² *From Moscow to the Persian Gulf.* By Benjamin Burges Moore. Putnam. 411 pp. \$2.50.

pose of the book to explain logically and completely every step necessary in selling and handling goods for export, from the solicitation of orders to the preparation of shipments.

Glimpses of the Cosmos. By Lester F. Ward. Putnam. Vol. IV. 388 pp. \$2.50.

The text of this fourth volume of Dr. Ward's writings has had the advantage of final revision by the author and is in the form in which he was prepared to present it to his readers. It is announced that the publication will be completed in eight volumes.

Finance, Business and the Business of Life. By B. C. Forbes. 339 pp.

Epigrammatic chapters of advice to the public from the business and financial editor of the New York *American*. Mr. Forbes' work is endorsed by such representative American financiers as Judge E. H. Gary, F. A. Vanderlip, Geo. M. Reynolds, and James Speyer.

The Boycott in American Trade Unions. By Leo Wolman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 148 pp. (paper).

The author of this monograph has supplemented by personal interviews with trade-union

officials and employers his documentary studies.

The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon. By James D. Barnett. Macmillan. 295 pp. \$2.

Oregon is the State of longest experience with the initiative, referendum, and recall. A large body of material has been accumulated there in the form of constitutional and statutory provisions and court decisions, and Professor Barnett, who holds the chair of Political Science in the State University, has made a careful study of this material. His book is the most complete statement yet made of the workings of these political devices in an American commonwealth. Many of his deductions and conclusions apply to conditions in other States.

Capital To-day. By Herman Cahn. Putnam. 313 pp. \$1.50.

In this volume the author considers the money system of the country rather than the general subject of capital, although he discusses capitalism under the separate heads of concentration of industrial capital, and concentration of money capital. In the author's view the money problem overshadows all else in economics, and to the analysis of this problem he devotes his energies.

A GREAT CANADIAN

ON the death of Canada's most eminent personality, Lord Strathcona, this REVIEW published an extended sketch of his life and career, from the pen of Agnes C. Laut (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for March, 1914). Donald Alexander Smith was a poor Scotch boy, born in 1820, who came to serve the Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador when he was eighteen years old. He became the great personality of that company, the economic and political organizer of the Canadian Northwest, the builder of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and for many years of his later life the Canadian High Commissioner at London. In 1886 he was knighted as Sir Donald Smith, and eleven years later he was raised to the peerage as "Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, of Glencoe, in the County of Argyll, and of Mount Royal, in the Province of Quebec and Dominion of Canada."

We have now the authorized biography of Lord Strathcona, in two worthy volumes, from the pen of Mr. Beckles Willson.¹ Mr. Willson has spent a number of years in Canada as a historian and journalist, following earlier experiences of the same kind in England. His important work on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and his life of Wolfe have established his reputation as historian and biographer. There could hardly be

a more fascinating subject for a man of Mr. Beckles Willson's rare qualifications than the portrayal of the life of Donald A. Smith in connection with the development of the great Northwest.

The appearance of this biography is the more interesting and impressive because of the marvelous spectacle presented at this time of gallantry and devotion upon the part of hundreds of thousands of people living in a region that was ungoverned and unexplored when Donald Smith first lived in it as a representative of the great fur company. Perhaps in proportion to the population no part of the British Empire has been contributing more thoroughly to the cause of Great Britain at the present time than the country whose development was due to the leadership of Lord Strathcona.

The author has gone about his task of biography and history not only with experienced judgment and literary skill, but with all available material in the way of letters, papers, and assistance from official and private sources. American readers will find much to interest them in the portrayal of the long-time intimacy between Donald Smith and James J. Hill, and in the account of Donald Smith's general interest in Western railroads and transportation. It is very agreeable to make note of so valuable a contribution to the history of North America as Mr. Beckles Willson has given us in this work.



LORD STRATHCONA IN HIS PRIME

¹ The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. By Beckles Willson. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin. 1076 pp. ill. \$6.50.

THREE NOVELS OF THE NEW YEAR

"THE Real Adventure,"¹ by Henry Kittchell Webster, is a brilliant novel, one far above the average in conception, power, and originality of thought. The "adventure" is the pursuit of friendship in marriage. Rose Aldrich has been everything to her young husband save his friend. She wants to be a dependable friend, not a rare and expensive possession to be taken care of. "Love's got to be free," she tells him. "The only way to make it free is to have friendship growing alongside it." So she leaves him and goes out into the world to learn the world's wisdom. And in her absence Rodney Aldrich understands at last what she wants and offers her friendship and respect as well as love, and they begin together the "real adventure" of life, which is—a happy marriage.

American readers may puzzle a little over W. L. George's novel, "The Strangers' Wedding."² Roger Huncote, a settlement worker, marries beneath his class. Despite his strenuous efforts to educate his wife to a proper appreciation of what it really means to be a "lady," she reverts to her

own sphere. If the incidents were placed in this country, where class barriers are not sharply defined, where young women are more plastic to the forces of culture, the story would be fantastical. As a picture of English class differences, it is an absorbing and exceedingly well-written work.

"Wood and Stone,"³ an exceptional novel by John Cowper Powys, the essayist and lecturer, offers a study of two types of persons, the one who might be regarded as born to be ruled over, and the one who might be regarded as born to rule. A secondary theme postulates that the hearts of slaves, Pariahs and cowards may be as interesting as the hearts of the bravest and the best among us, and that "interest, after all, is the supreme exigency of the esthetic sense." The novel is a brilliant intellectual piece of work, but a sense of predestination, of intentional play-acting, dulls the fine glow of Mr. Powys' artistry. There are delightful descriptive passages and interesting pages of character analysis. The preface offers salutation to Thomas Hardy.

FOREIGN FICTION

READERS who enjoy fiction often find themselves surfeited with American and British novels, and search in vain for books that are unusual, which strike a new note, or are of sufficient artistry and depth to command attention. To such readers one may suggest a small group of foreign novels, Dutch, Scandinavian, and Russian, which preserve in the translation the beauty, virility, and power of their originals. Edmund Gosse has written in praise of modern Russian fiction: "In Russia alone, among the countries of central and eastern Europe, the novel has developed with a radical originality. . . . That the Russians have indicated a path to new fields in the somewhat outworn province of novel-writing is abundantly manifest."

Prince Kropotkin's authoritative survey of Russian literature is offered in a new edition. It is an excellent informative book to read before dipping into Russian fiction. Under the title, "Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature,"⁴ the content introduces the reader to the beauty and pliability of the Russian language, to Russian folk-lore, folk-literature, religious feeling, literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the rise of Catherine, to the Decembrists, Pushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Turgenieff, Tolstoy, Gorky, Dostoevsky, Nekrasoff, "The Lyrics," "Folk Novelists," "Art Criticism," and "Contemporary Novelists." The material was originally presented in the form of lectures before the Lowell Institute at Boston, in 1901. The first edition has long been out of print.

Three volumes of Russian stories that will initiate the reader into Russian states of mind are: "The Little Angel and Other Stories," from the Russian of L. N. Andreyev; "Chelkask and Other Stories," by Maxim Gorky, and "The Signal and Other Stories," from the Russian of W. M. Garshin. They are published by Alfred A. Knopf.

The sleeping giant of the Russian Empire cries aloud in a waking dream through the genius of Michael Artzibashef. This novelist has been much praised and much criticised by the public and the critics for his violent realism. "The Breaking Point,"⁵ his greatest novel, is now published in English translation. It will undoubtedly meet with the same divergence of opinion as regards its merits as its predecessors. No one with a spark of literary instinct can truthfully belittle Artzibashef, however; for if there is a Russian renaissance, he is its prophet. Generally speaking, Russian novels are not good reading for school children. This is particularly true of Artzibashef's works. But for mature men and women there is ample reward in his novels. His method is that of the impressionistic painter, and his character delineations are delicate as dry point etchings. His philosophy is the philosophy of the miserable. "Breaking Point" has been called the "comédie humaine of a garrison town." In it one feels the great spiritual hunger of the Russian race. And Artzibashef tells us that this hunger is life. When we do not feel the inner aching vacuum, we are dead. We may be physically alive, but we are actually dead all the same. And we must set this life hunger to the sound of flutes; we must pipe for our misery. This is life triumphant.

¹ "The Real Adventure," by Henry Kittchell Webster. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1919. 304 pp. \$1.50.

² "The Strangers' Wedding," by W. L. George. Little, Brown, New York, 1919. 214 pp. \$1.50.

³ "Wood and Stone," by John Cowper Powys. George, New York, 1919. 214 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ "Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature," by Prince Kropotkin. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1919. 304 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ "The Breaking Point," by Michael Artzibashef. B. W. Rinehart, New York, 1919. 304 pp. \$1.50.

"The Insulted and the Injured,"¹ by Fyodor Dostoevsky, is now obtainable in the excellent translation rendered by Constance Garnett. This novel is not the strong meat of "Crime and Punishment" and "The House of the Dead," but it is notably human and sympathetic.

"Oblomov,"² by Ivan Goncharov, appeared in Russia in the year 1859. It made a sensation, and practically all educated Russians read the book. It was a warning to the landed proprietors of the disease that had come upon them through the conditions of serfdom. Oblomov is a Russian nobleman. He lives in a spacious estate on the banks of the Volga. For generations his family has vegetated, served by hundreds of serfs, until mental and physical inertia is inbred in their bones. Oblomov is given a fine education; he goes forth into the world equipped for achievement and usefulness. But the habitual sloth of mind and heart overtakes him; he loses Olga, the girl he loves, and forfeits the respect of his fellow men. The disease grows worse as the years pass, and he sinks down to a loathsome death, the victim of "Oblomovka," the disease of inertia. Prince Kropotkin writes: "At the time of the appearance of this novel 'Oblomovdom' became a current word to designate the state of Russian life,—the right to laziness proclaimed as a virtue,"—that was one of the sad results of serfdom.

The Russian romantic novelist, Golgol, was born in a Ukrainian nobleman's family in the year 1809. With the advent of his first books, small novels of village life in Little Russia, there began a new period in Russian literature called the "Golgol period." His work won fame immediately. His novels are romantic, witty, spirited, humorous narratives, distinguished not so much by deep thinking as by impeccable literary art. "Taras Bulba,"³ his masterpiece, is a slashing tale of the life of the free Cossacks who lived in free communities in the Little Russia of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ukraina, or Little Russia, began somewhere about two or three hundred miles south of Moscow. Over this rich agricultural territory, of which Kiev was the center, roving bands of Cossacks (*Kazaks*) held dominion. The word *Kazak*, which originally meant a lightly armed warrior, was used in Russia to designate a fugitive serf. The old Cossack farmer, Taras Bulba, and his two sons are drawn into the wars of the *Kazaks*. After many romantic and desperate adventures the younger son goes over to the enemy for love of a beautiful Polish girl. His fierce old father captures him and executes him with his own hand. Later the elder son dies under torture, and Taras Bulba meets death at the stake. A tragical and horrible tale in the mere incidents, but so magical is the art of Golgol one is swept away by the wild, reckless spirit of these men into feeling the identical disregard of life and the scorn of suffering that glorifies their lives and deaths. Professor William Lyon Phelps writes of "Taras Bulba": "It is one of the great prose romances of the

world. It stands alone in Russian literature, apart from the regular stream, unique and unapproachable . . . one tremendous shout of joy . . . commemorating the immortal Cossack heart."

A volume of Anatole France's delightful tales, "Crainquebille, Putois, Riquet" and others, has been skilfully translated into English by Winifred Stephens. They are characterized by the delicate irony, the naive sophistication, and the intellectual subtlety that have given the novelist his worldwide fame.

As yet, Selma Lagerlöf, the Swedish novelist, is the only woman winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. The Swedish Academy recognized her . . . "for reason of the noble idealism, the wealth of imagination, the soulful quality of style which characterize her works," and in 1914 she was elected into fellowship. Her second masterpiece, "Jerusalem,"⁴ a novel of Dalecarlia, the author's home province in Sweden, has been recently translated by Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard, herself a personal friend of Miss Lagerlöf. It is the story of a religious pilgrimage from Dalecarlia to the Holy Land in the last century. The love stories of two generations of Ingmars are curiously interwoven with the subjective impulses that impelled the peasants to sell all their possessions and fare forth to Jerusalem. The power of Selma Lagerlöf's work lies first in the romantic beauty of her style, and secondly in her continual insistence that the state of one's soul is the matter of supreme importance.

"Sanpriel"⁵ is a rare novel by the Scandinavian novelist, Alvide Prydz. It depicts the slow growth of ideal love in a man and woman who have not had the courage in their youth to follow the highest and the best that was in their natures. Finally, when both have been chastened by life, when they are no longer young, the obstacles to their union are swept away and they enter "the Promised Land" of ideal love.

"The Later Life,"⁶ by Louis Couperus, the Dutch novelist, author of "Small Souls," is now obtainable in English translation. It is the story of a mismatched couple involved in the petty affairs of a purposeless life. They have only one thing in common, love for their only son. In the years of their approach to middle age, husband and wife glimpse the fulfilment of their youthful dreams in love-affairs that promise congenial mating and perfect happiness. But their son is the obstacle; they cannot, either of them, endure separation from the young life God has entrusted to them. They resign themselves to continued incompatibility, comforting their hearts with the illusion, the "dream-flower" of life that shone before their vision a brief space of time. Couperus shows us Life as a sculptor, modeling our rough lives with the tools of sorrow and experience until the perfected ideals of truth emerge from the common clay.

¹ The Insulted and The Injured. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Macmillan. 345 pp. \$1.00.

² Oblomov. By Ivan Goncharov. Macmillan. Trans. C. J. Hogarth. 317 pp. \$1.50.

³ Taras Bulba. By N. V. Golgol. Trans. Isabel Hapgood. Alfred Knopf. 284 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Crainquebille. By Anatole France. John Lane. 238 pp. \$1.75.

⁵ Jerusalem. By Selma Lagerlöf. Translated by Velma Howard. Doubleday, Page. 342 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ Sanpriel. By Alvide Prydz. R. G. Badger Co. 316 pp. \$1.25.

⁷ The Later Life. By Louis Couperus. Dodd, Mead. 336 pp. \$1.50.

Stories of American and English Life

The Bachelors. By William Dana Orcutt. Harper. 428 pp. \$1.35.

A strong story of American life, showing how various types of men are affected by college ideals when they go out to meet the world as we know it to-day.

The Song of the Lark. By Willa Sibert Cather. Houghton, Mifflin. 489 pp. \$1.40.

A novel that carries the reader through the shifting scenes of the West. Thea Kronberg emerges from the struggles and hardship of her early life as a great American opera singer. The title of the book was suggested by Jules Breton's famous picture, which is reproduced on the cover.

Persuasive Peggy. By Maravene Thompson. Stokes. 308 pp. \$1.25.

The story of a pretty, wilful girl who succeeds in getting her own way against all obstacles. Peggy's marriage succeeds because it is built on love and understanding.

The Prairie Wife. By Arthur Stringer. Bobbs, Merrill. 317 pp. \$1.25.

A love story of the West.

The Co-Citizens. By Cora Harris. Doubleday, Page. Ill. 220 pp. \$1.

A wealthy old lady dies, leaving her riches to her community to advance the cause of woman suffrage. The incidents that follow upon the use of the bequest unfold a story that is rich with humor and genuine fun.

The Trail of the Hawk. By Sinclair Lewis. Harper. 409 pp. \$1.35.

A splendid novel of youth and adventure.

Old Delabole. By Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. 428 pp. \$1.50.

A story of the Cornish coast that mingles the simplicity of the country folk of the Delabole slate quarries with the mystery and passion of the Celtic feeling for life. A tale of rare artistry and charm.

Lot and Company. By Will Levington Comfort. G. H. Doran. 341 pp. \$1.25.

A brilliant novel of love and adventure. Highly dramatic, and full of vitality and sheer physical energy.

CURRENT POETRY

LOVERS of poetry are indebted to Miss Amy Lowell for her contribution to the literature of poesy, "Six French Poets."¹ This book is the fruit of a whole-hearted endeavor on Miss Lowell's part to introduce to the appreciation of the general public the finest of the poets of the era that is closing. She has chosen Émile Verhaeren, Albert Samain, Remy de Gourmont, Henri de Regnier, Francis Jammes, and Paul Fort. Appendix A gives the translations of the selections quoted from these poets, and Appendix B gives the bibliography. She has not been too critical, nor wearisomely technical. The portraits are sketched with skill and insight; they glow with spiritual understanding. It would be disagreeably obvious to call Miss Lowell's prose "poetic." Its style conceals style; its sculptural simplicity has the elegant beauty of "line." Always she aims at the presentation of the dominant attitude of each of her poets. To do this she artfully associates the man with the outer symbols of his soul. With de Regnier it is the "some pillars," with Jammes, the scent of newly-mown hay and the sentimental "little flower-leaf," with de Gourmont, the profaned rose, the art of sacrilege, *Fleur hypocrite*, *Fleur du silence*, with Samain, the "velvet of steel-colored gear," the ceiling with the design, Renaissance in old silver, with Verhaeren, after all other symbols—the terror of the night wind sweeping over the great plains of Flanders. She achieves classical imagery, the reflection in the mirror of words, of the clear, bright flame of immortal genius.

It is an agreeable task to praise Mr. W. S. Braithwaite's "Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1915."² Its content gives ample evidence that American poetry during the last twelve months has become permeated with a new spirit of freedom. According to Mr. Braithwaite, this is the spirit of spring, of the "April of our years." And this April spirit, he writes, means not so much resurrection as recurrence. After many excellent advices concerning poetry, he asks poets to cease troubling about "kinds" of poetry. One man may be inspired by the old Greek ideals or the Roman myths, another by the movement of modern democracy, and yet another, as in the case of John Neihardt, may find his metier in adventurous tales of the life of our pioneer days. There are 183 poems in the anthology. Mr. Braithwaite thinks the two greatest successes of the year are Robert Frost and Edgar Lee Masters. He praises many others, Lincoln Colcord, Walter Benner, James Oppenheim, Sara Teasdale, Wallace Stevens, and a newcomer, Ruth Comfort Mitchell. Out of the entire gamut of the anthology, one may safely select Dana Burnet's "Gayheart: A Story of Defeat," "The Chinese Nightingale," by Vachel Lindsay, and "Peter Quince at the Clavier," by Wallace Stevens, as among the best poetry offered the past year. Of the three, Wallace Stevens' poem is perhaps the rarest, the one most sure to please poets; "Gayheart," a modern story of enamoured youth, the one that will appeal to the largest public; while "The Chinese Nightingale," with its haunting refrain that "Spring comes on forever," is

¹ Six French Poets. By Amy Lowell. Macmillan. 108 pp. Ill. 10.00.

² Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1915. By W. S. Braithwaite. George A. Mitchell. 206 pp. \$1.25.

nearer the edge of magical fantasy than any other. A bibliography of each poet's work in the year's magazines and brief reviews of important books of verse are given in appendix. The anthology is invaluable to those who are desirous of keeping pace with modern poetry.

Houghton, Mifflin issue in *The New Poetry Series* Grace Hazard Conklin's book of verse, "Afternoons of April."¹ The poem "To the Mexican Nightingale" might well describe the flashing vestments of her poesy. There are nature-notes, aerial echoes, bird song and faery music: "Golden drops that fell in showers, Shaken down as out of flowers." A volume of lavish beauty that will satisfy the most captious critic of song.

There is hardly another American woman-poet whose poetry is generally known and loved like that of Sara Teasdale. "Rivers to the Sea," her latest volume of lyrics, possesses the delicacy of imagery, the inward illumination, the high vision that characterizes the poetry that will endure the test of time.

Other interesting books of verse include "The House That Was and Other Poems," by Benjamin R. Low (John Lane); "The Pilgrim Kings; Greco and Goya and Other Poems of Spain," by Thomas Walsh (Macmillan); "The Poets' Lincoln," a collection of tributes by the poets of the world to Abraham Lincoln; "Dreams of Dust," by *Don Marquis* (Harper Bros.) and "The Spirit of the American Revolution," as revealed in the poetry of the period, by Samuel White Patterson (Badger).

"Poems,"² by Gilbert Chesterton, is a book of delightful unpretentious verse,—the easy, keen, sportsman-like poesy of intellectual lavishness. It overflows with wit, satire, philosophy, a kind of holy mockery, and truth, as Chesterton sees it, which is a good way to see truth. He rates hypocrites, puling cowards, and pessimists; listens for the laughter in English lanes, and calls upon the earth to bear witness to "the strange, strong cry in the darkness, of one man praising God." The poems are divided into groups: War, love, religious poems, rhymes of the times, and miscellaneous poems.

"The Lord of Misrule,"³ by Alfred Noyes, contains everything that this gifted poet has written since the publication of his "Collected Poems," in 1913, with the exception of "The Wine Press" and "A Belgian Christmas Eve." Many of these poems have the familiar lilting refrains that recall "In Lilac Time," but there is a preponderance of serious verse, that endeavors to lift men's vision beyond the horrors of war and the general unrest of the age, to perceive our ultimate recovery in the future of certain values of civilization that now seem irreparably lost. "The Sacred Oak," a song of Britain, is a stirring appeal to

the soul of England lest it forget the sacred ideals of righteousness.

The poems of Rupert Brooke⁴ are now gathered into a book and published, together with an introduction by George Edward Woodberry, and a biographical note by Margaret Lavington. The collection contains eighty-two poems, of which seventeen were written before the poet was twenty-one. Professor Gilbert Murray writes in the *Cambridge Magazine* that Rupert Brooke typified the ideal radiance of youth and poetry. Mention of his work has been made in a previous number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, but it is good to call attention once more to his genius and the pathos of his death. Professor Woodberry writes: "There is a grave in Scyros amid the white and pinkish marble of the isle, the wild thyme and the poppies, near the green and blue waters. There Rupert Brooke was buried. Thither have gone the hearts of his countrymen, and the hearts of the young especially. It will long be so. For a new star shines in the English heaven."

The poems of Irene Rutherford McLeod, "Songs to Save a Soul,"⁵ ran through three editions in London in a few months. Her poems are melodies for the young in heart. They fling the hot rebellion of rampant, daring youth into the balance against the garnered wisdom of age, and out of the dust of crumbled dreams fashion the flower of undefeated faith. A rare little book that at times brings us the spirit of Francis Thompson and a measure of his matchless music.

Alfred P. Graves and Guy Pertwee have compiled and edited "The Reciter's Treasury of Irish Verse and Prose,"⁶ to meet the increasing demand for unhackneyed Irish selections. It contains extracts from Irish writers of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. An excellent preface and short biographical notes on the authors give the volume additional value. The lover of Irish literature could scarcely conceive of a more delightful collection. It contains practically all the old favorites and all the new.

The poems⁷ of Adelaide Crapsey, the highly talented daughter of Dr. Algernon Crapsey, are now given to the public, one year after her tragic death. They are beautiful, noble lyrics, written during the last year of her life, at Saranac Lake. In them she challenges death to still the ardor of her immortal spirit. Miss Crapsey was instructor in Poetics at Smith College.

Anna M. Neis offers an attractive booklet, which extols the memory of Abraham Lincoln.⁸ It is illustrated with a portrait and cuts of the Lincoln log cabin, his old home in Springfield, and the White House.

¹Afternoons of April. By Grace Hazard Conklin. Houghton, Mifflin, 32 pp. 15 cents.

²Poems, by Gilbert Chesterton. Macmillan, 148 pp. \$1.45.

³The Lord of Misrule. By Alfred Noyes. John Lane, 156 pp. \$1.00.

⁴The Poems of Rupert Brooke. By Alfred Noyes. With introduction by George Edward Woodberry. Badger, 184 pp. \$1.00.

⁵Songs to Save a Soul. By Irene Rutherford McLeod. B. W. Huebsch, 120 pp. \$1.

⁶The Reciter's Treasury of Irish Verse and Prose. Edited by Alfred P. Graves and Guy Pertwee. Boston, 112 pp. \$1.00.

⁷Poems. By Adelaide Crapsey. The Minerva Press, Boston, 36 pp. \$1.

⁸Lincoln. By Anna M. Neis. Privately printed, Boston, Mass.

BOOKS OF THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

DR. WILLIAM HAYES
WARD

liefs have never been shaken by the results of scientific research, although in his lifetime the controversies that followed the general acceptance of the principle of evolution began and culminated. He has always been a keenly interested observer of the so-called conflict between science and religion. In his advanced years (like Dr. Lyman Abbott, to whom reference was made in these pages last month, he is now counted among the octogenarians), it is interesting to note the reactions upon his personal faith. The message that he has for the present generation is summed up in these words: "The best human reason,—I think I do not err,—whether it looks outward or inward, finds God. He is in nature about us; He is in the reason within us; it is not simply that we wish to find God, but we find Him whether we wish it or not."

Three generations of Dr. Ward's ancestors were represented in the New England pulpit. He himself read the Bible through in Hebrew during the years from six to nine, later he read it in Greek and Latin. He has long been recognized as one of the leading Orientalists of America. His activities as editor-in-chief of the *New York Independent* for almost fifty years were never permitted to prevent the gratification of his scholarly tastes.

One of the most influential of American writers on philosophical themes is Professor George Trumbull Ladd, of Yale, who has recently, in a series of four comparatively small volumes, attempted to answer these questions: "What Can I Know?" "What Am I To Do?" "What Should I Believe?" "What May I Hope?" The last-mentioned book is an inquiry into the "sources and reasonableness of the hopes of humanity, especially social and religious." As implied in the title itself the conclusions of this inquiry are consistently optimistic. Clarity and consistency of style, qualities that stand out in all of Dr. Ladd's writings, are especially marked in this latest volume.

It happens that within a few months there

IT seems altogether fitting that Dr. William Hayes Ward, who for nearly half a century, in his capacity as a journalist, has followed and interpreted the world's thought, should now tell us clearly and frankly just how the basic truths of life now present themselves to his mind. This he does with convincing candor in "What I Believe and Why." It appears from this book that the foundations of Dr. Ward's religious be-

have appeared several noteworthy restatements of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Among these are: "Some Christian Convictions,"³ by the Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, an Associate Professor in the Union Theological Seminary; "A Voice from the Crowd,"⁴ by George Wharton Pepper, being the first series of Yale Lectures on Preaching to be delivered by a layman; "What Is a Christian?"⁵ by the Rev. John Walker Powell, of Minneapolis; and "Foundations of Christian Belief,"⁶ by Francis L. Strickland, who holds the Professorship of Philosophy in the University of West Virginia.

Two British scholars have lately made important contributions to the philosophy of religion. One of these is no less a personage than the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, whose work entitled "The Foundations of Belief," appearing about twenty years ago, placed its author at once in the front rank among contemporary theologians. Although Mr. Balfour has since

that time been Premier of Great Britain, and is at the present moment First Lord of the British Admiralty, the occupations of his public life have never interfered with his philosophical pursuits. The present volume, "Theism and Humanism,"⁷ contains the substance of the Gifford Lectures delivered at the University of Glasgow in January and February, 1914.

In "Religion and Reality,"⁸ Mr. James Henry Tuckwell describes and defines what is known as "religious experience" and indicates what seems to him the only sure way to reconcile rea-

PROF. GEORGE TRUMBULL
LADD

son with religion. This is a book that makes a special appeal to the student of philosophy.

War and Christianity from the Russian Point of View. By Vladimir Solovyov. Putnam. 188 pp. \$1.50.

This argument by the greatest of Russian philosophers was published in 1900, a year before his

³Some Christian Convictions. By Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin. Yale University Press. 707 pp. 80c.

⁴A Voice from the Crowd. By George Wharton Pepper. Yale University Press. 330 pp. 41c.

⁵What Is a Christian? By John Walker Powell. Newellton. 80 pp. 8c.

⁶Foundations of Christian Belief. By Francis L. Strickland. Atlantic Press. 310 pp. \$1.20.

⁷Theism and Humanism. By the Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour. George H. Dutton. 214 pp. 41c.

⁸Religion and Reality. By J. H. Tuckwell. Dutton. 218 pp. 41c.

¹What I Believe and Why. By William Hayes Ward. Putnam. 444 pp. 85c.

²What May I Hope? By George Trumbull Ladd. Yale University Press. 288 pp. 85c.

death. In his lifetime Solovyof was recognized as one of the leading exponents of Russian mysticism. He was a poet as well as philosopher, and Mr. Stephen Graham, who writes the introduction to this translation, cites as representative this line from one of Solovyof's poems: "All ego is powerless, man is forever, and God is with us!" In this volume he combats Tolstoyism and positivism.

The Church in the City. By Frederick de L. Leete. Abingdon Press. 317 pp. \$1.

Bishop Leete, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, writes in this book from his personal experience as a city pastor.

The Community Survey in Relation to Church Efficiency. By Charles E. Carroll. Abingdon Press. 128 pp. Ill. \$1.

A useful little manual for workers in city and country church fields. A careful study of this book by ministers and laymen would surely promote church efficiency.

American Bible Society Ninety-Ninth Annual Report, 1915. American Bible Society. 631 pp.

Apropos of the Congress of Christian Work in Latin America, to be held this month at Panama, the account of the revision of the Spanish New Testament, given by the Rev. C. W. Drees, and presented in this Annual Report of the American Bible Society, has special timeliness.

Teacher-Training Essentials (Part II). By H. E. Tralle. Boston: American Baptist Pub. Society. 117 pp. \$0.25.

In the twenty-five lessons of this course, the Bible is considered in its relation to the Sunday-school teacher.

Jerusalem to Rome. By Charles Fremont Sitterly. Abingdon Press. 293 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A new translation of the Acts of the Apostles, with a commentary by Professor Sitterly, of the Drew Theological Seminary. Maps and illustrations accompany the text.

The Bible for Home and School: Mark. A Commentary by Melancthon W. Jacobus, D.D. Macmillan. 259 pp. \$0.75.

A new volume of the excellent series of commentaries known as "The Bible for Home and School." These little books place at the disposal of the general reader the results of the best modern biblical scholars.

How to Study the Old Testament. By Frank Knight Sanders and Henry A. Sherman. Scribner. 64 pp. 50 cents.

A course of study which divides the year's work into one hundred and four definite assignments so that the entire Old Testament may be

covered in one year of private reading and study, in one year's college work (three hours a week), or in classes in one year of fifty-two weeks (two assignments a week).

The Story of Our Bible. By Harold B. Hunting. Scribner. 290 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

An attractively written and illustrated account of the men who actually wrote the Bible.

Old Testament History. By Ismar J. Peritz. Abingdon Press. 336 pp. \$1.50.

In the series of Bible Study Text Books, this volume deals with the history of the Hebrew people down to the Christian era. It is based on the results of the most recent investigations of Biblical materials and discoveries in Bible lands.

The Meaning of Christianity. By William H. Cobb. Crowell. 244 pp. \$1.25.

The author's method in this book is synthetic rather than analytic or deductive. He gathers and correlates the facts that have a bearing on the problem of Christian unity.

Christianity and Politics. By William Cunningham, D.D. Houghton, Mifflin. 271 pp. \$1.50.

This series of Lowell Lectures delivered in the autumn of 1914 was concerned chiefly with the bearing of Christian teaching on the internal government of communities, but in revising the lectures for publication the author has taken account of national life in all its aspects, while an appendix discusses "The Attitude of the Church Toward War."

The Making of Christianity. By Dr. John C. C. Clarke. Associated Authors and Compilers. 423 pp. \$1.25.

An exhibit of Hebrew and Christian Messianic apocalyptic philosophy and literature.

Personal Religion. By Charles H. Rust. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 270 pp. \$1.25.

An application of progressive thought and methods in evangelism.

Jesus the Christ. By James E. Talmage. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News. 804 pp. \$1.50.

A commentary published under the auspices of the Mormon Church. The author is one of the Twelve Apostles of the church.

Religious Education and for the Healing of the Church. By W. A. Lambert. Boston: Gorham Press. 38 pp. \$75.

Religious education in the public schools discussed from the Protestant standpoint.

Faith, the Greatest Power in the World. By Rev. Samuel McComb. Harper. 83 pp. \$50.

A presentation of the rewards of faith in both the spiritual and physiological aspects.

PHILOSOPHY

MR. MILES MENANDER DAWSON has prepared a volume of the sayings of the Chinese sage, "K'ung Fu-Tsze," better known to the world by the name Confucius.¹ It consists of passages quoted from the Confucian classics, arranged by topics, in accordance with a plan laid down by Confucius himself in "The Great Learning," and connected with a sprightly running narrative by Mr. Dawson. He explains in the introduction that this book has been prepared in a spirit of helpfulness, in order to afford others the opportunity of gaining an understanding of the true nature of the Confucian conception of good conduct. It must be remembered that Confucius outlined in the "Li Ki" a plan for universal peace, the promulgation of the Great Principle, or the Great Similarity, which will make the whole world a republic and bring about the long-visions Golden Age. The foreword is by Wu Ting Fang.

The power to heal the body and the mind comes with mental labor and spiritual realization. Many people who want to understand mental healing and practise it find themselves unable to gain dominion over the physical organism because of their lack of knowledge of

the way of attainment. In "Healing Currents,"² Mr. Walter DeVoe tells one how to incorporate the positive thought and feeling of Truth into mind and body. Mr. DeVoe's metaphysical doctrine is that of the "Positive and Negative Mind of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Mediator between the two states of Being; revealing how the Truth awakens the soul to its natural inheritance as an immortal co-worker with God, giving it dominion over sin, sickness, poverty, and death."

Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University, publishes "The Problem of Knowledge,"³ a philosophical work that is a model of condensation and concise definition. It might be characterized as an exploring expedition into philosophical doctrine to discover what, after all, we really do know, and what will endure the scientific method of proof. Part I covers "The Problem of Immediate Knowledge," with all the intricate sub-divisions of the subject; Part II, "The Problem of Mediate Knowledge," with "A," "The Problem of Truth," and "B," "The Problem of Proof" (Methodology). An excellent analytical table of contents prefaces the text.

HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN

WITH the armies of the warring nations encamped before the ancient city of Bagdad, the eyes of the world are turned once more to the Euphrates Valley, where 3500 years before the Christian era there flourished a redundant civilization. Professor Morris Jastrow, authority on Oriental Languages in the University of Pennsylvania and president of the American Oriental Society, gives the ample results of his continued research in Babylonia and Assyria to the public in a remarkably fine and profusely illustrated volume, "The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria." The life of the ancient peoples of these lands, their language, history, religion, commerce, art, law, and literature have been skilfully resurrected from the remains that have come to light during excavations in recent years.

Professor Jastrow's description of the agriculture of the Euphrates Valley during the years of the Babylonian civilization is of interest. The soil is astonishingly rich. Herodotus wrote that in Southern Babylonia "grain yielded a return of two hundred-fold and even up to three hundred-fold," and described the blade of wheat and barley as often two fingers in breadth; and the stalks of the millet and sesame as surprisingly tall. Professor Jastrow calls the country the "original home of cereals." The soil is, of course, alluvial, the deposit from the overflow

of the rivers extends the land about ninety feet per year. In the days of the ancient civilization an elaborate canal system received the overflow from the rivers and carried the water out over the land. The neglect of this system, and the decadence of the art of agriculture was one of the factors that doomed this rich civilization to destruction. Now that there is prospect of this arid land receiving the advantages of modern methods of irrigation, it is interesting to read its history and speculate upon its probable future development.

There is no romance more fascinating to Americans than the historical romance of the early development of the Oregon country. As the settlement of this territory by agriculturists followed upon the decline of the fur trade, there came demands for wagon communication between the "Inland Empire" east of the Cascade Range, and the rich Willamette Valley, Puget Sound, and the lower Columbia basin. The first wagon road on the Oregon side of the river was completed in 1856. On July 6th, 1913, the great Columbia River Highway through the Cascade Mountains to the sea was opened to the public between Hood River and Portland. A wonderful and beautiful book on this great scenic road has been prepared by Samuel Lancaster, the man who was engineer of the Highway. It consists of alternate pages of printed matter and four-color reproductions of scenic photographs and portraits. The story of the Highway relates the experiences of the explorers, and the early pioneers, describes the life

¹The Sayings of Confucius. By Miles M. Dawson. Pottsville, 1913. 31 pp. \$1.00.

²Healing Currents. By Walter DeVoe. New York: George C. Harrington Co., 1913. 31 pp. \$1.00.

³The Problem of Knowledge. By Douglas Clyde Macintosh. Macmillan, 1913. 31 pp. \$1.00.

⁴The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. By Morris Jastrow, Jr. University of Pennsylvania, 1914. 316 pp. \$5.00.

⁵The Columbia River Highway. By Samuel C. Lancaster. Portland, 1913. 149 pp. \$1.00.

of the Indians, the struggles of the missionaries, the fight for the land, the problems of transportation, and follows the evolution of the famous Highway from the old Indian trail to the splendid paved road of the present day. Mr. Lancas-

ter has glimpsed the fact that every historical road is a kind of epic poem. He has given us the epic of an old Oregon road in "The Columbia—America's Great Highway Through the Cascade Mountains to the Sea."

LITERATURE AND LITERARY PROBLEMS

AN excellent popular "History of Latin Literature"¹ has been prepared for the average reader and for classroom use by Marcus Dimsdale, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. It is delightfully written, the work of a scholar whose literary skill brings us fresh and vivid impressions of Latin literature from its beginnings on through its stimulating and varied history to the African Latinity and the end of the national literature. It is issued in "The Literature of the World" Series, edited by Edmund Gosse.

Mr. Fred Lewis Pattee, Professor of English at the Pennsylvania State College, has prepared an admirable "History of American Literature Since 1870." He writes that, while American

literature in the larger sense of the term began with Irving, and that American literary history falls naturally into three sub-divisions, "the Knickerbocker Period, the New England Period, and the National Period," we have not fully considered the fact that it was not until after the Civil War that our writers ceased to be imitative and inaugurated the beginning of a truly national type of literature. Professor Pattee devotes several chapters to the Western humorists, discusses the New England group, the writers of dialect and local



PROF. FRED LEWIS PATTEE

color, the New Romance of Cable and Page and others, the Hoosier School, the Southern Novelists, and "The Triumph of the Short Story." The volume is characterized by authoritative judgment, taste, and a spacious critical faculty. Fred Lewis Pattee was born in New Hampshire, and studied at Dartmouth and various foreign universities. He is the author of "A History of American Literature," "The Foundations of English Literature," several novels, and a volume of poems.

Doubleday, Page & Co. have published for free distribution, as long as the printing lasts, an attractive essay on Joseph Conrad, by Wilson

Follet.² The work is "a short study of Conrad's intellectual and emotional attitude toward his work and of the chief characteristics of his novels." The exceptionally fine analysis of the intricacies of Conrad's literary method and the clear appraisal of his genius found in Mr. Follet's discussion of Conrad's great novel, "Victory," is typical of the general excellence of this agreeable essay.

We are pleased to call readers' attention to the New Hudson Shakespeare.³ Nine plays have been published and the remaining volumes will be issued at short intervals. It is the belief of the publishers that the scholarship embodied in the editing of the volumes, together with the inclusion of new authentic material, will make this edition especially pleasing to the public. The volumes are attractively bound in flexible blue covers and are listed at the low price of thirty cents. Those now ready are: Hamlet, King Lear, Midsummer Night's Dream, The Tempest, Macbeth, Twelfth Night, Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, and Julius Cæsar.

Apropos of the Shakespeare tercentenary there is a revival of interest in the problem of the authorship of the plays. One of the ablest spokesmen of that large group of students and admirers of the plays who are unable to accept the tradition that the actor Shakespeare of Stratford was the author of the works known by his name is G. G. Greenwood, M. P., the author of "The Shakespeare Problem Restated," who attempts in the present volume, "Is There a Shakespeare Problem?"⁴ a reply to the criticisms of his former work by Mr. J. M. Robertson and Mr. Andrew Lang. Mr. Greenwood's book should not be confused with the arguments advanced by the "Baconians." He neither upholds the Baconian theory of authorship nor does he try to arrive at any positive solution of the problem. His aim in this, as in the former book, is to meet the indignant refutations of the so-called Stratford school.

An attempt to meet the various arguments that have been advanced against the Baconian authorship of the plays is made by James Phinney Baxter in "The Greatest of Literary Problems."⁵ This work traverses much of the ground covered by Mr. Greenwood, but the standpoint throughout is frankly Baconian.

¹ Latin Literature. By Marcus Dimsdale. Appleton, 19 pp. Free distribution.

² New Hudson Shakespeare. Cloth, 30 cents per vol.

³ Is There a Shakespeare Problem? By G. G. Greenwood, M. P. John Lane Company, 612 pp. \$4.00.

⁴ The Greatest of Literary Problems, the Authorship of the Shakespeare Works. By James Phinney Baxter. Doubleday, Miller, Co., 256 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Latin Literature. By Marcus Dimsdale. Appleton, 19 pp. \$2.

⁶ A History of American Literature. By Fred Lewis Pattee. Doubleday, Page & Co., 400 pp. \$2.

OTHER BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

A Useful Life

Was It Worth While? The Life of Theodore Storrs Lee. With a foreword by Justice Charles E. Hughes. Association Press. 173 pp. Ill. 50c.

This little book is a tribute to a young American who gave seven years of his life to missionary service in India, and died in this country while on his first furlough, at the early age of thirty-eight. As Justice Hughes remarks in his foreword, young Lee "brought to the twentieth century the zeal of the first." He freely gave of his best for the advancement of an alien people. So deep an impress did he make on the communities where he lived that in one municipality, a center of the Brahmin cult, the public schools were closed on receipt of the news of his death, and officials of the British Government in India bore testimony to his influence on the natives for the betterment of political and social conditions. Mr. Lee was a graduate of Amherst and of the Union Theological Seminary, a member of a well-known New England family (his elder brother is Gerald Stanley Lee, the writer), and on taking up his work in India he married a daughter of Dr. Robert A. Hume, the distinguished missionary leader at Ahmednagar.

Art and Magic

Medieval Church Vaulting. By Clarence Ward. Princeton University Press. 192 pp. \$4.

"Medieval Church Vaulting," by Clarence Ward, classifies and discusses in a systematic manner the problems of substituting for the wooden roof of the Early Christian Basilica a covering of solid masonry. Attention is called to the intimate relation of the problems of vaulting and lighting. The contents cover Nave and Aisle Vaults; Transept and Crossing Vaults; Apse Vaults and Ambulatory Vaults. The author is Associate Professor of Architecture in Rutgers College and lecturer on architecture at Princeton University. The book is splendidly illustrated and printed with wide margins. It is published in the Princeton series of monographs in art and archaeology.

The Flower Art of Japan. By Mary Averill. John Lane. 216 pp. \$1.50.

In Japan there are many schools of flower arrangement. The two schools which follow nature most closely are the *Ikenobo* and the *Koyan-Ryu*. Mainly from these schools Mary Averill has drawn inspiration for an exquisite work, "Japanese Flower Arrangement," and a later volume, "The Flower Art of Japan." The latter book has 149 illustrations that show the beautiful effects that can be obtained by the artistic grouping of flowers, branches, and grasses.

The Magic of Jewels and Charms. By George F. Kunz. Lippincott. 422 pp. \$1.

"The Magic of Jewels and Charms," by Dr.

George F. Kunz, is by far the most comprehensive volume devoted solely to the curious lore of precious stones that has been published. A great deal of unique information gleaned from ancient sources relative to the magical power supposed to reside in certain jewels is given, together with legends and events of past ages. The book is splendidly illustrated in color, doubletone and line. It is uniform with Dr. Kunz's previous book, "The Curious Lore of Precious Stones."

Timely Information

The Human Interest Library. Editors: Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows and Henry W. Ruoff, M. A. Chicago: The Midland Press. 1673 pp. Ill. 4 Vol. \$13.80.

The basic principle on which this work is planned is simply that every important fact has its "story," and the chief editorial task has been to bring out the "human interest" of the many stories into which are woven the mass of information covered by the scheme of the work. Bishop Fallows and Dr. Henry W. Ruoff are the responsible editors, and among the contributors and revisers are Admiral Peary, Professor Frederick Starr, Professor Charles A. McMurry, and Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher. This work differs from the ordinary encyclopedia in that it is planned not merely as a work of reference, but as something to be read for its intrinsic interest. The plan of the work admits of indefinite expansion and the editors promise the addition from time to time of supplementary volumes, each complete in itself.

The Book of Progress. Albert A. Hopkins, Editor. New York: Cricke Publishing Corporation. 1921 pp. 3 Vol. Ill. \$9.

We have more than once had occasion to refer to the excellent work done by Mr. Albert A. Hopkins as editor of the "Scientific American Reference Book." In the three volumes that make up "The Book of Progress" Mr. Hopkins has an enlarged opportunity to acquaint the average reader through concise and attractively written articles with the kind of information about modern inventions that almost everyone is continually seeking and in many cases fails to find available in the usual books of reference. In these three volumes Mr. Hopkins has compiled a vast amount of up-to-date information from varied sources.

Free Homestead Lands of Colorado Described. By George S. Clason. Denver: The Clason Map Company. 318 pp. \$2.

This is a handbook for settlers compiled by a man who has had extensive experience on the undeveloped lands of Colorado.

Bankrupting a Great City (The Story of New York) By Henry H. Kline. Published by the author. 118 pp., ill. 75 cents.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—GUARANTEED AND SERIAL REAL-ESTATE MORTGAGES

DURING the first half of 1915 there was a 10 per cent. decrease in the value of building permits in the leading cities of the United States. Then came an abrupt change. In the September quarter there was a gain of 6 per cent., with a further increase over 1914 in the December quarter of 53 per cent. In the month of December alone 101 cities, according to *Bradstreet's*, showed an expansion of 81 per cent. over the previous year and were even in excess of the high mark made in 1913.

Real estate, which has seen a three to five-year depression according to locality, now gives greater promise than in a long while. One New York authority writes as of January 11: "At the present time the outlook for the future is more encouraging than it has been in three years." Another of about the same date says: "The enormous sales to Europe at high prices of food, supplies, manufacturing articles, munitions, etc., have revived many lines of business in New York City, with consequent effects in raising land values and rentals. It would appear probable that from now on there will be fewer foreclosures and a stronger market for mortgage investments."

On these texts may be based some discussion this month of the real-estate mortgage of the city, as against that of the farm, as an investment for the individual with from \$50 up to sums expressed in six figures, to place at a fair return in income and security as to principal and interest.

The magnitude of the guaranteed mortgage business is scarcely realized by one who has not taken pains to investigate it. The latest records of two New York companies which specialize in this form of investment indicate that the one, since 1892, has guaranteed mortgages in the aggregate of \$560,000,000, and now has \$250,000,000 outstanding, and the other, since 1894, has guaranteed \$316,000,000, representing 17,335 individual loans, and to-day has \$144,000,000 in the hands of 44 savings banks, 1341 trustees, 3734 private investors, 208 charitable institutions, 14 insurance companies and 30

trust companies. These amounts represent loans entirely on New York City property. The net return to the investor in such guaranteed loans is 4½ per cent. on Manhattan realty and ½ of 1 per cent. more on real estate in the other boroughs of Greater New York.

There are two methods available to the prospective investor in guaranteed real-estate mortgages. One is to buy direct and become the holder of the mortgage which the seller (usually a title and mortgage company) has guaranteed as to principal and interest at a commission generally of 1½ per cent., or to participate in a mortgage through a certificate of ownership giving the same security as in the original instance. It may be said that the former method is most commonly followed as opportunity is given for investment ranging from a few thousand up to several hundred thousand dollars. The second plan was created to meet the requirements of investors with \$1000 or less who have been able to obtain in pieces of \$50, \$100, \$200, \$500 and \$1000 participation in what may be frankly rated as the choicest investment available next to government bonds. In some instances payments have been permitted in monthly installments.

Differences of method have also obtained where the broad idea of a guaranteed real-estate investment is the same. For instance, one investor may wish to have his investment represent a specific piece of property. Say the entire mortgage is for \$100,000. He may be one of ten each holding a \$10,000 participation which is guaranteed against loss in any form, or one of 100 whose unit of investment is \$1000. This may even be divided into smaller units. Or he may be of the opinion that it is wiser to distribute his fund without complicating his investment, in which case he becomes a sharer in a mortgage series which may embody a dozen different loans on equally good property, but in which the depreciation in one direction, due to changes in commercial or residence currents, common to Manhattan Island, will be offset by the appreciation in one or more

others on property in more favored sections. There is little choice between the two forms.

Owners of these guaranteed mortgages have the double equity contained in the original loan ranging from a minimum of 40 per cent. to a maximum of 75 per cent. of the appraised value of the property covered in the mortgage and the guaranty of the issuing company. So conservatively has the business been carried on that the concern having written guarantees of over half a billion dollars in twenty-three years has lost only \$82,000, and the other, in twenty-one years, has lost less than half a mill for every dollar of loans put out. Even this infinitesimal amount did not affect the holder of the guaranteed mortgage or certificate who is insured against all loss.

Not every one is satisfied with a $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 per cent. return on his capital, though one may still insist on safety as the prime requisite of the investment in prospect. To realize a higher yield it will be necessary, however, to waive the factor of guarantee and to appraise the certificate or bond on the conservatism of property appraisal, the proportion of the loan to appraised value and the earning capacity of the property mortgaged. These are indeed the fundamental considerations even where guarantees follow. In the last analysis, it may be said, a guarantee would be of only nominal value if the risk in itself were not a worthy one.

To meet such requirements there are several investment opportunities offered. One is a 5 per cent. bond listed on the New York Stock Exchange and secured by the deposit of an equal amount of first mortgages with a trust company as trustee. A series now being offered returns $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Supporting such bonds is the principle advocated in this department in the December issue of geographical distribution of investment risk for the mortgages are on property in sixteen different cities of the West and South, and the loans are made at less than 40 per cent. of the appraised valuations compared with an average in New York City said to be about 65 per cent. The bulk of these bonds are held by fire and life insurance companies, by trust companies, colleges and universities. The average size of the mortgage loan is only \$1000, and in a majority of cases the obligation is placed on the mortgagor of reducing his principal by annual payments. This is always an ideal in real-estate investment to be capitalized to its fullest extent.

Real-estate investment possibilities do not, however, stop when we have reached the 5

or $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. income. A man in New York City prefers Manhattan Island loans netting $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. because he can be in daily reach of his investment expressed in the loan. Just so the Chicagoan prefers his neighborhood property and can prove that it is intrinsically as valuable as that on Broadway. When it comes to earning capacity and stability he undoubtedly has the better of the argument; for office buildings in New York that yield 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. will return 8 per cent. on leased land in Chicago and often 10 and 12 per cent., while in the Western city there are no such radical shiftings in wholesale and retail centers as there have been in New York in the past two decades. Furthermore, the general interest rate in the East is about 1 per cent. less than in Chicago and other cities. The situation has been well put in the following phrases: "In New York the volume of money available for investment exceeds the supply of real-estate loans. In Chicago the supply exceeds the demand and the interest rate naturally is higher." Whereas, the statutes of New York State permit bank loans up to 60 per cent. of the value of the security, the serial 6 per cent. bonds being sold in constantly increasing amounts by a Chicago banking house are never in excess of 50 per cent. of the appraised property valuations.

Of bonds of this type the establishment referred to has sold nearly \$65,000,000 worth, and makes the proud claim that, in thirty years, no one of its investors has lost a dollar. Another business involving the investment of \$100,000,000 in sixty years has still to show the slightest misfortune among its clients. Loans against which these series 6 per cent. bonds are issued are on office buildings, department stores, hotels, apartment buildings in the best residence sections and on newly improved real estate in manufacturing districts where land values are heavy and the equity in the loan reflects the land rather than the building. These loans are not confined to Chicago, though a majority are made there. Some even have been made recently in the East.

The strong feature of such real-estate bonds is the amortization of the loan. By this process the equity of the bondholder is constantly increasing independent of the presumed appreciation in land values and earning capacity of buildings. The bonds usually have a life of ten years. This is also true of most of the guaranteed mortgages earlier described, though there are three- and five-year maturities, too. Annual payments to

reduce the principal by the end of ten years will bring the sum of the mortgage down to 40 per cent. of the property appraisal figure, making renewal, if desired, a simple matter. These bonds are issued to meet the wants of small investors as well as large and can be had in denominations as low as \$100.

It is a very gratifying feature of the real-estate investment market that amortization is becoming a recognized element in stabilizing this market. The practise introduced by the Chicago firm with such great success is spreading throughout the East and has been observed in various announcements of real-estate securities since the first of the

new year. Its best tendency is that of checking speculative building from which so many cities suffer and out of which comes collapse.

One objection to real-estate mortgages of the guaranteed certificate bond or serial bond type which may be in the mind of the investor is that of marketability. They are not listed on any exchange, save in the one case mentioned. For the issuing companies, however, it may be said that they have always been willing to buy back from the investor at a small discount for expense of the operation bonds offered in emergencies before date of maturity. As collateral in loans they are highly regarded.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 700. INFORMATION ABOUT SOME LOW-PRICED "RAILS"

Will you please give me some information as to the present condition of the following railroads: Wheeling & Lake Erie, Toledo, St. Louis & Western, Chicago Great Western and Kansas City Southern.

In general, these roads have been showing, during the last few months, very marked improvement in earnings over those of the corresponding period of the previous year. This improvement, moreover, has been not only in gross, but also in net earnings, thus reflecting favorably, of course, on the status of the outstanding bonds and stocks of these corporations.

With particular reference to Chicago Great Western it may be pointed out that during the fiscal year ended June 30 last, the road showed the equivalent of about 1.95 per cent. earned on the outstanding preferred stock. The initial dividend was declared on these shares, and paid as you may probably know, only last December. It is felt in many quarters that the showing of earnings hardly justified placing the stock on a dividend basis at this time, especially in view of the results of previous years, although it is pretty generally admitted that the property itself is in fine condition, and that its outlook, in common with that of practically all the railroads of the country, is now encouraging.

Kansas City Southern, during its last fiscal year, earned the equivalent of a little less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the preferred stock, comparing with about $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. during the previous year.

Toledo, St. Louis & Western, during the last fiscal year, showed a deficit of more than \$500,000 after the payment of interest and fixed charges of all kinds. For the year ended June 30, 1914, the road earned a surplus which was the equivalent of a little but more than 1 per cent. on the preferred stock.

The situation of the Wheeling & Lake Erie is similar to that of the Toledo, St. Louis & Western. Last year there was a deficit of about \$73,000, comparing with a surplus for 1914 which was the equivalent of 9.40 per cent. on the first preferred shares, and about $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the second preferred shares.

This kind of brief summary is the one which

suggests itself in the absence of more specific questions, or information regarding the reasons underlying your inquiry.

No. 701. BUYING INTO A RECEIVERSHIP

I am contemplating the purchase of a few shares of Missouri, Kansas & Texas preferred stock. Although I have been told that this plan is in the hands of the receiver, I am inclined to believe the value of the stock is questionable and uncertain. Would you advise me to buy it? What do you think of the partial payment plan of buying stocks?

We have no information that would tend to confirm the belief you entertain that the market value of M. K. & T. is going to advance. Nor are we able to discuss the advisability of the purchase of the stock at this time, because in the circumstances, the transaction would be a purely speculative one, and as such entirely outside the province of this department. We can say in a general way, however, that we think there are very few circumstances, indeed, in which it is advisable for the average investor to buy into a receivership and assume the added liability of having to pay the substantial cash assessments that are usually levied against the shareholders in reorganization.

Thus far little, if any, definite progress seems to have been made in working out a plan for the capital readjustment of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas. It is reasonably certain, however, that any plan that is put into effect must call for stock assessments as one of the principal means of raising the new capital of which the road stands in need.

As for the partial-payment plan of buying stocks, we are strongly opposed to its employment in transactions of the kind we have been discussing. In fact, the more conservative brokerage houses do not grant the privileges of the plan in connection with such transactions. However, if standard, well-established dividend paying stocks are purchased in this way with the idea of holding them for income purposes, rather than for the purpose of trading in and out of the market with a view to the realization of possible speculative profits, we do not hesitate to give our approval to the plan. In short, we think it a good way in which to combine saving with investment in cases where surplus funds accumulate in relatively small amounts from time to time.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

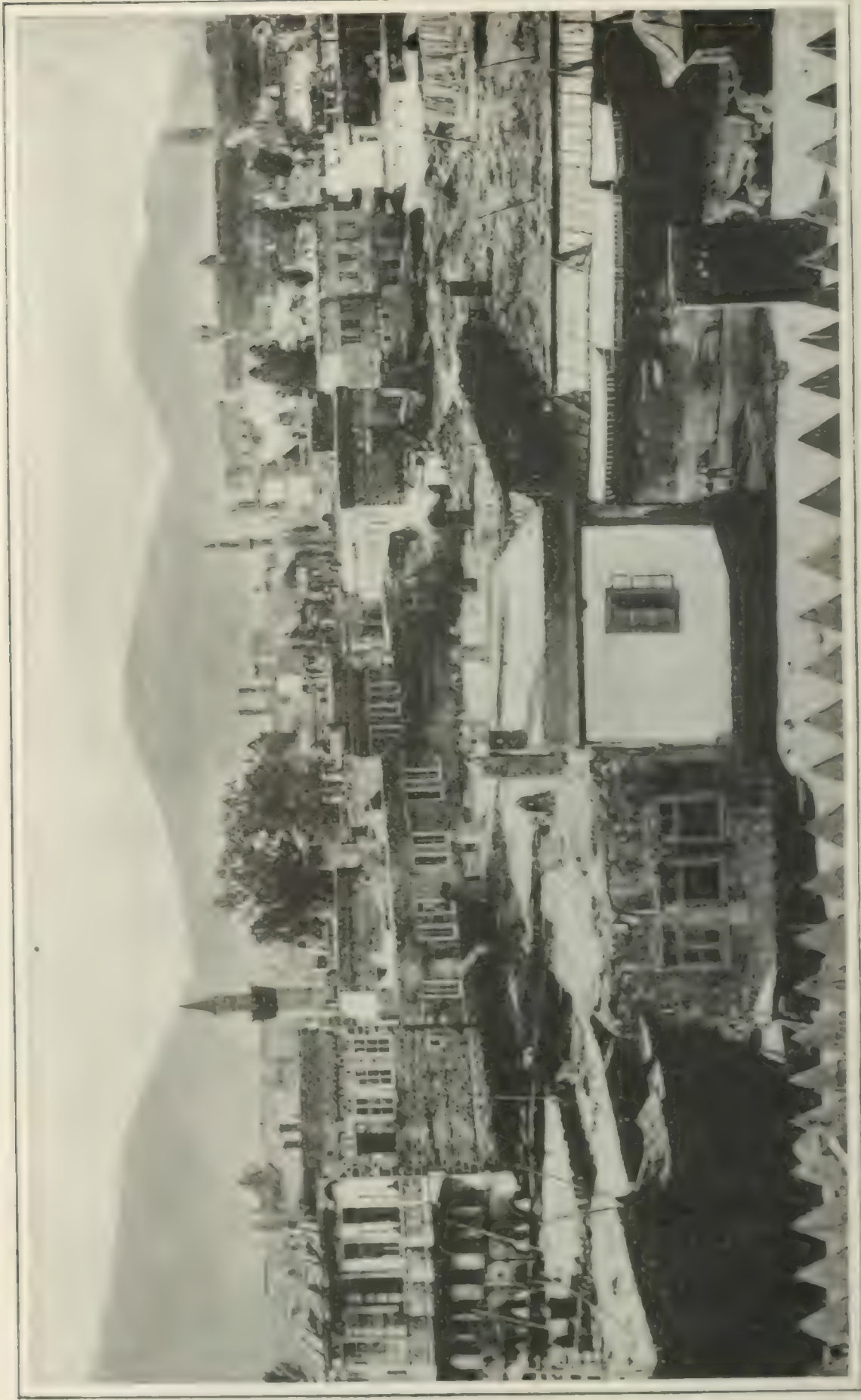
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THE CITY OF ERZERUM, IN ASIA MINOR, CAPTURED ON FEBRUARY 16 BY THE RUSSIAN TROOPS UNDER GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

(This Turkish stronghold is still known by the Armenians as Garni. It is a place of great antiquity. For almost twenty-five hundred years the town has been in the hands of the Turks, but in 1916 the Russians took it from them and held it for a few months. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 the Russians made an unsuccessful attack on Erzerum and occupied the town during the winter of 1878, but during the summer of 1878, the Russians evacuated it to Turkey after the Treaty of Berlin. Erzerum is over 6,000 feet above the sea, and hills in the vicinity rise to 10,000 feet. It is situated at the eastern end of a plain thirty miles long and about twelve miles wide, bordered by mountains. The position is one of great strength, and would be of enormous advantage to the Allies in case of a British advance from the south. Erzerum has a population of about 15,000, including 10,000 Armenians.)

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No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Complex Machinery
One of the worst things about a complicated mechanism of government is the difficulty the ordinary citizen encounters in keeping alive to the main facts of politics and their real significance. Everyone knows that we are to elect a President this year; and many people realize to some extent the enormous influence that fact has upon the way in which every subject is approached, and every question dealt with, by those who hold their present lease of power and are determined, if possible, to obtain a further lease of four years. But while there is some inkling of the influence that an approaching Presidential election has upon the course of affairs, there is probably not one American citizen in a hundred who had a keen perception last month of the real bearings of an approaching election of four hundred and thirty-five members of the House of Representatives at Washington upon the policies and the fortunes of the country. In countries like England, Canada, or France, which have a more simple and responsive form of government, an approaching parliamentary election would be forced upon the aroused intelligence of almost every man, woman, and child.

Progress of a Nation
A member of the Canadian cabinet, in an interview last month, declared that the Dominion has the most truly popular government in the world. He meant to be understood as holding that the Canadian system is more responsive to public opinion than ours in the United States, and that the citizens are therefore more conscious of their relation to it. So momentous are the risks and burdens imposed by the great war that the Canadians have decided to dispense as far as possible with "politics." Their fundamental law requires the election of a new Dominion Par-

liament at the end of five years, unless the failure of a party in power to hold the continued support of a parliamentary majority should have led to a dissolution and a new election previous to the end of the five-year maximum term. Under the five-year law, Canada would be obliged to hold a general election this year; but the law will be suspended and the existing situation will continue indefinitely. The policies and measures of the cabinet headed by Sir Robert L. Borden have the cordial support of the opposition party headed by the veteran statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Only a few years ago Canada was engaged in desperate political strife over questions of naval aid to the Empire, railroad subsidies, tariffs, and national policies in general. Now these strifes are for the most part laid aside. There is an indefinite period of Political Truce.

Benefits of a Great Truce
Members of Parliament are certain to hold their seats till present emergencies are lived through. They do not have to spend three-quarters of their time watching their own local political fences, whether in the eastern or the far-western Provinces. They are not compelled to bother over what are for the most part exaggerated, if not wholly artificial, distinctions between parties. They are free to give their best thought and effort to the welfare of Canada as a whole. They are seeking points of agreement rather than of difference. They are trying the experiment of government by cooperation, as against that of government by partisanship, division, and misrepresentation. So much of benefit will have come to Canada through this period of genuinely constructive national effort that it will go far towards recompensing the losses and sacrifices of the war. If peace comes without too great delay, the

energizing of Canada by reason of the efforts that have been put forth in this period will yield notable results. Not only will Canada be the second nation of the Western Hemisphere—she holds that place already—but one of the most influential communities of the reorganized world that is to be.

*National
Military
Service*

Canada, as an immediate consequence of this war, will have a citizenship fully organized for national service. Even if the war should end within the next year, Canada would have almost or quite half a million soldiers, 60 per cent. of them being well trained and disciplined. She could not fail to benefit by the intense discussion that has taken place in England, the United States, and elsewhere, regarding "preparedness." The best-informed Canadians have said privately, with even more emphasis than in public utterances, that Canada has not the slightest intention of relapsing to a defenseless condition. On the other hand, the Canadians are neither so unintelligent nor so extravagant as to think of creating a professional army of the old-fashioned kind, on a large scale. Their half-million soldiers at the end of the war will for the most part constitute a reserve body. They will be eager to go back to civilian life, and Canada will be just as free from "militarism" as if no man in the country had ever learned to shoot a rifle. But Canada will almost certainly adopt a plan, more or less similar to that of Australia, by means of which boys and young men may obtain a sufficient amount of training to make it easy for them to render actual military service if another time of need should ever come. The experience of our nearest neighbor in this regard should have a salutary influence upon the course of affairs south of the international boundary line.

*No Election
in England*

In England, towards the end of January, legislation was adopted further prolonging the life of the present Parliament, which had completed a full five years of existence on February 1. There are differences of opinion in England, undoubtedly. But differences are minimized and the spirit of national unity is much more potent than that of faction or party or class strife. There may, indeed, be dangers and disadvantages in having a ruling class that is too permanent, and that dwells unduly in the atmosphere of imperial policies, of world control through sea power, and of the ex-

ercise of authority over many subject territories and races. But there are also great advantages in having a body of men trained in statecraft, diplomacy, and administration, who render public service with assured continuity. When, furthermore, in a country like England in serious times the party divisions are lost sight of, and the best-trained men of the different political sects and schools abandon the game of trying to trip one another up, and merge their wisdom and patriotism for the welfare of their country, great things are sure to happen that will redeem many of the mistakes and wrongs of the past, as noted in Chesterton's latest book.

*"Conscription"
—The New
Patriotism*

One of the best things that has already happened in England bears the ugly and hated name of "conscription." A year ago it seemed impossible to bring the ease-loving and selfish citizens of England to this point of unselfishness and devotion. But the thing has been accepted; and what was so ugly under the name of "conscription" becomes fine and worthy in its real aspect of *national service without shirking*. The thing that falls into



COMPULSORY SERVICE IN ENGLAND: A DUTCH VIEW

KIKER: "Look here, shaking his fist at the host of the Nation. 'This change of costume is something I have to thank you for, William.'"

From De Nieuw-Amsterdamer (Amsterdam, Holland)

disfavor is the medieval conception of the hired or professional standing army, that had kept its hold in England and the United States. "Universal service" is merely another term for "true democracy," that recognizes obligation and privileges as belonging equally to every citizen. This conception is in perfect accord with any sensible view of peace, international arbitration, and world-union for the avoidance of war. Lamentable as is much of the history of all the great European powers—a history that has, at least remotely, contributed to the causes of the present frightful struggle—there are many signs of a clearing away of surviving wrongs and evils as a result of the higher value that real manhood is assuming in every European country. The bad kind of diplomacy, that has engendered national rivalries and the appeal to force, will to a great extent be done away with. Social wealth will be more strictly applied to the common welfare. Great Britain and Ireland will be a better and more united kingdom in the years to come than ever in the past. A finer social and political harmony within the nation, instead of being a menace to other countries, must have just the opposite effect. Germany would not have precipitated the present war if there had been a higher development of democracy, and a better popular control of the policies touching the Empire's larger relationships. England,



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GEN. SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON

(Recently appointed Chief of Staff of the British Imperial forces, and who takes over from Lord Kitchener the direct control of England's new levies of men by the million)

on the other hand, would have been a stronger influence for peace if the harmony and national spirit that events have now begun to produce could have been secured in domestic affairs a few years earlier. "Conscription," in the sense of an equally distributed responsibility for the general welfare, will make for harmony at home and for peace abroad.



AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION. A GERMAN VIEW.
"Soldiers being weary," "The soldiers are like me and
all soldiers are," "You were the men whom I had to kill."
From January 25 (Monday)

Our
Short-term
Legislators

But let us return to some review of our own current problems of politics and government. As we have remarked, the 435 members of the House, representing as many distinct Congressional districts from Maine to Arizona and from Florida to Puget Sound, are for themselves keenly aware of party politics and approaching elections. It was only three months ago (the first Monday in December) that this new Sixty-fourth Congress assembled at Washington, took oath of office, and entered upon its first session. Yet even now its members are facing the ordeal of another election. Its committees have been dealing with important questions, but the House as a body has completed very little of the work

deemed necessary for the present session. Through no fault of their own, these harassed law-givers are compelled by our system of government to give a great share of their attention to detailed matters relating to their own districts, and especially to the preparation for the coming contests at the polls. Some members are reasonably sure of succeeding themselves. But many others are not even sure of obtaining renomination at the hands of their own fellow-partisans, while others who can count upon renomination are by no means sure of election. The term is far too short for comfort or efficiency. It is not easy to over-estimate the unfortunate effect of these conditions upon the treatment of public questions at Washington.

*Our
District
System*

Indeed, it would be difficult to exaggerate that effect. When from time to time we develop in Congress strong men of national view and capacity for leadership, it is in spite of our system rather than by virtue of it. The rigidity of our plan of strict territorial representation is scarcely known in any other country. Some unlucky turn of the political wheel in a particular district relegates to private life a man who is beginning to render conspicuous service to the nation. In other countries, the leaders are kept in public life. If Mr. Lloyd George were not reelected by his particular constituency in Wales, he could in due time have his choice of any one of a hundred constituencies in England, Scotland, or Ireland. Three-fourths of the House of Commons might be made up of Liberals and Radicals, but there would be no trouble in securing a seat for such Conservatives as Mr. Balfour or Mr. Bonar Law. We are not saying these things to find fault with our system, or to stigmatize it as unworkable. We are merely calling attention to some of its characteristics.

*Some
Consequences*

In the course of a given decade, we have five Congressional elections that renew the entire House. It might be safe to estimate that on the average, for a series of five elections, one-third of the members are entirely new, another third are of comparatively short service, and the remaining third of reasonably stable or continuous membership. In the past fifty years we have had just twice as many general elections as the British,—that is to say, Parliaments have averaged about four years each. Recent parliamentary elections have carried some definite action of Parlia-

ment (such as the Lloyd George budget, and the bill reducing the authority of the House of Lords) direct to the verdict of the people. Such appeals to the country have not broken in upon the course of Parliamentary business, but have been with direct reference to the completion of such business. The English system concentrates attention upon large questions, and keeps in public life almost every man who develops especial fitness and talent. Our system does not work in that way. A great number of promising men enter the House of Representatives, and disappear just as they are ready for usefulness. Thus we have had approximately 1000 different individuals serving in the House within the past ten years. There were 163 entirely new members of the Congress that was elected in 1912. There are 120 new members in the present Congress, elected in November, 1914.

*What
Our Be-
lievers*

It is true that this system prevents the Government at Washington from getting too far away from a nation-wide sentiment. It keeps the Government from being unduly influenced by the atmosphere of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the powerful agencies that control the newspaper press of the Atlantic seaboard. Texas, North Carolina, California, Minnesota, Nebraska, have to-day just as much influence upon the debating and voting of Congress as they would have if the capital were located at Kansas City or at Denver. It is not, then, that the system should be discarded, so much as that it should be made a little more elastic, and much more highly nationalized in its spirit. Without any change at all in the Constitution or the laws, it would be possible for States and districts to find their best men; to dedicate them to the country; to liberate them from bondage to the petty demands of local constituents for postmasterships, post-office buildings, garden seeds, and other favors; and to enter into the more noble and generous kind of conspiracy that would seek to keep the local favorite in office term after term and develop him into a statesman of national usefulness and repute.

*"Pork-barrel"
Liberality*

This was more likely to be done in the period of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster than it is to-day. The "pork barrel," so-called, is one of the worst evils with which we have now to contend. It will be hard, however, to get rid of it until the citizens of a given district are ready to applaud the member of Congress

who comes back home and assures them that he has not committed a single impropriety for the supposed benefit of any constituent. Hail to the Congressman who refuses to play tricks upon the country for the benefit of his neighbors or to strengthen his local political fences! The "pork-barrel" principle turns Congress into a band of men eager to loot the very treasury that it is their sworn duty to protect. There is a pending River and Harbor bill of nearly \$50,000,000, which is by no means as bad as river-and-harbor bills were likely to be twenty years ago. But the present bill is extravagant, and it is made upon the plan of favoring as many districts as possible for the sake of getting the necessary items accepted by Congress. Necessary work in New York harbor can be performed only by granting money for needless work in many other places. We are in great need of several important buildings at Washington for the proper accommodation of public services. Yet the "pork-barrel" system requires the distribution of unnecessary post-offices and other public buildings throughout the country in order to get the needful things done.



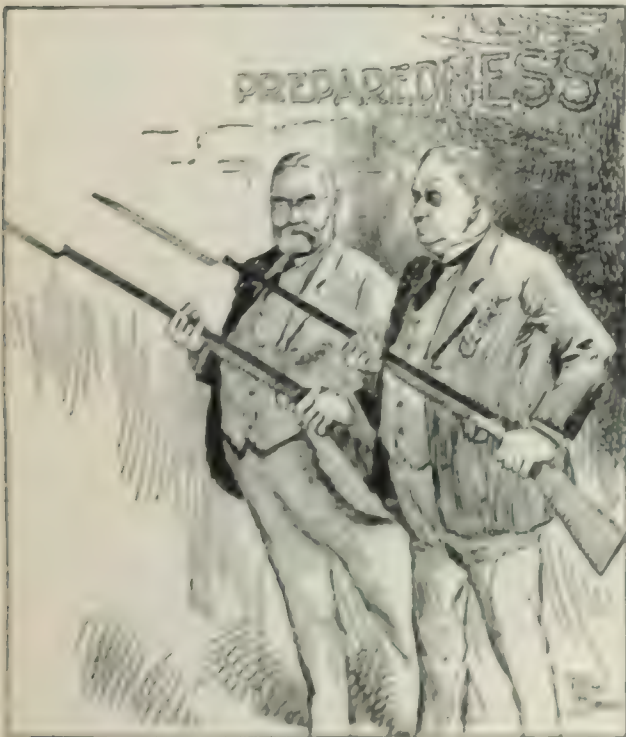
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HON. CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

(Who took the floor last month in support of a program of immediate preparation for defense)

Mr. Garrison and the System
"Pork-barrel politics" caused the loss to the country of an exceptionally valuable cabinet officer only last month. Mr. Garrison, as Secretary

of War, had been asked by the President early last year to consult widely and prepare a plan for improving the military defenses of the country. Mr. Garrison had accordingly concentrated his efforts upon that problem, and had produced a plan which was last fall accepted by his chief and made the official Administration program. President Wilson had devoted his annual message to Congress (delivered December 7) to the advocacy of the army and navy plans that had been worked out by the civil and professional heads of the two services. Mr. Garrison's plan had included first a considerable enlargement of the regular army, and second a reserve body of about 400,000 men to be known as the Continental army and to be made up for the most part of men taking a brief intensive training to the extent of about 133,000 each year. The only definite alternative for Mr. Garrison's plans,—or, rather, for the Administration's program, for it had been fully accepted as such,—was the plan of increasing somewhat the State troops known as the National Guard and paying these local bodies a great deal of money out of the national treasury. The plans for the Continental army were laid before the military committee of the House, but very coldly received. The National Guard scheme, on



COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE
Left: Mr. Garrison, Secretary of War, and Mr. Clark, Speaker of the House, in support of the program of immediate preparation for defense.
From the Evening Star (Illustration)



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

HON. LINDLEY M. GARRISON

(Who resigned last month as Secretary of War)

the other hand, was found to have a surprising number of friends and supporters, with almost nothing that could be said in its favor by anybody who really cared for an efficient military system.

*The Other
Plan Had
Friends*

The explanation is not far to seek. The National Guard is a very incoherent body, considered in the military sense. But for lobby purposes it is admirably efficient. Nobody seems to know exactly its present size, but it has perhaps a net effective membership of 100,000. It consists of forty-eight little armies, under the separate control of the forty-eight States. It has certain limited aspects of uniformity, growing out of laws of Congress which have made it certain grants of supplies conditioned upon the meeting of certain requirements. Its personnel is of widely varying character, much of it being of excellent native quality; while its military character ranges all the way from good in some States and regiments

to inferior in others. Many of the men in the National Guard deserve great credit, and we are very far from disparaging them. They did not create the system, and are not responsible for its defects. It belongs to the States, and there is no way by which it can be made to belong to the nation. What, then, has suddenly given the National Guard so favorable a place in the council chambers at Washington? The answer would seem quite simple. These local organizations with one accord wish to be paid out of national funds.

*Millions in
Salaries
Were at Stake*

The pending project gives salaries to all the National Guard officers and fixes a scale of pay for all the privates. Every Congressman has to reckon with a concrete pressure from the officers and men of his own district. There is no reason to suppose that the country would be much better off as regards defense than it is to-day, even if a good many millions were voted out of the national treasury to be distributed in salaries and in pay to the State troops. If, indeed, in any time of emergency these troops should actually come to the service of the country, they would naturally receive pay. But meanwhile it is the business of the States to provide for their own State troops, just as it is the business of the cities to provide for their own police forces. It happens, however, that every Congressman has a greater or smaller number of National Guardsmen in his district, and that many of these men are active and influential. The opportunity for a National Guard "pork barrel" is, therefore, tempting to an unusual degree. The Guardsmen who favor the national appropriation are honest and sincere, and we have no fault at all to find with them. But they do not see the problem of national defense from the country's standpoint. So Mr. Garrison's United States army found no friends except the discerning and disinterested advocates of America's honor and safety. There was no "pork" in it for anybody.

*The Country
Has Not
Convinced*

Even in the midst of a life and death war, it took England a whole year to work sentiment up to the need of military training and organization. It is not strange, then, that the people of the United States are not yet aroused, although the awakening has begun and is going forward. The European war was a full year old before President Wilson was so much as converted to the idea that the navy should be made considerably more effective. If the commander of the forces is

satisfied, who else should be worried? The whole country is now awake as to the navy. The Middle West, and even the South, are ready to have the navy made second only in power to that of Great Britain. If the President had told the West that he wanted 200 submarines and 1000 postal-military aeroplanes, he would have found himself supported. But the Middle West and the South do not want a big army; and they have not been made to understand that the right kind of military preparation is directly opposite to the old-fashioned notion of a great standing army. Salaries to the National Guard's officers is a move in exactly the wrong direction. Every boy in the United States could be made into a fairly efficient defender of his country, without any appreciable increase in the Government's military expenditure over the average of the last ten years. The strong navy we need will cost a great deal of money; and the country is willing to pay the bills without flinching. But the kind of military training this country wants, or should have, can be made a valuable by-product of our universal system of education, and need cost practically nothing beyond what we already pay. What it is proposed to pay to 100,000 State troops would train fully 1,000,000 men for the finest sort of a national reserve army.



PRESIDENT EDMUND J. JAMES, OF ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

(Dr. James, who is one of our foremost educational authorities and organizers, shows how the country may secure an unlimited supply of reserve officers by using institutions like his own)

Squandered Opportunities

The federal Government is already spending several millions every year upon more than fifty great institutions, located in every State, which are obliged by law to give military training. President James, of the University of Illinois, appeared before the Military Committee of Congress last month and showed how vast an opportunity for the training of officers was being thrown away through sheer failure to utilize the most obvious of opportunities. As we have said more than once in these pages, no other country possesses any such equipment as we already have for the training of officers. Our present military establishment is topsy-turvy. Dr. James stated that on one occasion the only officer the War Department would send to train and drill his thousands of young men at Urbana-Champaign, Ill., was a single Second Lieutenant. Yet there were scores, perhaps hundreds, of army officers in and about Washington, every one of whom ought to have been busy from morning till night teaching and training bright young men in such institutions as these great "Land Grant" colleges. So far as national defense is concerned, we would be better off to put the single Second Lieutenant in sole charge of one of our typical army posts, and assign all his superior and colleagues to tasks of training.



JAMES JAMES & BEING CLEANING
 (From the Times (New York))

Am-
er-
i-
can
Schools

The German army in peacetime is a vast school, and little else. The professional organization each year receives for training a great number of twenty-year-old recruits. Educated young men in Germany are allowed to enter the army as volunteers at their own expense and serve only one year, after which they become officers in the reserve. Our own regular army should be wholly engaged in training young citizens. As Dr. James well shows, our State universities are capable of giving us an unlimited supply of men of sufficient training to become officers in a national reserve or Continental army of the Garrison type. We should need a small standing army; but we should make the advantages of membership in it more evident, and keep the terms of enlistment short. We have tens of thousands of engineers, trained in our technical colleges and State universities. A very little additional military training would render them the most effective body of men for national defense to be found in the world, and they are ready, as patriots, to be enrolled for the mere asking. We are quoting elsewhere (see page 351) a summary of the views expressed by Dr. James before the committee at Washington.

The
President's
Propaganda

President Wilson, having made national defense the subject of his message to Congress in December, soon discovered a great lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Democrats who were expected to follow his leadership. Mr. Claude Kitchin, official floor leader in the House, proved to be a champion of anti-preparedness, who could not be converted to the President's view. Mr. Hay, of Virginia, chairman of the Military Committee, with nearly all the other members of that committee, was entirely out of sympathy with the Administration's plans and programs. Accordingly, President Wilson went on a swift speech-making tour in the West to ring the alarm-bells and arouse people to the dangers that confront us. He was away from Washington a week, and made twenty speeches, ten of them of a formal nature. His principal stops were at Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Des Moines, Kansas City, and St. Louis. He returned to Washington on February 4. The newspapers agreed that the President was treated with great respect, that large crowds heard him, and that the trip was a personal success. But it seems not to have been a success in the sense of bringing sup-

port to the declared program. The Middle West appreciated Mr. Wilson's eloquence, but did not show the smallest signs of alarm when Mr. Wilson declared that the world was aflame and that our own homes were in danger.

"He Went, He
Said," and He
Returned!

When Mr. Wilson returned he conferred freely with members of Congress, and allowed it to be known that he was no longer wedded to any particular plan, and was wholly open to conviction. Mr. Wilson is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. He had presented to the country a specific plan of defense, and was expected to work for it to the utmost. He had gone on the stump, supposedly, to advocate it. There was no way by which this new Congress could well have evolved a national-defense program of its own out of its varied local proclivities. The only chance for an army plan of any value lay in the insistence upon the main outlines of an administration project. On January 12 and two days later, before Mr. Wilson made his speaking tour, Secretary Garrison had written him urgent letters. On February 9, five days after Mr. Wilson's return from his speaking tour on behalf of preparation for national defense, Secretary Garrison wrote him a letter which has so much importance for the student of current affairs that we quote it in full:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Two matters within



MORE PEOPLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION TRENCHES
FROM THE EVENING NEWS (NEWARK)



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PRESIDENT WILSON SPEAKING FROM THE REAR PLATFORM IN THE WEST LAST MONTH

(Secretary Tamm stands at the President's right.)

the jurisdiction of this department are now of immediate and pressing importance, and I am constrained to declare my position definitely and unmistakably thereon. I refer, of course, to the Philippine question and the matter of national defense.

You know my convictions with respect to each of them. I consider the principle embodied in the Clarke amendment an abandonment of the duty of this nation and a breach of trust toward the Filipinos; so believing, I cannot accept it or acquiesce in its acceptance.

I consider the reliance upon the militia for national defense an unjustifiable imperilling of the nation's safety. It would not only be a sham in itself, but its enactment into law would prevent, if not destroy, the opportunity to procure measures of real, genuine national defense. I could not accept it or acquiesce in its acceptance. I am obliged to make my position known immediately upon each of these questions,—in a speech on Thursday afternoon upon the national defense question and in a communication to the House committee having charge of the Philippine question. As, with respect to either matter, we are not in agreement upon these fundamental principles, then I could not, with propriety, remain silent. My convictions would be manifestly not only divergent, but utterly irreconcilable.

You will appreciate the necessity of timely knowledge upon my part of the determination reached by you with respect to each of these matters, so that I may act advisedly in the future. Sincerely yours, LEONARD M. GARRISON.

On the following day the President wrote to Mr. Garrison a much longer letter, in which, as regards the question of a specific military plan, the most important phrases were:

"I am not yet convinced. . . . I feel in duty bound to keep my mind open to conviction on that side [the National Guard argument]. . . . I should deem it a very serious mistake to shut the door against this attempt on the part of the Committee in perfect good faith to meet the essentials of the program set forth in my message, *but in a way of their own choosing*. . . . This is a time when it seems to me patience on the part of all of us is of the essence. . . ."

It must be remembered that Mr. Wilson, when he wrote this letter to the Secretary of War, had just returned from a speaking tour in which he had addressed great crowds, telling them that we might be drawn into the European war at any moment. The following sentence, taken from his speech at St. Louis, was typical of his attitude and tone in a score of addresses in a number of different States:

"Speaking with all solemnity, I assure you there is not a day to be lost. This smooth should not go by without something decisive being

done by the people of the United States by way of preparation of the arms of self-vindication and defense."

*Urgency,
Without Plans* Congress might have adopted some measures for better defense a year ago if the Administration had been prepared to present and urge a definite plan. But it was not thus prepared. Meanwhile the conviction had grown that some steps must be taken; and the so-called Garrison, or Administration, plan had been evolved from long and careful study. Yet now, after a tour intended to arouse the contented West to a sense of danger,—with a view to bringing pressure upon Congress for instant action in that very month of February,—the President returns to Washington and lets it be known that he adheres to no plan, and is awaiting the pleasure of Congress in respect to a bill, of which he says in his letter to Mr. Garrison: "The bill in which it [the House plan] will be embodied *has not yet been drawn*, as I learned to-day from Mr. Hay." In his speeches of the previous week, the country had been told that "there is not a day to be lost . . . without something decisive being done." Yet upon returning to Washington, he made it clear that he had arrived at no fixed opinion as to the kind of thing that the country should favor, or that Congress should provide for. He instructed Mr. Garrison "to draw very carefully the distinction between your own individual views and the views of the Administration." After a warning of that kind, no Cabinet officer could do otherwise than resign out of hand. Mr. Garrison replied as follows:

It is evident that we hopelessly disagree upon what I conceive to be fundamental principles. This makes manifest the impropriety of my longer remaining your seeming representative with respect to those matters.

Mr. Garrison's resignation was accordingly accepted at once, and the efficient Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Henry Breckinridge, of Kentucky, sent in his resignation on the same day, making the following statement:

I have been cognizant of each detail of the correspondence between yourself and him (Mr. Garrison), leading up to this action on his part. I have subscribed to each statement of principle made by him throughout this correspondence. I share without exception his convictions, and, therefore, have tendered my resignation to take effect at your convenience.

We are We are reviewing this episode at some length because of its larger bearings. Everything, heretofore, of importance that has been done by Demo-

cratic action in Congress since the election of President Wilson has been by means of the President's proclaimed and unshirked initiative. More than any other President in our history, he has developed the theory of government by party, with the President as party leader and as manager and director of the legislative program. He shaped and directed all the work of his first Congress, forcing to a conclusion his Tariff bill, his Currency measure that established the Federal Reserve System, his legislation concerning "big business" and establishing the Federal Trade Commission, and other matters. He had formulated his program for the new Congress; and the foremost subject had been military and naval expansion. The Garrison episode made it plain that upon this subject of national defense the President could not lead, because he had not been able to arrive at definite convictions. This is not said by way of criticism. No man can have final opinions upon all important subjects at any given moment. The vast majority of intelligent citizens of the United States have not as yet been able to arrive at firm convictions regarding a concrete program of action for defense. It was believed, however, that the Administration was a solid unit last fall in its support of its own announced program. It would be ridiculous to suppose that



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HON. HENRY S. BRECKINRIDGE
(Who has resigned as Assistant Secretary of War)

Congress has any program of any sort except what may be characterized as a "yielding to inevitable pressure." If the pressure does not come by way of firm Administration leadership, it will surely come in the form of log-rolling on the part of those who know exactly what they want. The country was ready to support Mr. Wilson and Mr. Garrison as against the only feasible alternative, —namely, the further subsidizing of the State troops. Mr. Garrison's retirement marked the abandonment of Presidential leadership in the matter of National Defense, at the very moment when the President had sounded the alarm and had declared that the Defense Measures were of supreme necessity.

*Little Will Be
Done This
Year*

It is quite clear, then, that we cannot now expect any defense measures of large significance at this session. Several details are decided upon. Thus we will increase the number of cadets that will be trained at West Point and Annapolis. This can have no bearing upon our practical position for a matter of five years. We are to increase the facilities for building ships at two or three navy yards. The two battleships ordered a year ago,—one to be built at San Francisco, and one at Brooklyn,—will not even be started for a good many months yet. They will be fairly begun about two years after the time when they were authorized. Even if Congress should accept Secretary Daniels' program and vote the money for two more dreadnoughts and two battle cruisers, there is little prospect that those vessels would be ready to serve the nation before the year 1922, although they might possibly be ready in 1921. Congress may vote to add a few regiments to our small but terribly expensive regular army; but these would probably not be recruited, trained, and rendered effective short of another two years. Congressmen represent their districts. Not many of them have a chance to think wholly in terms of the nation at large. Speaker Champ Clark and the Republican minority leader, Mr. Mann, of Illinois, with a number of others, have attained the larger habit of mind. They are ready to support the President in a comprehensive program. But his inaction nullifies action.

*Our Country
for Defense*

We have in this country all the elements and factors necessary to ensure the national defense, but they are disorganized. Whatever may be said regarding the manufacture of munitions for sale to belligerents, it must be remem-



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MAJOR-GEN. HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF OF
THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(Who became Acting Secretary of War on February 10,
when Secretary Garrison and Assistant Secretary
Breckinridge resigned)

bered that wars now and for some time to come are to be determined chiefly by the use of ammunition. If Germany should now be thrown upon the defensive, as seems likely, her reliance for one year or for five years to come would be largely upon the efficiency of certain establishments, chief of which is that of the Krupps at Essen. Our readers may be surprised to know that Mr. Schwab's immense steel works at Bethlehem, Pa., have now attained a munitions capacity 50 per cent. greater than the Krupp works. It would take the United States Government a number of years, with the investment of a staggering sum, to create munition plants that could even begin to supply the need for artillery and shells in case of a serious war. We have scores of thousands of trained men in such professions and pursuits as that of engineering, who are ready in time of need to lend their skill to the service of the country. We have, then, great capacities in men and industries. We have a large number of institutions which, with some changes of teaching method, can give us the best kind of reserve officers. The States have an immense investment in armories now used by the National Guard. The creation of a



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STUDENTS AT HARVARD WHO HAVE ENROLLED IN THE NEW INFANTRY REGIMENT

great reserve army merely requires a firm, comprehensive plan for training young men and utilizing existing resources. It should require comparatively little investment of money. Our readers will find a summary of views expressed by Secretary Garrison on page 353 of this issue.

*American
Citizens
Preparing*

While Congress is discussing plans for military reorganization, the citizens themselves are doing what they can to show their practical interest in the subject of preparedness. The work begun last summer by several thousand men at the camps at Plattsburg, N. Y., and Fort Sheridan, Illinois, has been continued during the winter by these men in their various home vicinities. Local companies have been formed for drill work and lecture courses in military affairs. Interest in this military movement has spread from coast to coast. It has been estimated that as many as 15,000 business and professional men in and near our large cities are now taking systematic courses in military training. Cavalry troops and artillery batteries have been organized, as well as infantry companies. The National Guard has been strengthened by the impetus of the preparedness sentiment, and is coöperating with Plattsburg camp men in various cities by extending the use of armories, rifle-ranges, and other facilities. The universities, also, have caught the spirit of military preparation. Harvard has inaugurated a military course, and formed a

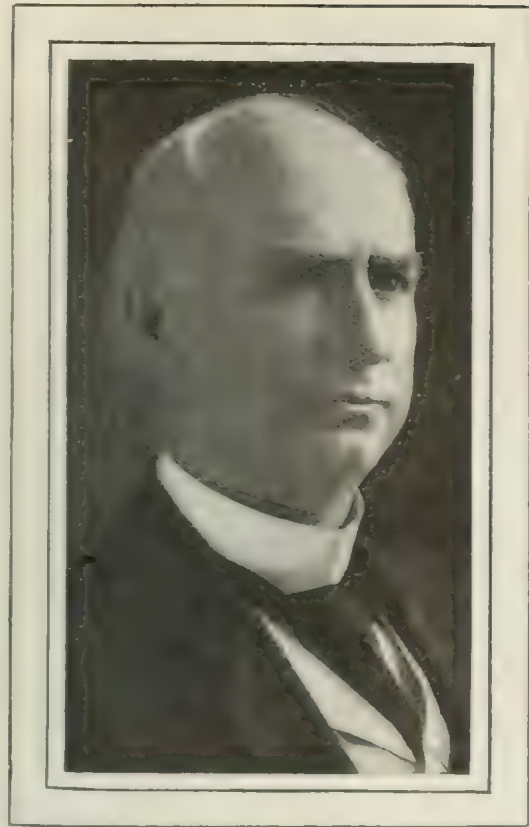
regiment of infantry. Yale has organized an artillery battery. Among the land-grant colleges giving military education, the University of Illinois, with more than two thousand men under military instruction, is a notable example. Five camps have already been planned for next summer at Plattsburg, and one is to be held in the South, at Chattanooga, in the spring. Others will doubtless be established further West and on the Pacific Coast. It is anticipated that the attendance at next summer's camps will far exceed that of last year.

*The
Philippines
Bill*

Mr. Garrison's letter, as already quoted by us, shows that he had another reason of major importance for resigning. The administration of the Philippine Islands belongs to the War Department. Even if, as we believe, Mr. Garrison had been over-loyal in defending the mistakes and faults of the present management of affairs at Manila, every one knows that he has had the welfare of the Islands at heart, and has had no part or lot in the scheme to abandon a trust which we had assumed on behalf of many complex and delicate interests. It will be remembered that last year, in the previous Congress, under the leadership of Chairman Jones of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, there was pending a bill for increased self-government in the Islands; and in the preamble of that bill there was expressed the intention of the United States to give the Islands inde-

pendence at some unnamed time in the near future. The pending Philippine bill is based upon the work of the Jones Committee as revised by the Senate. For the most part the bill is a very elaborate code of fundamental provisions, in the nature of one of our State constitutions. Congress and the country, late in January, were surprised by the action of Senator Clark of Arkansas in offering an amendment providing for our definite evacuation and abandonment of this great territorial possession of the United States. After extended debate, with some changes, the Clarke amendment was adopted.

It provides for our withdrawal
"Scuttling" from the Islands two years hence, although this period may by the President be extended two years longer, if he deems it necessary. This abrupt decision to leave the Islands to their fate takes form in Section 34, at the end of a very elaborate measure which provides permanent principles of fundamental law and detailed machinery of government for the archipelago. It is hard to imagine anything more impudent or ridiculous than for us to assume at this moment to make a new code of permanent laws for islands that we are abandoning on the ground that our presence violates the right of those people to make their own laws, and to exercise full sovereignty! The bill provides in the most deliberate way,—as if contemplating at least a century of further American control,—for a scheme of government in the islands that is to be kept subject to American over-



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HON. JAMES P. CLARKE, UNITED STATES SENATOR
FROM ARKANSAS

(Who is author of the amendment to the Philippine bill fixing a time for the independence of the Islands)

sight and control by Congress and the President. Many of the provisions of the bill relate to matters which could hardly become operative within the period to which our sojourn is limited by the provisions of this same bill. The Philippines have already a working system of government, and quite adequate laws. If they are competent to assume independence as our Democratic majority at Washington now holds, they are certainly competent to make such changes in their system of government as they may please.



A SENSIBLE REMARK TO THE EFFECTOR
 "What you want in the House and get your 'bill' passed."
 From the Times (London) (1902)

This bill, which, in effect, says we are to "scuttle" year after next, sets forth the sort of Anglo-Saxon constitutional principles and safeguards that were admired in the eighteenth century; and it rearranges districts, electoral machinery, and all the parts of a governing scheme, quite as if we were legislating for Americans in Alaska, rather than for Filipinos in the Orient. The stupidity of it might make one shudder; but the humor of it helps to save the situation. Senator Clarke is a distinguished constitutional lawyer, who would be quite capable of seriously advising England to impose the State Constitution and statutes of Arkansas upon the people of the Egyptian Sudan and then

promptly to withdraw all the English administrators and political advisors,—the Sudan to take its immediate place as a sovereign member of the family of nations. And yet this same Democratic Senate, with its misconception of affairs in the Philippines, had in hand at the same time last month the ratification of treaties which practically reduce both Nicaragua and Haiti from positions of full self-government and sovereignty to those of oversight and control by the United States. Haiti ought, indeed, to be thus supported, for it is incapable of protecting its own people in their right to daily peace and security, while it is also at disadvantage in maintaining responsible relations with the rest of the world. "Mr. Garrison, in his letter to the President, called the Clarke amendment "an abandonment of the duty of this nation, and a breach of trust toward the Filipinos." This, of course, was the simple truth. President Wilson, replying to Secretary Garrison, admitted that in his judgment the Clarke amendment "is *unwise at this time*." The President proceeded, however, as follows:

It would clearly be most indefensible for me to take the position that I must dissent from that action should both houses of Congress concur in a bill embodying that amendment. That is a matter upon which I must of course withhold

judgment until the joint action of the two houses reaches me in definite form. What the final action of the houses will be no one can at this time certainly forecast.

Yet, in view of the approaching Presidential contest, there is hardly anyone who could suppose that the Democratic Senate would have adopted the Clarke amendment if the President had been opposed, and had been as ready to express his opinions and wishes to his followers in this matter as he has shown himself to be in many instances.

From the international standpoint, the Philippines are as much a part of the territory of the United States as India is a part of the British Empire. It would, perhaps, be easier to organize a safe and responsible independent government in India than in the Philippines. Few sensible people in this country regard our continued presence in the Philippines from the standpoint of what Bryan and the Democratic platform call "imperialism." We are engaged there in a great work of education, health improvement, agricultural direction, good policing, and honest taxation. Foreign interests have important rights of property and of commerce in the Islands, and these are Spanish, French, English, German, Japanese, and Chinese, as well as American. Colonel Roosevelt and many Republican leaders believe that the Democrats have created a situation that makes our remaining at Manila practically impossible, and that we must therefore withdraw as soon as we can honorably do so. But it is plain that the Democrats must accept responsibility for the consequences. As for "imperialism," the worst form of it is involved in the doctrine of the last Democratic platform, which demands that we must abandon all our good work for the welfare of the Filipino people, but must appropriate and keep for ourselves certain desirable coaling stations and naval bases. This is imperialism of the bad kind. What England is doing for the people of Egypt and the Sudan represents imperialism at its best, although Englishmen tell us that nothing they are doing is quite as good as the work we have done in the Philippines, particularly in teaching the people to govern their own towns and villages, besides giving them security, trade education, and protection from epidemic diseases. The Senate talked loosely and much about "guaranteeing" the independence of the Philippines, and then dropped the idea as a manifest absurdity.



LONG PANTS FOR "OUR LITTLE BROWN BROTHER"
(From the People's Herald)

*A Settled
Issue*

It was the prevailing opinion at Washington, later last month, that the President had become fully converted to the bill as it passed the Senate, and that Mr. Jones, of the House committee, would favor the adoption of the measure as it stood without change. It should be said that the vote on the Clarke amendment was a tie, which was decided by the affirmative vote of Vice-President Marshall. But when the final vote came on the bill as a whole, including the Clarke amendment, the measure went through with fifty-two affirmative and only twenty-four negative votes. Five Republicans voted with the Democrats. These were Borah, Kenyon, La Follette, Norris, and Works. It is a mistake to suppose that we should ever have had to carry on warfare on land or sea to hold those islands. We ought so to exercise our trusteeship as to make our work acceptable to everybody concerned. We have no need of armies or of naval bases on that side of the Pacific. We should train the Filipino people for self-defense, and concentrate our own defense plans upon the situation here at home.

*The Tariff
Board*

There has been a general demand on the part of business interests for a new tariff policy so framed as to meet the situations that are likely to arise after the conclusion of the European war. The Democrats are not prepared to admit that their Underwood tariff of 1913 is wrong in any fundamental respects. The thing now most generally favored,—it has also secured the support of the President,—is a tariff commission to study situations as they arise and to make report and recommendation to Congress. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Claude Kitchin, who is majority leader of the House, is not in sympathy with the plan of a commission, and Representative Rainey, of Illinois, was therefore selected to introduce the bill and to take the lead in steering it through the House. The commission is to have the most complete inquisitorial power, in order to arrive at the facts as respects any proposed tariff change. It is to be known as the United States Tariff Commission, and is to have five members, not more than three of them belonging to the same political party.

*A New
Policy*

The Administration has revived the plan of a Government-owned fleet of merchant ships, upon a plan that has been worked out by Secretary



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HENRY I. RAINEY, OF ILLINOIS

(Who is ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee, and managing the Tariff Board bill)

McAdoo and Secretary Redfield, both of whom are enthusiastic for the measure. It will almost certainly pass the House, and it has better chances in the Senate than the bill that was defeated last year. This measure, which is in the hands of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, of which the Hon. Joshua W. Alexander is chairman, begins with the creation of the "United States Shipping Board." Such a board is authorized to build or buy ships, to be leased or otherwise employed for the purposes of our commerce on the seas, the ships to be suitable for naval auxiliaries and army transports. The Board is authorized to spend \$50,000,000. The Board may further create a joint stock company for the purpose of acquiring and operating merchant vessels, with the United States as the principal stockholder. The Board is by this bill given a wide range of powers with respect to the whole business of transportation at sea. There is every prospect of an immense growth of the foreign trade of the United States, and the chief difficulty to be encountered is that of transportation. Government help in one form or another is needed only



From the American Press Ass'n, N. Y.

COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(Photographed on the deck of the steamship *Torpedo* on February 11, as he started on a trip of some weeks' duration to the West Indies)

for a period of years during which an American merchant marine can be built up. Once developed, our shipping interests, under favorable laws, would need no subsidies and could meet the demands of our commerce. It is quite possible that the proposed Shipping Board might prove the starting point for a large development of American shipping, and that experience would guide the country in the shaping of further legislation. The subject will justify careful study.

It was confidently expected in the middle of February that the treaty with Nicaragua would be ratified, and that the treaty with Colombia would be defeated by virtue of Republican opposition in the Senate. We explained the

Nicaragua treaty last month and favored its approval. We have on repeated occasions pointed out the unparalleled folly and disgrace of the treaty with Colombia, for continuing to countenance which the present Administration cannot be too severely criticized. Mr. Roosevelt last month, while this treaty was pending in the Senate, brought out a new book entitled "Fear God and Take Your Own Part." It is a volume of closely related essays upon current American problems. While most of these have appeared in printed articles, the book, as a whole, has fresh timeliness, and it will form almost assuredly the chief political text-book for use against the party in power in the coming campaign. One of its most trenchant chapters, called "The Panama Blackmail Treaty," reviews at great length, and with an array of unanswerable facts, the pending treaty, which proposes not only to pay a large sum of money to Colombia, but which also impairs for all time in mischievous ways our authority over the Canal. Mr. Roosevelt reviews our policy in Mexico, and advocates preparedness, showing, among other things, that if Belgium had been as well prepared as Switzerland, she would have escaped calamity, just as Holland and Switzerland have escaped it.

*Mr. Root's
Speech*

The Republicans are beginning to formulate the grounds upon which they will challenge the Democratic party in the Presidential and Congressional elections. The most striking single expression from orthodox Republican sources is that made last month by Mr. Elihu Root, at an unofficial convention of New York Republicans. The more important parts of the speech were in criticism of the foreign policies of the Wilson Administration. We are printing in this number of the REVIEW those portions of Mr. Root's speech, because they are likely to fix the lines of certain discussions that will continue until November. The newspapers in the aggregate have printed countless thousands of columns setting forth the Administration's European and Mexican policies. It is, therefore, reasonable to present the criticism of so distinguished an opponent as the former Republican Secretary of State. It happens that the views expressed in Mr. Root's speech are in remarkable accord with those that are to be found in Colonel Roosevelt's book. Thus the Republicans and Progressives seem to be finding their way towards agreement as respects the dominant issues of the campaign.

*Treaties.—
Good and Bad*

Agreement upon candidates is, of course, a different matter. The conclusion of the speech was devoted to what might be expected if the Republican party was restored to power. First, we are promised "a policy of moderate but adequate protection to American industry." Second, we are told that "the Government will be administered with the honesty and efficiency which have marked Republican administrations in the past." We are promised, third, that the "best possible course for the preservation of peace will be followed by a foreign policy which, with courtesy and friendliness to all nations, is frank and fearless and honest in its assertion of American rights." Fourth, the Republicans stand for "full and adequate preparation by the American people for their own defense." This idea is explained by Mr. Root to embrace "service to our country by every citizen according to his ability in peace and in war." Fifth, Republicans hold that "readiness for defense will give power to our diplomacy in the maintenance of peace." The speech closed with glowing expressions of high American idealism.



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JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES, OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND GOV. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, OF NEW YORK, AS PHOTOGRAPHED TOGETHER AT A RECENT DINNER OF THE NEW YORK BAR ASSOCIATION

The New York convention endorsed no Presidential candidate, although it was predominantly in favor of Mr. Root himself. It gave chief place in its platform to expressions in accord with Mr. Root's views of American policy. It happens that those views are pre-eminently shared by Colonel Roosevelt. Last month brought another expression from Justice Hughes. He answered a letter from Virginia's one Republican congressman, Mr. Sloop, who had informed him of confidential movements among Southern politicians promoted by Mr. Frank Hitchcock, who was the Taft campaign manager and who is said now to be organizing a Hughes boom throughout the country. Justice Hughes denied the authority of anybody to mention him as a Presidential candidate. He did not, however, avail himself of the opportunity to

tell Congressman Sloop that he would not accept a nomination if offered him by the Chicago conventions in June. As a result, therefore, the politicians have been mentioning the name of Mr. Hughes with renewed interest, and many men,—like Governor Whitman, of New York,—have been openly proclaiming their belief that the former governor of New York should be the next President. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Root will not permit their names to be voted for in the Republican primaries. Senator Cummins shows signs of growing strength in the West. The nomination will not be decided in advance, but by action of the conventions after delegates reach Chicago. Unusual interest, therefore, is being shown in the personnel of men proposed for delegates. The convention bids fair to be one of the most important in the history of American politics.

*Mr. Wilson
in the
Primaries*

Mr. Wilson, in a letter written last month to the Secretary of State of Ohio, definitely authorized the placing of his name as a Democratic candidate on the ballot to be used in the Democratic primaries of April 25. His brief statement to Secretary of State Hildebrandt is as follows:

My Dear Sir: While I am entirely unwilling to enter into any contest for the Presidential nomination of the Democratic party, I am willing to permit the use of my name that the Democrats in Ohio may make known their preference in regard to that nomination. In order therefore to satisfy the technical terms of the statutes of the State of Ohio I hereby consent to the use of my name as a candidate for the Presidency by any candidate who seeks to be elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, which is to assemble in June next. Respectfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

*The
Shackleford
Bill*

One of the less vicious of the so-called "pork" bills that tempt worthy Congressmen at every session is the Shackleford so-called "Good Roads" bill that was passed by a vote of 281 to 81 late in January. This measure takes \$25,000,000 out of the Treasury and distributes it among the States to help make ordinary country roads. Some States have already spent large sums and provided for themselves roads that do them credit. Other States have spent practically nothing. The States that are doing this work for themselves do not wish small subsidies from Congress. The Shackleford bill gives every State, great and small, \$65,000 as a starter. It divides the remainder of the appropriation into two parts. One part is distributed among the States in proportion to population. The other part is distributed in proportion to the mileage of roads that are used or that "might be used" for postal rural delivery routes. It must be said for the Shackleford bill that it is not without certain good motives and intelligent features. It intends to provide a good kind of engineering supervision, so that road money may be effectively spent. It intends also to stimulate local expenditure, inasmuch as the Federal gift can be used only where at least an equal amount is provided in the States affected. But this is not the year for a national Good Roads bill; and the pending measure, which will probably be defeated in the Senate, has many defects. That Mr. Shackleford and its supporters are desirous to promote good roads, and sincere in their attitude, is of course beyond question. This bill is by no means so indefensible as numerous

measures that have gone through previous Congresses requiring the building of expensive post-offices in villages which have few people and do little postal business.

*Water Power
on Public
Lands*

One of the few administration measures that have been advanced during the present session of Congress is the bill for water-power development on public lands under fifty-year leases. This was drafted by Representative Ferris, of Oklahoma, Chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, and the lease feature has the support of Secretary Lane, as well as that of Gifford Pinchot, former Chief Forester of the United States. States in which the power plants are located will continue to regulate and control the service and charges to the consumers, and will also supervise all stock and bond issues. The Federal Government will assume jurisdiction in such matters only in cases where the plant is in a Territory, or where interstate use of the power is involved. Secretary Lane has repeatedly urged that the water-power resources of the country should be made available, instead of continuing the wasteful consumption of coal, oil, gas, and timber. It will also be recalled that former Secretary of War Garrison, in his annual report, recommended water-power legislation as an aid to national defense through the direct increase in the supply of nitrogen, used in the making of high explosives. This power-development bill is the first of a series of conservation measures that the Administration will seek to have enacted during the present session.

*Farm
Credits*

In the Senate, the Hollis Rural Credit bill was favorably reported last month, and it is understood that this measure has the approval of Secretary Houston, of the Department of Agriculture, and of the House Banking and Currency Committee. It is proposed that a federal farm-loan board be created, to consist of five members appointed by the President for terms of ten years each, and paid from the public treasury. Loans are to be made to farmers by twelve or more federal land banks, each operating in a separate district, and having a capital of not less than \$500,000. Loans may be made through local associations of borrowers, called National Farm Loan Associations. These associations will admit members who desire to borrow, and their directors and loan committees will pass on the value of

the security and the character of the borrower. Every borrower will take stock in the Farm Loan Association to the amount of 5 per cent. of the face of his loan. This amount will be subscribed by the association to the stock of the land bank. Loans will be made for as long a period as thirty-six years, and the mortgages may be repaid in small amounts extended over the whole period. Through this mechanism the farmer should be assured a measurably lower interest rate than the average that now prevails. In some parts of the West a 5-per-cent. rate would be a boon.

Child Labor Again

The Keating-Owen bill, excluding from interstate commerce articles manufactured by the labor of any child under fourteen years of age, or on which any child under fifteen had worked more than eight hours a day or had been employed at night, was passed last month by the House of Representatives, and it was thought that its prospects of passage in the Senate were better than ever before. The argument so frequently used before State legislatures, considering child-labor bills, that manufacturers in States adopting such legislation will be compelled to compete with those in other States who employ child labor, would be completely blanketed by the enactment of this proposed federal law which would bring the manufacturers of all States under the same regulation, and would virtually shut out from interstate competition all those who employ child labor, whatever may be the statutory regulations of their respective States. Fortunately, the sentiment against this form of human exploitation is rapidly growing among the manufacturers themselves, who are coming to see that the labor of children is "bad business" from every point of view, and that in the long run it becomes a source of economic waste.

Railroad Demands

In the industrial field two groups of workers are presenting demands that practically concern everyone in the country, for the two great interests of transportation and fuel-supply touch the life of our whole people vitally and intimately. The 400,000 railroad employees included in the membership of the four great brotherhoods, in demanding an eight-hour day, are not, as the public may have inferred, simply asking that a working day of eight hours be made the basis for all railroad train service, but are proposing

to retain the present standard of a one-hundred-mile run, that every man who works on a train making that distance, whether in four, five, or six hours, shall be regarded as having done eight hours of work in a day, and that for all work on a one-hundred-mile run in excess of eight hours overtime shall be paid. The public is not in a position to judge of the merits of these demands, but the fact that immediately interests all shippers and purchasers of goods that have to be shipped over railroads is this: An increase in the hourly rate of pay, estimated at 25 per cent., and a very much greater increase in the hourly pay for overtime, will, if conceded to the employees, be transferred to the public sooner or later in the form of increased rates, after due consideration of the matter by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Meanwhile, the coöperation of the four great trainmen's unions, representing over five hundred lines of railroad, has had the effect of bringing into existence a national board made up of railroad operating heads, in which all the railroads of the country will be represented, and thus for the first time in their history these corporations will act conjointly in opposing the movement for a wage increase.

The Miners' Demands

The United Mine Workers of America are asking large increases in miners' wages in both the bituminous and anthracite regions. A 10-per-cent. increase is demanded of the bituminous operators throughout the country and a 20-per-cent. advance, with recognition of the union, and an eight-hour day for day labor, in the anthracite district. The present contract between the operators and the unions in the anthracite region expires on April 1, and a conference of the coal operators with the representatives of the miners was called to meet in New York City on February 21, to consider the new demands. Pending the result of this conference, it has been announced by the Mine Workers that there will be no strike in case a decision fails to be reached before the expiration of the present agreement, but that the men will remain at work during the negotiations. The operators have issued statements tending to show that the profits to the companies with the present wage scale are moderate, and that a 20 per cent. increase cannot be borne unless at least a portion of it is transferred to the consumer. The operators admit that the cost of living for the miners has risen since the present

agreement was made, but deny that the rise has been sufficient to justify anything like a wage increase of 20 per cent. In this matter the sympathies of the public are undoubtedly very generally with the miners, but at the same time past experience goes far to establish the conviction that in case the miners' demands are granted, it will be the consumer, and not the mine operator, who will pay the piper.

*Mr. Lansing's
Problems*

Although the country supposed the *Lusitania* case to have been adjusted long ago, it seems that certain points had remained in abeyance; and after much exchange of views these matters were finally brought to the verge of complete adjustment last month. Germany had agreed to all our substantial demands, and we on our side had been willing to yield upon some minor points of phraseology. This question being regarded as well out of the way, our State Department began to look hopefully to the future and to seek for world-wide approval of what are regarded as sound principles of international law regulating the conduct of war on the ocean. For the most part, merchant ships coming to the United States have had no defensive guns mounted. The English ships have taken this desirable course, and the attempt has been made to persuade

the Italian Government to cause the discontinuance of the practice of mounting one or more small guns on vessels devoted to the carrying of passengers and freight. Secretary Lansing proceeded to invite all belligerent nations to accept the view that merchant ships should not carry mounted guns, and that they should accept in good faith the doctrine of visit and search, thus avoiding all danger of being torpedoed by submarines. It was prematurely stated that the United States Government had decided to regard any vessel carrying mounted guns as an auxiliary cruiser upon arrival in our ports, and this was resented in England.

*A Difficult
Point*

It seems, however, that Mr. Lansing had not intended to adopt this course unless all belligerents should have consented. The German Government, apparently misunderstanding our position, announced that it would regard merchant ships carrying guns as of naval character, and that after the first of March it would proceed upon that line in its submarine policy. Whereupon our Government took affront and declined to close the *Lusitania* case, on the ground that questions of future policy and method were necessarily involved in the adjustment. Meanwhile the English and Allied governments had taken a rather menacing tone, and threatened the United States with boycotts, embargoes, and dire calamities, in case the Washington Government should rule against the arming of merchantmen. Obviously, from the standpoint of submarine warfare, the armed merchantman is a warship. A strong case can be made for each side of the controversy.

*The Great
War*

Mr. Simonds, whose monthly articles on the European war as appearing in this magazine have gained world-wide notice and approval, writes in this number of the situations on several fronts, and the prospects of the new campaign undertakings as winter recedes and spring weather makes action possible. He sees few signs pointing toward early peace, and there are many men of practical judgment who fear that the war may be continued for at least another year. The cost of the war is mounting high, and it would seem as if bankruptcy were inevitable for every European nation engaged in the conflict. The impression grows that henceforth the German position will be mainly defensive, and that the Central Powers will try



THE BRITISH TORPEDO PROTECTORS
ENGLISH CAPTAIN: "Are all on board?"
SAVER: "No, Captain, the last thirty three Americans
are not on board yet."
From *London* (Munich)

to hold their ground while exhausting men and resources as little as they can. England and the Allies grow in aggregate power, but any gains they make on land must be at frightful cost and sacrifice. Russia's capture of the great Turkish outpost of Erzerum is a forerunner of the tremendous drives Turkey will have to sustain from Russia in the near future. Germany, though driven off the sea, is daring and incessant in the determination to strike England in the element where Britannia rules. New types of submarines are said to be completed or under construction, while casual merchant ships are being fitted out in disguise to try their luck as commerce raiders. The forerunner of a group of such ocean adventurers sent a prize ship to our shores on February 1, under circumstances forming one of the most remarkable minor episodes of the war.

*The
"Appam's"
Story*

Stripped of romance, the essential facts of that episode are these: In Hampton Roads, whence we have come to expect strange tales of the sea since the war began, there suddenly arrived the British liner *Appam* under charge of a German prize crew. The story the passengers had to tell was a surprising one. A German raider had captured the *Appam* off the Canary Islands, having already sent six ships to the bottom. A prize crew of twenty-two men under Lieutenant Berg was put aboard and the ship was headed for the Virginia Capes, three thousand miles away. British cruisers and merchant ships were skillfully eluded and on the morning of February 1 the *Appam*, bearing the German flag, steamed up to Norfolk. All told there were more than 400 people aboard,

including passengers bound for Plymouth, England; the liner's original crew; German prisoners being taken from Africa to England; and crews of other English ships that had been destroyed by the raider. Bringing the ship safely into the Virginia port, under such circumstances, was in itself a noteworthy feat of seamanship. There was some doubt at first as to our Government's attitude in the

conflicting claims regarding the *Appam's* technical status, but it was finally decided that she would be treated as a prize of war, although the British Government had set up the claim that she should be released to her British owners. There were many minor discrepancies in the descriptions of the raider given by the passengers on the *Appam*. She is supposed to have been the *Ponqa*, a converted fruit steamer, although Lieutenant Berg said she was the *Mackay*, a well-known passenger, Count Dolma, being in command.



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LIEUTENANT BERG, AS HE APPEARED
ON THE DECK OF THE S. S. APPAM



THE ENGLISH STEAMSHIP "APPAM"

Commanded by the German prize crew, the ship was captured by the British Government.

*The Russians
Take
Erzerum*

News came on February 16 that Erzerum, the ancient Armenian center in Asiatic Turkey, defended by a garrison of 100,000 men and 1000 guns, had been taken from the Turks after five days of determined assault by the Russian army under Grand Duke Nicholas. In Petrograd great importance is attached to this achievement, because of its supposed bearings on the Russian campaign in the Caucasus, and its possible indirect effect in relieving the pressure on the Allies at Salonica. Erzerum controls the roads through Armenia, with access to Trebizond, Tabriz, and Mesopotamia. The German engineers, as well as the Turks, had relied on the great strength of the forts surrounding the town. There were eighteen of these outposts, but after nine of them had been reduced by the powerful Russian artillery, the capitulation of the town was only a matter of hours. The Russians were provisioned from the Black Sea, the control of which was an important factor in their favor. This victory, achieved in spite of the intense cold and deep snow, has put new heart in the campaign of the Allies. Our frontispiece is an Erzerum picture.

*Activities of
the War
Flyers*

Armies and ships hold themselves in abeyance from time to time, but the airmen daily continue their work of scouting, gun-spotting, and raiding on all the battle-fronts. And this despite the rigorous cold of the winter season, which is far more intense ten thousand feet up in the air. These daring aerial knights, on their coursers of the sky, are incomparably the romantic feature of the European war. Since the beginning of the great conflict the science of military aeronautics has greatly developed. The aeroplane has demonstrated its value, and the aviator has learned better how to take care of himself. Combats among the clouds are now common. As many as nineteen have been reported in a single day, and a dozen or more clashes between sunrise and sunset are of frequent occurrence. (An article on the subject of aerial fighting tactics will be found on page 360 of this issue.) The machines also have undergone notable changes. Surprises in the way of new aeroplanes are constantly being heralded. First it is a giant battleplane, with twin bodies and engines, and guns mounted fore and aft, that sweeps everything before it. Then comes a small armed monoplane, the German Fokker, mounted by an intrepid pilot, which by tremendous speed and agility overcomes the advantage of the big battle-

plane. This again is challenged by a similar, speedier aeroplane from the opposite side. Then come reports of new German air monsters, measuring 75 feet across the wings, and equipped with four motors totalling 700 horsepower, and four machine guns, as well as a bomb-throwing device, and capable of carrying 27 men. And here in America there is being built a triplane of even greater dimensions and power. The wings of this giant bird will be 133 feet across; its boat-shaped body will be 68 feet long; its four motors will total 960 horsepower, and the entire machine, with all its equipment, will weigh over ten tons.

*Aviation
Advanced
by the War*

And so the contest continues. With the best inventive minds of the belligerent nations and vast mechanical resources concentrated on the development and manufacture of the flying-machine, improvement was inevitable. The gratifying aspect of it all is that this progress, unlike other inventions for war uses, will be available for purposes of peace. The war has done much to advance aeronautics. Under the stress of military necessity, development has been attained which would have been far more leisurely under conditions of peace. This is pointed out in the article by Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert, in this issue, on the "Aeroplane of To-day." Before the war the business of building flying-machines was in a precarious state. Private buyers were too few and government support was negligible. But the war brought a flood of orders, and the industry has boomed, not only in the belligerent countries, but in the United States.

*Aeroplane
Business in
America*

A dozen or more aeroplane factories are located in this country, at Buffalo and Ithaca, New York; Boston and Marblehead, Mass.; Dayton, Ohio; and in New Jersey and California. The Curtiss plant at Buffalo is perhaps the largest in the world. Together with the Burgess Company, of Marblehead, Mass. (with which the Curtiss Company has recently combined in order to be able to take care of the large number of war orders received), the two plants are credited with a capacity of ten machines a day. This rate of output compares favorably with that of the combined factories of France, which is thirty machines a day, and the factories of Great Britain, which is twenty-five machines. The Curtiss Company recently closed an order for \$15,000,000

worth of aeroplanes for the British government. Another order from the same source reported last month was for twenty enormous triplanes, costing \$75,000 each. France, it may be remarked, is appropriating the huge sum of \$16,560,000 for aviation alone, for the second quarter of this year. When it is seen that at this rate the appropriation for the entire year would be over \$66,000,000, the importance of aviation in the war will be realized. American flying-schools, also, are busily engaged teaching men to navigate the air. During the winter season these schools are located mostly in the South,—at Newport News, Va., St. Augustine and Palm Beach, Fla., Augusta, Ga., San Antonio, Texas, and Alameda, Cal.

For Our Aerial Preparedness

The development of the American aeroplane industry, and the impetus given to the art of flying, will serve well as a foundation in building up our own aerial defenses. An excellent start toward this object has been made by the inauguration of a national aeroplane fund, under the direction of the Aero Club of America. This fund, begun last August, has already reached a total of more than \$250,000. It promises to exceed the popular funds of this kind raised a few years ago in France (\$1,220,000) and in Germany (\$1,803,626). The money is to be used in purchasing aeroplanes for the militia of the various States and for training aviators. Organization and training have already begun in a number of States. Enthusiasm for aerial preparedness is rapidly spreading. A fund of \$100,000 has recently been underwritten in Chicago to be used for the purpose of training aviators. Automobile manufacturers are also ready to co-operate with the army and navy, not only in giving men opportunities for studying motors, but in standardizing the aeroplane industry. Recently the Post Office Department has asked for bids for aerial service on eight mail routes. Seven of these routes are in Alaska, where transportation is difficult, the remaining one being largely an over-water route between New Bedford and Nanuet. This aerial service is to be much cheaper and more frequent than the present methods. But the end in view, apart from these considerations, is the stimulation of aviation activity and the training of aviators, in the interest of national preparedness. Another excellent "preparedness" plan, in which Rear Admiral Peary is especially active, is the movement for the establishment of an

aerial coast patrol, with stations located at intervals of 100 miles.

Air Raids and England's Defenses

The Zeppelins resumed raiding operations last month, visiting Paris on the night of January 29-30. The casualties were heavy,—23 killed and 29 injured. This raid came with an especial shock, as the French capital had for some time been unmolested. Its aerial defenses had been considered excellent, but on this particular occasion the invaders, it seems, were protected by foggy weather conditions, making pursuit and marksmanship difficult. England also was attacked through the air on January 23, this time with aeroplanes. The total "bag" was one killed and six injured. The controversy over England's aerial defenses continues to rage in Parliament. Last month Mr. Balfour made the sensationally frank admission that the government had made a mistake years ago in deciding against a policy of airship construction. He regretted that England had not developed the Zeppelin type of vessels, for Germany certainly had an advantage in possessing them. While efforts were now being made to remedy conditions, it was unreasonable to expect to catch up with an enemy that had had a ten years' start. Mr. Balfour also admitted England's deficiency in air-defense guns, and acknowledged the lack of material for the air service.

The Annual Flood Losses

The loss of life and property by floods in the United States was the theme of an article in our February issue. The extensive floods of the latter part of January in Southern California, Oklahoma, and Arizona have again brought attention to this urgent problem. Torrential rains and cloudbursts caused, perhaps, the worst floods ever experienced in those regions. The cities of San Diego, Pomona, Colton, Riverside, Ontario, and Monrovia, in California, suffered greatly. About fifty lives were lost in the Otay Valley, with nearly the same disastrous result in the San Luis Rey and San Pasqual valleys. The White River in Arkansas also rose to flood stages, causing much distress. The breaking of a Mississippi levee at Hickman, Ky., made nearly a thousand people homeless, while various sections in the Ohio Valley have also had their annual flood visitations. These disastrous occurrences always call attention to the necessity of grappling with this problem, but interest in it seems to subside with the waters themselves.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

From January 20 to February 17, 1916

The Last Part of January

January 20.—The extent of recent aircraft activity in all the theaters of war is indicated by a British official report mentioning fourteen air conflicts between British and Germans.

January 21.—Russia reports the continued rout of Turkish forces in the Caucasus, the Russian armies advancing to the forts at Erzerum. . . . King Nicholas of Montenegro arrives in Italy, on his way to France, leaving the defense of his country and the retreat of his army to Prince Mirko and three cabinet ministers.

January 24.—The Compulsory Service bill passes its final reading in the British House of Commons, by vote of 383 to 36.

January 25.—The German Minister of Finance announces that the latest German loan of \$3,000,000,000 has been completely taken up, 94½ per cent. of the amount being popular subscriptions.

January 26.—The Compulsory Service measure passes its final reading in the British House of Lords.

It is declared at Berlin that the Bundesrath will further reduce the production of beer from 60 per cent. to 45 per cent. of the normal output.

January 26-27.—Delegates representing more than 2,000,000 trade unionists, meeting at Bristol, England, pledge themselves to support the Government's prosecution of the war, but oppose the adoption of conscription.

January 27.—The State Department at Washington makes public its note of January 4, vigorously protesting against British interference with American mails to and from the Scandinavian countries, which in some cases is "vexatiously inquisitorial."

Britain's Compulsory Service act receives royal assent and becomes a law.

A French Socialist deputy, speaking in England, gives figures regarding French casualties; 800,000 soldiers have been killed, 1,400,000 wounded, and 300,000 taken prisoners.

Two French aviators drop bombs on Freiburg, Germany, as a retaliatory measure for a similar attack by Germans.

January 28.—A German offensive in the Artois district breaks through the French lines at three points, resulting particularly in the capture of two miles of trenches south of the Somme.

It is reported at Washington that the United States has sent identical notes to the belligerent powers, setting forth a declaration of principles regarding attacks by submarines on merchant vessels, and asking whether the governments would subscribe to such an agreement.

It is semi-officially declared in Berlin that Montenegrin political and military leaders signed a peace agreement on January 25, with Field-Marshal von Hofer, of the Austrian army.

Premier Asquith states that the total British casualties to January 9 were 549,467.

January 29-30.—German Zeppelin airships pass over Paris in two night raids and drop bombs in the city, "in reprisal for the dropping of bombs by French aeroplanes on Freiburg"; twenty-three persons are killed during the first raid.

January 31.—A fleet of Zeppelin airships passes over the northeastern counties of England, dropping more than 200 bombs and killing 59 persons.

It is announced that the recruits raised by Ireland, up to January 8, numbered 86,277.

The First Week of February

February 1.—A German prize crew brings into Hampton Roads, Va., the British passenger liner *Appam*, with 450 passengers, captured by the German converted cruiser *Mocve* (or *Roon*) on January 16, off the coast of northeast Africa; at least six other British merchant ships were sunk.

The Austrian Government informs the United States that no Austrian submarine was concerned in the sinking of the *Persia* on December 30.

B. V. Sturmer, a member of the Council of the Empire, becomes Premier of Russia, succeeding Jean L. Goremykin; Foreign Minister Sazonov and War Minister Polivanov retain office.

February 4.—The loss of the Zeppelin airship *L 19* is admitted by the German Admiralty; a British fishing vessel had reported seeing it, in a sinking condition, in the North Sea.

February 7.—A Berlin news agency declares that there are in Germany 1,429,171 prisoners of war.

The Second Week of February

February 8.—A federal grand jury at San Francisco indicts thirty-two persons, including the German and Turkish consuls, for alleged conspiracies to wreck ammunition plants and to furnish supplies to German war vessels at the beginning of the war.

North of Arras, France, the Germans carry by a sudden attack half a mile of French trenches.

February 9.—The Russians capture Uscieczko, a natural stronghold on the Dniester River, Galicia, threatening the Austro-German position at Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina.

February 10.—Germany and Austria announce that after February 29 they will treat armed merchant ships of enemy countries as war vessels; it is maintained that there are numerous cases not only where resistance was offered by such merchant ships but where attacks were made.

Premier Briand of France is warmly welcomed at Rome on a visit to confer with Italian officials.

Premier Muchkovich of Montenegro declares at Paris that the peace proposals discussed with Austria were merely to gain time for the harassed army; an official Austrian statement says that the disarming of Montenegrins has been completed.

February 11.—The new Chamber of Deputies

in Greece upholds the neutrality policy of Premier Skouloudis by vote of 266 to 6.

The French War Office announces the recapture of a notable part of the trenches lost to the Germans on January 28.

The Austrian army of invasion in Albania comes in touch with the Italian forces concentrated near Durazzo.

In the Champagne district, the French break through the German line, northeast of Massiges, and capture trenches 300 yards long.

February 12.—In the Champagne district, south of Ste. Marie-à-Py, the Germans carry by storm 700 yards of French trenches.

February 13.—The French Ministry of Marine admits that the small cruiser *Amiral Charner* has probably been sunk by a German submarine while patrolling the Syrian coast.

February 14.—In the Ypres region, German assaults on the British line result in the capture of British positions over a front of half a mile.

The British Government calls out all the remaining unmarried men in England, Scotland, and Wales, eligible for service under both the voluntary and the compulsory service systems.

The Third Week of February

February 15.—British Orders in Council are issued authorizing the taking over, whenever necessary, of war materials, food, factories, etc., and the exercise of more stringent control of shipping; a royal proclamation is also issued, restricting the importation of paper, certain kinds of paper manufactures, tobacco, furniture wood, stones, and slates.

The British Parliament reassembles after a short recess; Premier Asquith gives warning that

to meet war costs of \$25,000,000 a day large additions in taxation will soon be proposed.

The French Minister of Marine, M. Ribot, introduces in the Chamber a war budget of \$1,400,000,000 for the second quarter of 1916; current war expenditures are at the rate of \$15,000,000 a day.

It is understood at Washington that conferences between Secretary Lansing and Ambassador von Bernstorff have resulted in a settlement of the *Lusitania* controversy; Germany, it is reported, will "recognize" instead of "assume" liability.

February 16.—It is stated at Washington that a settlement of the controversy with Germany over the *Lusitania* sinking will not be accepted until it is ascertained how the agreement will be affected by Germany's proposal to treat armed merchantmen as war vessels.

The Russian army of the Caucasus, under Grand Duke Nicholas, captures the Turkish fortress at Erzerum, Armenia, after assaults lasting five days.

It is officially announced at Paris that Great Britain, France, and Russia have renewed their pledge not to end hostilities without Belgium being reestablished in independence.

February 17.—In an appeal to the United States for coöperation with other neutral nations to cause Great Britain to cease interfering with mails, Sweden declares that "at present only a few rules serving as protection to neutral commercial intercourse are being observed by Great Britain."

A British official communication declares that the conquest of the German colony of Kamerun, Africa, is practically complete; in German East Africa the Germans still hold strong positions.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From January 20 to February 17, 1916)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 25.—In the House, Mr. Mann (Rep., Ill.), leader of the minority, announces his conversion to the cause of preparedness, and urges large appropriations for army and navy in order to avoid the greater costs of war; a Good Roads bill, appropriating \$25,000,000 for distribution among the States, is passed by vote of 241 to 81.

January 31.—In the House, the Post Office Appropriation bill is reported from committee (H. R. 17,272); the Burnett Immigration bill, imposing a literacy test and other restrictions designed to prevent an influx of undesirable immigrants after the war, is favorably reported; the Administration's Shipping bill is introduced and referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine.

February 1.—In the House, the Administration's Tariff Commission bill is introduced by Mr. Raker (Dem., Ill.), providing for a non-partisan body of five members to investigate and report upon tariff matters.

February 2.—The Senate, with the Vice-President casting the deciding vote, adopts the amendment to the Philippine bill offered by Mr. Clarke (Dem., Ark.), providing that independence shall

be recognized within four years unless conditions in the islands warrant postponement; the Committee on Foreign Relations orders favorable reports on the treaties with Nicaragua and Colombia, after reducing the cash payment to Colombia from \$25,000,000 to \$15,000,000 and making the expression of regret mutual. . . . The House adopts the Keating Child Labor bill, by vote of 337 to 46, prohibiting interstate shipment of the products of child labor.

February 4.—The Senate, by vote of 52 to 24, passes the Philippine bill (six progressive Republicans voting with the Democratic majority); the measure extends independence to the Filipinos not later than 1929; amendments proposing a joint treaty with foreign powers guaranteeing the neutrality of the Philippines are rejected.

February 7.—The House, without dissenting vote, passes the first two of the Administration's national defense bills; one measure increases the corps of cadets at the Naval Academy by 540, while the second makes appropriation for enlarging facilities at the Mare Island (California) and New York navy yards for the construction of large battleships.

February 9.—The Senate adopts by unanimous

vote the "preparedness" measures increasing the number of Annapolis midshipmen and improving navy-yard facilities for constructing battleships.

February 15.—In the Senate, Mr. Hollis' (Rep., N. H.) Rural Credits bill is favorably reported.

February 17.—The Senate receives from the President a report which shows that 76 Americans were killed in Mexico during three years (63 in the single year 1915), besides 36 who were killed by Mexicans on American soil.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 19.—Major-Gen. Leonard Wood, former Chief of Staff, testifies before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs that the United States is defenceless against invasion by trained troops, and that a compulsory system is required to furnish a proper army and reserve force.

January 20.—Ex-President Roosevelt, in a noteworthy address at an Americanization meeting in Philadelphia, discourses on patriotism, big business, and national defense.

January 24.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Income Tax law; the opinion, read by Chief Justice White, dismisses all the objections raised in five suits.

January 25.—It becomes known at Washington that President Wilson has changed his mind and now favors the creation of a non-partisan, expert tariff board.

January 27.—President Wilson delivers at New York the first two of a series of addresses in advocacy of his program for defense legislation.

January 28.—The President nominates Louis D. Brandeis, the Boston lawyer, to be Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, succeeding the late Justice Lamar. . . . President Wilson leaves Washington for a rapid speech-making tour through the Middle West in support of his national defense policies.

February 4.—President Wilson returns to Washington, after delivering twenty addresses in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri.

February 10.—Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, resigns because of irreconcilable differences with President Wilson regarding the proper method of obtaining a trained reserve force and the plan to abandon the Philippines.

February 14.—President Wilson authorizes the Secretary of State in Ohio to permit the use of his name as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President in the April primary.

February 15.—At a convention of State Republicans in New York City, Mr. Elihu Root condemns the Wilson administration in its handling of domestic and foreign affairs (see page 298).

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 31.—Reports from Peking state that Kweichow Province, as well as Yunan, is in rebellion.

February 4.—The Chinese Foreign Office declares that Government troops have routed and dispersed the revolutionists at several places in the southern provinces.

February 7.—The British House of Commons adopts a measure extending the life of the present Parliament, about to expire, beyond its constitutional five years.



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MR. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

(On January 28, the President nominated Mr. Brandeis to fill the place on the Supreme Court bench made vacant by the death of Justice Lamar. Mr. Brandeis is a distinguished Boston lawyer. His services during recent years have been chiefly on the side of the public in cases involving freight rates, hours of labor, the price of gas, and savings-bank insurance. Confirmation of the appointment by the Senate has been delayed by objections raised on several grounds, and public hearings were held last month)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 21.—The coronation of Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor of China is indefinitely postponed owing to the uprising in the southern provinces. . . . The American Institute of International Law, composed of delegates from twenty-one American republics, makes public a declaration of the rights of nations, embodied in five fundamental principles.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 20.—Floods in southern California begin to subside after a six-day storm; sixteen persons lost their lives, and several thousands were rendered homeless.

January 21.—Flood conditions are experienced in northern Illinois and in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Arizona, due to excessive rains and thawing of ice and snow.

January 25.—Official figures of the foreign commerce of the United States during the year 1915 show an excess of exports over imports of \$1,772,309,538 (compared with a former average of \$450,000,000).

January 28.—The United Mine Workers of America, in convention at Indianapolis, vote to ask the bituminous coal operators for wage increases of from 10 to 20 per cent.

January 28-29.—Swollen rivers and broken dams create new flood conditions in southern California, causing wide devastation and much

loss of life; floods also threaten Yuma, Ariz. (Colorado River), and the Arkansas and White River valleys.

February 2.—Two Japanese passenger steamers are sunk by collisions with other vessels; the *Daijin Maru* and 160 of its passengers and crew are lost off the Chinese coast, while the *Takata Maru* sinks without loss of life off the Newfoundland coast.

February 3.—Fire destroys the Canadian Parliament building, at Ottawa, noted for its architectural beauty. . . . Anthracite coal operators, meeting at New York City, refuse the demands for wage increases made by the miners; the differences will be discussed in conferences.

February 6.—The flood situation in southeastern Arkansas, where the Mississippi joins the Arkansas River, becomes critical.

February 9.—Representatives of 400,000 railway employees issue a statement at Cleveland, in defense of their demand for an eight-hour day.

February 13.—The Census Bureau estimates that by July 1, 1916, the population of the United States will be more than 102,000,000.

OBITUARY

January 21.—Brig.-Gen. Louis H. Carpenter, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Civil and Indian wars, 76.

January 22.—Dr. John O. Reed, of the University of Michigan, author of textbooks on physics, 59.

January 23.—Charles Victor Mapes, a distinguished agricultural chemist, 79.

January 24.—John A. Hill, the publisher of railway and machinery trade papers, 57.

January 25.—M. Theotokis, several times Premier of Greece. . . . Gen. Thomas E. Ketcham, veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars and California pioneer, 95. . . . Samuel Selwyn Chamberlain, a widely known newspaper editor, 64.

January 26.—Clarence D. Ashley, dean of the New York University Law School, 65. . . . General von Podbielski, former German Postmaster-General, 71.

January 29.—Dr. Joseph Jacobs, the noted Jewish author, historian, and editor, 61.

January 30.—Rear-Adm. Albert Smith Barker, U. S. N., retired, 73.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, AT OTTAWA, DESTROYED BY FIRE ON FEBRUARY 3

February 4.—Alexander Wilson Drake, the noted New York art editor, critic, and collector, 73. . . . Charles Carman Wakeley, the astronomer, said to have first photographed the moon through a telescope, 84. . . . Alexander Hamilton, a prominent Virginia lawyer and railway official, 64.

February 7.—Col. William P. Hepburn, of Iowa, for twenty-two years a leading member of the House of Representatives, and author of the law prohibiting railroad rebates, 82. . . . Franklin E. Brooks, formerly a Representative from Colorado, 56.

February 8.—Dr. C. Willard Hayes, for many years Chief Geologist in the United States Geological Survey, 57.

February 9.—John C. Sheehan, former Police Commissioner of New York City and one-time leader of Tammany Hall, 67. . . . Sir Charles Rivers Wilson, a prominent London financier, president of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, 85.

February 11.—Dr. James Lloyd Wellington, Harvard's oldest graduate (class of 1838), 98. . . . Ivan Pavlov, the Russian surgeon who won the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1904, 67.

February 12.—John Townsend Trowbridge, the poet and author of stories for boys, 89. . . . Dr. J. Wilhelm Richard Dedekind, the noted German mathematician, 83.

February 13.—Rear-Admiral Charles E. Fox, U. S. N., retired, 65. . . . Louis Duncan, a distinguished New York electrical engineer, 53.

February 14.—Rev. William H. DeHart, D.D., for many years Stated Clerk of the Reformed Church in America, 79. . . . William Jasper Nicolls, a widely known Philadelphia civil engineer and writer of fiction, 62.

February 15.—Sir William Turner, Principal of Edinburgh University and noted British surgeon, 41. . . . Mathew White (Viscount) Ridley, chairman of the British Tariff Reform League, 41.

February 16.—Dr. Julius Nelson, professor of biology at Rutgers and State Biologist of New Jersey, 54.

February 17.—Helen F. Mears, the sculptor, 71.



RESCUE OF A BOAT—A TYPICAL SCENE IN SEVERAL PLACES, DURING THE DELUGES OF JANUARY

CARTOONS FROM ABROAD



CHALLENGING THE U-BOATS

Don Quixote Wilson tilting against the submarines, with his various friends spread on the United States.
From *De Australische* (Amsterdam).

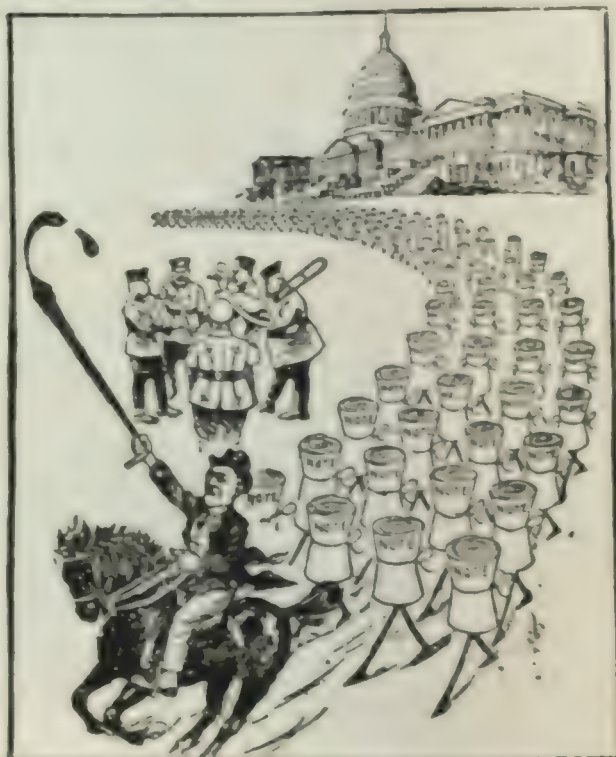
THE European cartoonists continue to ring the changes on President Wilson's activities as an international letter-writer. It seems difficult for them to see him in any other character. Judging from the cartoons



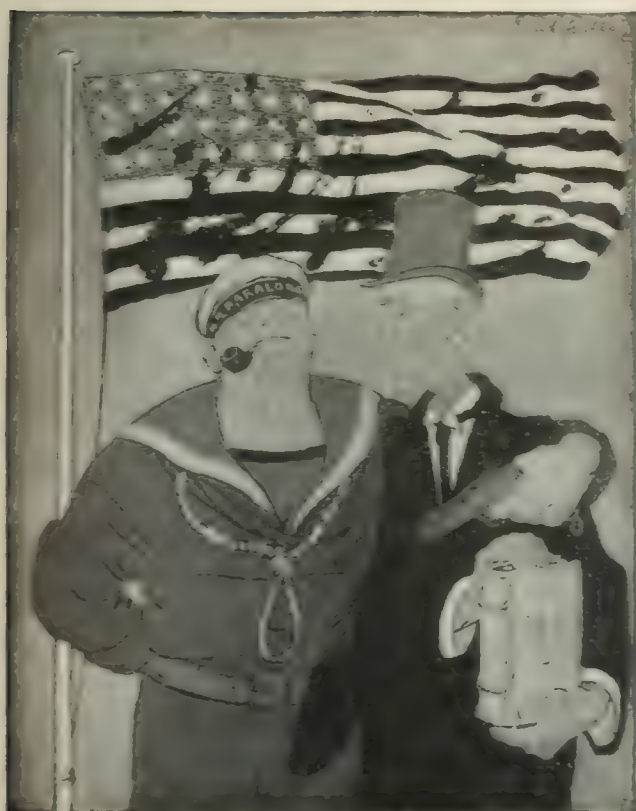
MEMO — Prima di consegnare la nota levatevi il cappello.

LO ZIO SAM — È giusta!

UNCLE SAM'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY—AN ITALIAN VIEW
From *il 420* (Florence)



PRESIDENT WILSON'S ARMY
From *the Bystander* (London)



WILSON'S VIEW OF THE BARALONG EPISODE (AS IT APPEARS TO THE GERMANS)
 "Why should we protest? It is only German blood that blots our flag."

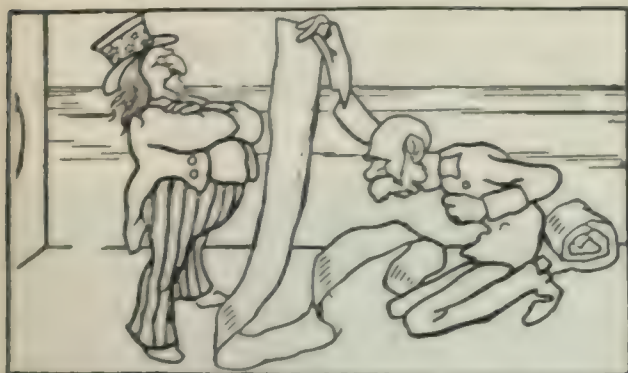
From *L'Espresso* © (Munich)



UNCLE SAM'S PRAYER

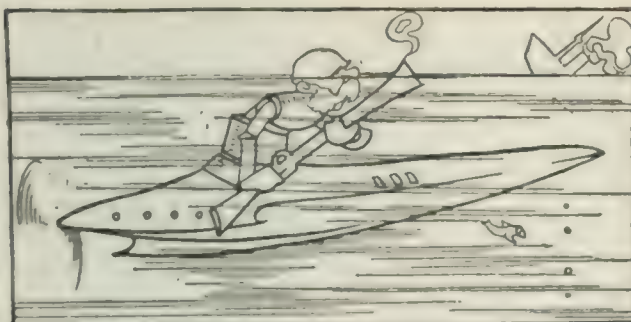
"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will to men—but first please let me earn another billion or so!" (Another cartoon reflecting the European view of Uncle Sam as a beneficiary of the war.)

From *Die Muskete* (Vienna)



AUSTRIA'S CLEVER WORD-CHANGING.
 (The "submarine")

From *Il Trambusto* (Rome)



(The mission of the "sub")



THE TEUTON AS AN AMBITIOUS GLASS BLOWER

1913. Germany had blown a greatly extended sphere of influence and alliance. But what will happen in 1916?

From *La Campana de Goya* (Barcelona, Spain)





PEACE, AS GERMANY SEES IT

(With Germany as the peace angel, in full military panoply, commanding the humbled and diminished allies)

From *L'Asino* (Rome)



PEACE, AS WE SHALL HAVE IT

(With a real peace spirit, standing for the integrity of the nations, general disarmament, and obligatory arbitration)

From *L'Asino* (Rome)

presented on the preceding page, Italian sentiment is more friendly to Uncle Sam than Dutch or English.



THE PRESENTS FOR THE KAISER

(The German soldier is endeavoring to carry a towering pile of gifts for his Emperor, consisting of Belgium, France, England, Russia, Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, Egypt, and India, threatening his lonely way through fields of pointed bayonets.)

From *L'Asino* (Rome)



THE FINGER OF POPULAR ACCUSATION

(The people of the nations of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, when they wake up, will rebel against their oligarchical and militaristic rulers.)

From *L'Asino* (Rome)



THE AMERICAN WATERING-TROUGH

BERLIN (to Italian male): "Go away, you donkey; there's nothing for you here. This is only for us." (A German view, to the effect that England, France, and Russia are monopolizing American loans to the exclusion of their Italian ally)

From *Lastige Blätter* © (Berlin)

German contempt of Italy as an antagonist is expressed in the three Berlin cartoons—"The American Watering-Trough," "A Hitch in the War Drama," and "Faithful Italy." It is a common Teutonic belief that England and France are both suspicious of

Italy's good faith in the alliance—a belief reflecting Teutonic opinion of Italy.



A HITCH IN THE WAR DRAMA

From *Der Humorist* (Germany). (Staff of German editors, writing about the Italian situation.) "Italy's war drama is a hitch." (Italy's war drama is a hitch.) "Italy's war drama is a hitch." (Italy's war drama is a hitch.)

From *Der Humorist* © (Germany)

1915-16



"FAITHFUL ITALY"

Germany and England both alike Italy with the... (Italy's war drama is a hitch.) (Italy's war drama is a hitch.) (Italy's war drama is a hitch.)

From *Der Humorist* © (Germany)

1915-16



THE INTERRUPTED SLAVE SALE

KING CONSTANTINE: "Hail, old, venerable Greece! Greece is not a bond slave, to be sold in the market place. Greece is free!"

From *Jugend* © (Munich)



THE JUDGMENT OF THE MODERN PARIS

KING CONSTANTINE to the Allies: "I have decided to keep my apple (neutrality)."

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)

German, Austrian, and French viewpoints regarding the attitude of Greece are set out with distinctness on this page. Marked concern for the "freedom" of the Greek people is expressed by the German cartoon above, while Constantine's decision to remain neutral is applauded by the Austrian *Kikeriki*.

That King Constantine has been doing too much talking, for a neutral "Sphinx," is the view of one French cartoonist, while another sees in the Allied forces at Salonica the means of security for Greece.



THE SPHINX OF ATHENS

MINISTER DRAKOS to FRANCE (to King Constantine): "Sphinx, you talk too much!"

From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris)



GUARDING GREECE

KING CONSTANTINE: "Can I sleep in tranquillity?"
THE FRENCH SOLDIER: "Yes, my brave, it is I who will guard the house."

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



IN THE BALKANS

KING PETER: "That is the last of our kingdoms."
 KING NICHOLAS: "Yes, but all the world will applaud
 our losses!"
 From *Il Jasicetto* (Turin)



PETER AND NICHOLAS

(The Kings of Serbia and Montenegro, driven from
 their lands by the Austro-Hungarian forces, sought refuge in
 Italy. But even here the storm will get them)
 From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



AUSTRIA'S BALKAN APPETITE

At last the little dish (Montenegro) as an appetizer.
 From *Il Jasicetto* (Turin)



PROUDER SERBIA

"See those stones in the distance? Watch me,
 I'll make them move to the other side."
 From *Il Jasicetto* (Turin)



MOUNT LOGGON AS AN AUSTRIAN PRIZE

"The name of this mountain is Mount Loggion, but it is really a mountain, and it is really a mountain, and it is really a mountain."
 From *Il Jasicetto* (Turin)



"ROAD OPEN"

(The Bulgar has removed the final barrier on the great commercial highway from Antwerp to Constantinople and Bagdad. Germany's long-desired path to the East is at last free.)

From *Lustige Blätter* © (Berlin)

The accomplishment of Germany's ambition for a through highway to the East was naturally a source of much satisfaction to her, and also opened the way for a blow at the Egyptian heel of the British Achilles.



OF ST. ZEPPELIN

GERMAN AIRMAN'S REMARK: "No hospitals, no cathedrals, here, pass on!"

(Meaning that such institutions are the favorite targets of the Zeppelins.)

From *Die Welt* (Berlin)



THE HEEL OF ACHILLES

The vulnerable part of Britain's armor is Egypt, and if we strike him hard there, we shall annihilate England in the Orient.

From *Lustige Blätter* © (Berlin)

PICTURES OF WAR INTEREST



THE SASSANIAN RUINS AT CTESIPHON

(The ancient arch was in the center of the fighting ground in Mesopotamia, where the British under General Townshend engaged the Turks. According to official report, the British gunners were ordered to take especial care not to hit the old relic. The large village of Ctesiphon is on the left bank of the Tigris, about twenty-five miles below Bagdad, across the river from Seleucia, a city famed in the history of Greeks and Romans in their Asianic exploits. This ruin of the famous palace built by Chosroes I, in A.D. 550, is of burnt brick. The great hall under the arch was 163 feet long, 86 feet wide, and 95 feet high. Architects have been greatly interested in the technical character of the Parthian and Sassanian remains of important buildings in the Mesopotamian valley. Among these ruins this great hall at Ctesiphon is perhaps the best known.)



THE ADVANCE ON KUTEL AMARA TRANSPORTING BRITISH TROOPS UP THE TIGRIS



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

ALBANIAN CHIEFS MEETING TO DECLARE WAR ON AUSTRIA

(The photograph shows an assemblage of Albanian chiefs who, under the leadership of Ismail Pasha, declared war against Austria in aid of Montenegro.)



THE SERBIAN RETIREMENT THROUGH ALBANIA

(General Putnik, in a sedan chair made by his soldiers, and accompanied by the Serbian general staff, is crossing the White Drin, by the picturesque bridge of the Viziers.)



© International News Service, New York

KING NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO FINDS SAFE REFUGE IN FRANCE

(The photograph of the King, with his family and suite, was taken at Lyons on the arrival of the royal party after fleeing from Montenegro.)



© International News Service, New York

THE GULF OF CATTARO, WITH THE FRONTIER MOUNTAINS OF MONTENEGRO (MOUNT LOVJEN IN CENTER)

(Only mountain visible from the Gulf of Cattaro captured Mount Lovcen in January, 1914, and although the gulf was under Montenegrin control.)



© International News Service, New York

GENERAL VON KOVESS, THE AUSTRIAN COMMANDER IN THE MONTENEGRIN CAMPAIGN

(General Kovess is wearing the iron cross presented to him by the Kaiser for his victories over the Montenegrins)



Photograph by American Press Association, New York

GENERAL VON GALLEWITZ, WHO, IT IS REPORTED, WILL BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TURCO-BULGARIAN ATTACK ON THE ALLIES AT SALONICA



© International News Service, New York

PERSIAN CAVALRY OFFICERS IN THEIR PICTURESQUE COSTUMES

(Persia is not one of the countries at war, but large numbers of her soldiers are fighting both with and against the Russian armies engaged in clearing north-western Persia of Turkish troops.)



© American Press Association, New York

A FRENCH SIEGE GUN IN ACTION NEAR ARRAS

(The gunners can be seen holding their hands to their ears during the terrific explosion)



A CORNER OF THE FRENCH RED CROSS DOG KENNELS

(These kennels are built with concrete tops. They are built and are made as comfortable as possible for the canine assistants of the army)

"BANKRUPT DIPLOMACY"

A REVIEW OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION

AN ADDRESS BY ELIHU ROOT

[Elihu Root has two reputations to sustain. He is the leading spokesman of the Republican party. He is also the foremost authority upon America's foreign relations. He had said little or nothing upon great current issues since he left the Senate just a year ago. But on February 15 he delivered a frank and carefully prepared address at a great convention of New York State Republicans. The principal parts of that address, as reviewing President Wilson's foreign policies and diplomacy, are presented herewith. Those portions of his speech that are devoted principally to domestic questions, such as the Democratic party's tariff and financial policies, are referred to in our editorial paragraphs, but not reprinted in the following pages.—*THE FORUM*.]

FOR the first time within the memory of men now living, the international relations of the United States, long deemed of trifling consequence, are recognized as vital. How can this nation, which loves peace and intends justice, avoid the curse of militarism and at the same time preserve its independence, defend its territory, protect the lives and liberty and property of its citizens? How can we prevent the same principles of action, the same policies of conduct, the same forces of military power which are exhibited in Europe from laying hold upon the vast territory and practically undefended wealth of the new world? Can we expect immunity? Can we command immunity? . . .

When a President and Secretary of State have been lawfully established in office the power of initiative in foreign affairs rests with them. The nation is in their hands. Theirs is the authority and theirs the duty to adopt and act upon policies, subject to such laws as Congress may enact within constitutional limits. Parliamentary opposition can take no affirmative step, can accomplish no affirmative action. The expression of public opinion can do nothing except as it produces an influence upon the minds of those officers who have the lawful power to conduct our foreign relations. Their policy is the country's policy, because it is they who are authorized to act for the country.

While they are working out their policy all opposition, all criticism, all condemnation, are at the risk of weakening the case of one's own country and frustrating the efforts of its lawful representatives to succeed in what they are seeking to accomplish for the country's benefit. An American should wish the representatives of his country to succeed,

whatever may be their party, unless there be wrongdoing against conscience. However much he may doubt the wisdom of their course, he should help them where he can and refrain from placing obstacles in their way. But when the President and Secretary of State have acted, and seek a new grant of power, they and the party which is responsible for them must account for their use of power to the people from whom it came, and the people must pass judgment upon them, and then full and frank public discussion becomes the citizen's duty.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN MEXICO

The United States had rights and duties in Mexico. More than forty thousand of our citizens had sought their fortunes and made their homes there. A thousand millions of American capital had been invested in that rich and productive country, and millions of income from these enterprises were annually returned to the United States, not merely for the benefit of the investors, but for the enrichment of our whole country and all its production and enterprise. But revolution had come, and factional warfare was rife. Americans had been murdered, American property had been wantonly destroyed, the lives and property of all Americans in Mexico were in danger.

That was the situation when Mr. Wilson became President in March, 1913. His duty then was plain. It was, first, to use his powers as President to secure protection for the lives and property of Americans in Mexico and to require that the rules of law and stipulations of treaties should be observed by Mexico towards the United States and its citizens. His duty was, second, as the head

of a foreign power, to respect the independence of Mexico, to refrain from all interference with her internal affairs, from all attempt at dominance except as he was justified by the law of nations for the protection of American rights.

The President of the United States failed to observe either of those duties. He deliberately abandoned them both and followed an entirely different and inconsistent purpose. He intervened in Mexico to aid one faction in civil strife against another. He undertook to pull down Huerta and set Carranza up in his place. Huerta was in possession. He claimed to be the constitutional President of Mexico. He certainly was the *de facto* President of Mexico. Rightly or wrongly, good or bad, he was there. From the north Carranza and a group of independent chieftains were endeavoring to pull down the power of Huerta. President Wilson took sides with them in pulling down that power. In August, 1913, through Mr. John Lind, he presented to Huerta a communication which was in substance a demand that Huerta should retire permanently from the government of Mexico. When Huerta refused, the power of the United States was applied to turn him out. Foreign nations were induced to refuse to his government the loans of money necessary to repair the ravages of war and establish order. Arms and munitions of war were freely furnished to the Northern forces and withheld from Huerta. Finally the President sent our army and navy to invade Mexico and capture its great seaport, Vera Cruz, and hold it and throttle Mexican commerce until Huerta fell.

INTERVENTION WITH WRONG MOTIVES

The Government of the United States intervened in Mexico to control the internal affairs of that independent country and to enforce the will of the American President in those affairs by threat, by economic pressure, and by force of arms. Upon what claim of right did this intervention proceed? Not to secure respect for American rights; not to protect the lives or property of our citizens; not to assert the laws of nations; not to compel observance of the law of humanity. On the contrary, Huerta's was the only power in Mexico to which appeal could be made for protection of life or property. That was the only power which in fact did protect either American or European or Mexican. It was only within the territory where Huerta ruled that comparative peace

and order prevailed. The territory over which the armed power of Carranza and Villa and their associates extended was the theater of the most appalling crimes.

Bands of robbers roved the country with unbridled license. Americans and Mexicans alike were at their mercy, and American men were murdered and American women were outraged with impunity. Thousands were reduced to poverty by the wanton destruction of the industries through which they lived. The payment of blackmail was the only protection of property against burnings and robbery. No one in authority could or would give protection or redress. It had become perfectly plain that the terms upon which both Carranza and Villa held their supporters were unrestricted opportunity and license for murder, robbery, and lust.

Yet the Government of the United States ignored, condoned, the murder of American men and the rape of American women and destruction of American property and insult to American officers and defilement of the American flag, and joined itself to the men who were guilty of all these things to pull down the power of Huerta. Why? The President himself has told us. It was because he adjudged Huerta to be a usurper; because he deemed that the common people of Mexico ought to have greater participation in government and share in the land; and he believed that Carranza and Villa would give them these things. We must all sympathize with these sentiments, but there is nothing more dangerous than misplaced sentiment. Of all men in this world, the man who had vested in him the executive power of the United States was least at liberty to sit in judgment of his own motion upon the title of a claimant to the Mexican presidency or to reform the land laws of Mexico.

The results of this interference were most unfortunate. If our Government had sent an armed force into Mexico to protect American life and honor we might have been opposed, but we should have been understood and respected by the people of Mexico, because they would have realized that we were acting within our international rights and performing a nation's duty for the protection of its own people; but when the President sent an armed force into Mexico to determine the Mexican presidential succession he created resentment and distrust of motives among all classes and sections of the Mexican people. When our army landed at Vera Cruz, Carranza himself, who was to be the chief bene-

fiery of the act, publicly protested against it. So strong was the resentment that he could not have kept his followers otherwise. When Huerta had fallen the new government which for the day had succeeded to his place peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of the American troops. The universal sentiment of Mexicans required that peremptory demand, and the troops were withdrawn. Still worse than that, the taking of Vera Cruz destroyed confidence in the sincerity of the American Government in Mexico because every intelligent man in Mexico believed that the avowed reason for the act was not the real reason. The avowed purpose was to compel a salute to the American flag.

THE SEIZURE OF VERA CRUZ: WHAT WAS ITS REAL PURPOSE?

I will state the circumstances: On the 9th of April, 1914, a boat's crew from the *Dolphin* landed at a wharf in Tampico to take off supplies. The use of that wharf had been prohibited, and the Mexican officer in charge of the wharf put the crew under arrest, but a higher officer ordered him to hold the boat's crew at the wharf and await instructions. Within an hour and a half the crew was set free. No injury or indignity was suffered except the fact of the arrest. Immediate amends were made. The Mexican officer in command at Tampico apologized; General Huerta's government apologized; the officer who made the arrest was himself arrested and his punishment promised. The admiral in command of our fleet at Tampico demanded more public amends through a salute to our flag, but there ensued a discussion as to the facts and as to the character of the salute which the circumstances demanded, the number of guns, and how, if at all, the salute was to be returned.

While that discussion was pending and avowedly because of that incident the American Government presented a twenty-four-hour ultimatum and landed an armed force and captured the City of Vera Cruz. Three hundred Mexicans were reported killed; seventeen United States Marines were killed and many were wounded. At that very time Mr. Bryan, with the President's approval, was signing treaties with half the world, agreeing that if any controversy should arise it should be submitted to a joint commission and no action should be taken until after a full year had elapsed. This controversy, slight as it was, arose on the ninth of April, and on the twenty-first of the same month Vera Cruz was taken. Several times the

troops of Carranza and Villa had arrested and imprisoned American consular officers and torn down the American flags from the consulates and trampled them in the mire, with indescribable indignities. The proofs were in our hands and no attention was paid to them. Many times soldiers of the United States, in uniform, on duty, had been shot and killed or wounded across the border by soldiers of Carranza and Villa. More than fifty of them have been killed in this way and no attention has been paid to it. The demand of a salute to the flag was never heard of again after Vera Cruz was captured.

There is not an intelligent man in Mexico who believes that the dispute about the salute was the real reason for the capture of Vera Cruz. Is there one here who doubts that the alleged cause was but a pretext and that the real cause was the purpose to turn Huerta out of office? The people of Mexico, who saw their unoffending city captured by force of arms, three hundred of its people slain, their soil violated, a foreign flag floating over their great seaport, upon what they felt to be a false pretense, were misled into imputing a more sinister purpose still,—to secure control of Mexico for the United States; and they believed that when the American troops departed that purpose was abandoned through fear.

With the occupation of Vera Cruz the moral power of the United States in Mexico ended. We were then and we are now hated for what we did to Mexico, and we were then and we are now despised for our feeble and irresolute failure to protect the lives and rights of our citizens. No flag is so dishonored and no citizenship so little worth the claiming in Mexico as ours. And that is why we have failed in Mexico.

Incredible as it seems, Huerta had been turned out by the assistance of the American Government without any guaranties from the men who were to be set up in his place, and so the murdering and burning and ravishing have gone on to this day. After Huerta had fallen and the Vera Cruz expedition had been withdrawn, President Wilson announced that no one was entitled to interfere in the affairs of Mexico; that she was entitled to settle them herself. He disclaims all responsibility for what happens in Mexico and contents himself with a policy of "watchful waiting." But who can interfere in a quarrel and help some contestants and destroy others and then absolve himself from responsibility for the results? . . .

For the death and outrage, the suffering

and ruin of our own brethren, the hatred and contempt for our country, and the dishonor of our name in that land, the Administration at Washington shares responsibility with the inhuman brutes with whom it made common cause.

FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS IN THE POLICY TOWARDS EUROPE

When we turn to the Administration's conduct of foreign affairs incident to the great war in Europe we cannot fail to perceive that there is much dissatisfaction among Americans. Some are dissatisfied for specific reasons, some with a vague impression that our diplomacy has been inadequate. Dissatisfaction is not in itself ground for condemnation. . . .

The situation created by the war has been difficult and trying. Much of the correspondence of the State Department, especially since Mr. Lansing took charge, has been characterized by accurate learning and skillful statement of specific American rights. Everyone in the performance of new and unprecedented duties is entitled to generous allowance for unavoidable shortcomings and errors. No one should be held to the accomplishment of the impossible. The question whether dissatisfaction is just or unjust is to be determined upon an examination of the great lines of policy which have been followed and upon considering whether the emergencies of the time have been met with foresight, wisdom and decisive courage.

A study of the Administration's policy towards Europe since July, 1914, reveals three fundamental errors. First, the lack of foresight to make timely provision for backing up American diplomacy by actual or assured military and naval force. Second, the forfeiture of the world's respect for our assertion of rights by pursuing the policy of making threats and failing to make them good. Third, a loss of the moral forces of the civilized world through failure to truly interpret to the world the spirit of the American democracy in its attitude towards the terrible events which accompanied the early stages of the war.

First, as to power.

When the war in Europe began, free, peaceable little Switzerland instantly mobilized upon her frontier a great army of trained citizen soldiers. Sturdy little Holland did the same, and, standing within the very sound of the guns, both have kept their territory and their independence inviolate. Nobody has run over them, because they made

it apparent that the cost would be too great.

Great, peaceable America was farther removed from the conflict, but her trade and her citizens traveled on every sea. Ordinary knowledge of history,—of our own history during the Napoleonic Wars,—made it plain that in that conflict neutral rights would be worthless unless powerfully maintained. . . .

Ordinary practical sense in the conduct of affairs demanded that such steps should be taken that behind the peaceable assertion of our country's rights, its independence and its honor, should stand power, manifest and available, warning the whole world that it would cost too much to press aggression too far. The Democratic Government at Washington did not see it. Others saw it and their opinions found voice. Mr. Gardner urged it; Mr. Lodge urged it; Mr. Stimson urged it; Mr. Roosevelt urged it; but their argument and urgency were ascribed to political motives; and the President described them with a sneer as being nervous and excited.

But the warning voices would not be stilled. The opinion that we ought no longer to remain defenseless became public opinion. Its expression grew more general and insistent, and finally the President, not leading, but following, has shifted his ground, has reversed his position, and asks the country to prepare against war. God grant that he be not too late. But the Democratic party has not shifted its ground. A large part of its members in Congress are endeavoring now to sidetrack the movement for national preparedness; to muddle it by amendment and turn it into channels which will produce the least possible result in the increase of national power of defense.

What sense of effectiveness in this effort can we gather from the presence of Josephus Daniels at the most critical post of all,—the head of the Navy Department; when we see that where preparation has been possible it has not been made; when we see that construction of warships already authorized has not been pressed, and in some cases after long delay has not even been begun. . . .

BELLIGERENT EXPRESSION, BUT NO ACTION

As to the policy of threatening words without deeds.

When Germany gave notice of her purpose to sink merchant vessels on the high seas without safeguarding the lives of innocent passengers, our Government replied on the 10th of February, one year ago, in the following words:

The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and indeed its duty in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relations between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

By all the usages and traditions of diplomatic intercourse those words meant action. They informed Germany in unmistakable terms that in attacking and sinking vessels of the United States and in destroying the lives of American citizens lawfully traveling upon merchant vessels of other countries, she would act at her peril. . . .

On the 7th of May, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine, and more than one hundred Americans and eleven hundred other non-combatants were drowned. The very thing which our Government had warned Germany she must not do, Germany did of set purpose and in the most contemptuous and shocking way.

Then, when all America was stirred to the depths, our Government addressed another note to Germany. It repeated its assertion of American rights, and renewed its bold declaration of purpose. It declared again that the American Government "must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental," and it declared that it would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Still nothing was done, and a long and technical correspondence ensued: haggling over petty questions of detail, every American note growing less and less strong and peremptory. . . . The later correspondence has been conducted by our State Department with dignity, but it has been futile. An admission of liability for damages has been secured, but the time for real protection to American rights has long since passed. Our Govern-

ment undertook one year ago to prevent the destruction of American life by submarine attack, and now that the attempt has failed and our citizens are long since dead and the system of attack has fallen of its own weight, there is small advantage in discussing whether we shall or shall not have an admission that it was unlawful to kill them. . . .

Measured and restrained expression, backed to the full by serious purpose, is strong and respected. Extreme and belligerent expression, unsupported by resolution, is weak and without effect. No man should draw a pistol who dares not shoot. The government that shakes its fist first and its finger afterwards falls into contempt. Our diplomacy has lost its authority and influence because we have been brave in words and irresolute in action. Men may say that the words of our diplomatic notes were justified; men may say that our inaction was justified; but no man can say that both our words and our inaction were wise and creditable.

FAILURE TO SPEAK CONCERNING BELGIUM

I have said that this Government lost the moral forces of the world by not truly interpreting the spirit of the American democracy.

The American democracy stands for something more than beef and cotton and grain and manufactures; stands for something that cannot be measured by rates of exchange, and does not rise or fall with the balance of trade. The American people achieved liberty and schooled themselves to the service of justice before they acquired wealth, and they value their country's liberty and justice above all their pride of possession. . . .

To this people, the invasion of Belgium brought a shock of amazement and horror. The people of Belgium were peaceable, industrious, law abiding, self governing, and free. They had no quarrel with anyone on earth. They were attacked by overwhelming military power; their country was devastated by fire and sword; they were slain by tens of thousands; their independence was destroyed and their liberty was subjected to the rule of an invader, for no other cause, than that they defended their admitted rights. There was no question of fact; there was no question of law; there was not a plausible pretense of any other cause. The admitted rights of Belgium stood in the way of a mightier nation's purpose; and Belgium was crushed. When the true nature of these events was realized, the people of the United States did not hesitate in their feel-

ing or in their judgment. Deepest sympathy with down-trodden Belgium and stern condemnation of the invader were practically universal. . . .

The American people were entitled not merely to feel but to speak concerning the wrong done to Belgium. It was not like interference in the internal affairs of Mexico or any other nation, for this was an international wrong. The law protecting Belgium which was violated was our law and the law of every other civilized country. For generations we had been urging on and helping in its development and establishment. . . . We had bound ourselves by it; we had regulated our conduct by it; and we were entitled to have other nations observe it. . . .

Yet the American Government acquiesced in the treatment of Belgium and the destruction of the law of nations. Without one word of objection or dissent to the repudiation of law or the breach of our treaty or the violation of justice and humanity in the treatment of Belgium, our Government enjoined upon the people of the United States an indiscriminating and all-embracing neutrality, and the President admonished the people that they must be neutral in all respects in act and word and thought and sentiment. We were to be not merely neutral as to the quarrels of Europe, but neutral as to the treatment of Belgium; neutral between right and wrong; neutral between justice and injustice; neutral between humanity and cruelty; neutral between liberty and oppression. . . .

It was not necessary that the United States should go to war in defense of the violated law. A single official expression by the Government of the United States, a single sentence denying assent and recording disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in their earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the conscience and morality of the neutral world. It would have brought to American diplomacy the respect and strength of loyalty to a great cause. . . .

CONSEQUENCES OF MISTAKEN POLICIES

The American Government could not really have approved the treatment of Belgium, but under a mistaken policy it shrank from speaking the truth. That vital error has carried into every effort of our diplomacy the weakness of a false position. Every note of remonstrance against interference

with trade, or even against the destruction of life, has been projected against the background of an abandonment of the principles for which America once stood, and has been weakened by the popular feeling among the peoples of Europe, whose hearts are lifted up by the impulses of patriotism and sacrifice, that America has become weak and sordid.

Such policies as I have described are doubly dangerous in their effect upon foreign nations and in their effect at home. It is a matter of universal experience that a weak and apprehensive treatment of foreign affairs invites encroachments upon rights and leads to situations in which it is difficult to prevent war, while a firm and frank policy at the outset prevents difficult situations from arising and tends most strongly to preserve peace. On the other hand, if a government is to be strong in its diplomacy, its own people must be ranged in its support by leadership of opinion in a national cause worthy to awaken their patriotism and devotion.

We have not been following the path of peace. We have been blindly stumbling along the road that, continued, will lead to inevitable war. Our diplomacy has dealt with symptoms and ignored causes. The great decisive question upon which our peace depends is the question whether the rule of action applied to Belgium is to be tolerated. If it is tolerated by the civilized world, this nation will have to fight for its life. There will be no escape. That is the critical point of defense for the peace of America.

When our Government failed to tell the truth about Belgium, it lost the opportunity for leadership of the moral sense of the American people, and it lost the power which a knowledge of that leadership and a sympathetic response from the moral sense of the world would have given to our diplomacy. When our Government failed to make any provision whatever for defending its rights in case they should be trampled upon, it lost the power which a belief in its readiness and will to maintain its rights would have given to its diplomatic representatives. When our Government gave notice to Germany that it would destroy American lives and American ships at its peril, our words, which would have been potent if sustained by adequate preparation to make them good, and by the prestige and authority of the moral leadership of a great people in a great cause, were treated with a contempt which should have been foreseen; and when our Government failed to make those words good, its diplomacy was bankrupt.



AT THE CURTISS SHOPS: 160-H. P. BIPLANES READY FOR SHIPMENT

(Before the war it would have been impossible to make such a photograph of Curtiss' shops. In the factory aeroplanes are turned out by the methods employed in automobile plants. The vast factory is the result of the European war demand for flying-machines)

THE AEROPLANE OF TO-DAY

WHAT THE WAR HAS DONE FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT

RAIL as we may at the standing armies of Europe, there would be no healthy aeroplane industry to-day without their support. French and German aeroplane manufacturers would have been haled to the bankruptcy courts long ago had it not been for the orders placed by governments always more or less on the verge of war and always jealously matching one another in military strength and equipment.

If the United States of America has less than thirty army aeroplanes, of which not more than twelve are fit for active service at the present moment, it is the fault of Congress. We, too, might have had an industry if the army were permitted to exercise its discretion. When the war came and military orders poured in upon us so fast that they could not be filled, a real American industry sprang into being. Neither European nor American builders of flying machines could hope to prosper long by collecting money from the promoters of races and county fairs.

In Europe the great change came in 1911. Then it was that Italy waged war on Turkey and sent to the Tripolitan front three or four French exhibition machines bought half-heartedly on the recommendation of a few imaginative theorists who believed that scouting might be done on wings more effectively than on horseback. Up to that time a regiment of Italian military conservatives had spilled much ink in warning army officers against putting too much trust in aerial reconnaissance as a supplement to cavalry scouting. It was thought unlikely that the low-flying aeroplanes which had given so good an account of themselves in the annual maneuvers of the French and German armies could escape destruction from rifle and artillery fire. The Italian experiment with the aeroplane in actual warfare had great importance.

The entire military world watched that Tripolitan campaign with breathless interest. What was actually accomplished by air scouts the Italians never completely revealed. It was significant that Italy rapidly increased

her aerial force and began to build her own machines. French and German newspapers at once prodded their governments into activity. Money for aeroplane construction was not forthcoming fast enough, and so public subscriptions on a huge scale were inaugurated. Such was the popular enthusiasm that sums running into millions of francs and marks were raised. Thus was the aeroplane industry of Europe born.

RISE OF THE INDUSTRY

The boom was at its height a year before the outbreak of war. When governments



Photograph by Medem News Service

A FRENCH CAUDRON BIPLANE—A SPORTING TYPE WHICH HAS PROVED POPULAR IN THE FRENCH ARMY

biplane, but now he turns out one machine a day. No one knows exactly how many aeroplanes have been exported from this country, nor how much they are worth. For the six months ending July, 1915, four million dollars' worth of aeronautic material was furnished by this country. At that rate nearly ten million dollars must have poured into American coffers up to the present time. And we might earn even more if we had been prepared for the deluge of commissions.

FIVE THOUSAND MACHINES EMPLOYED IN THE WAR

How many aeroplanes are required by all the armies in the present war no one can tell. Three years ago Germany appropriated \$35,000,000 to be spent in five years on aeronautics. The budgets of her rivals were not much less.

began to spend the millions which they had appropriated and which had been collected by public subscription, a real aeroplane industry was established. With dividends assured factories were more willing than before to spend money on laboratory research and to improve designs. The building of aeroplanes in Europe and America goes on with a frenzy which may well be likened to the rush in a newly discovered gold field. In the effort to meet the demand we are even building machines under canvas. Curtiss has increased his force of employees from 150 men to 2,000. He has adopted automobile methods of manufacture. Once it took him three weeks to build a

There are certainly no fewer than 5,000 machines in actual use in the war, and such is the wastage of battle that their flying life is not longer than a fortnight. Very few aeroplanes are now in service which were flying at the outbreak of war. For all we know it may be necessary to build 50,000 machines



CURTIS MILITARY TRACTOR IN FLIGHT. ITS 160-HORSEPOWER MOTOR WILL ENABLE IT TO ATTAIN A SPEED OF ABOUT 100 MILES AN HOUR



A TURTLEBACK MACHINE WHICH SHOWS HOW AN AMERICAN DESIGNER HAS PROFITED BY EUROPEAN WAR EXPERIENCE

Planes today are produced for two uses and for the power plant, to as to not waste all resources.



THE FAMOUS "AMERICA" WHICH GLENN H. CURTISS BUILT FOR THE TRANS-ATLANTIC FLIGHT WHICH THE

WAR MADE IMPOSSIBLE

(The "America" was later sold to Great Britain. Several other craft following the same type have likewise been discussed in Great Britain. The type has proven extremely serviceable for work in the English Channel and in the North Sea in attacking submarines)

a year to repair the ravages of war. No wonder that the Royal Aircraft factory alone employs 7000 men and that there are 16,000 mechanics and engineers engaged in making aeroplanes and motors in England alone; no wonder that the aeroplane industry is feverishly active and prosperous all over the world; no wonder that the aeroplane boom of 1913 has been completely eclipsed by the war prosperity of 1915 and 1916.

IMPROVEMENTS IN DESIGN

To the designer of aeroplanes the war has meant as much as to the factory proprietor. The old stock sporting models will not answer over the battlefield. War has crystallized the views of strategists. The scientist and his wind tunnel command more respect now; he alone can smooth out body lines intelligently, reduce the area of wind-resisting struts and wires, and improve wing shapes. When the war is over we shall find that it has brought about real progress.

Even now we have evidence of that in the long-distance flights undertaken by daring officers. Two months before the war it was taken as a matter of course that half the numerous machines entered in a German overland endurance contest should come to grief before reaching their destination. Now flocks of forty and fifty aeroplanes fly for hours across Alsace and Baden in order to bombard Karlsruhe, Freiburg, or some

German stronghold and return safely for the most part; the missing have been brought down by cannon or attacking machines, and not by defective parts.

In the last Balkan war the hired pilots of the belligerents never dared to attack each other, from which it was concluded by military officers that flying was dangerous enough in itself without heightening its terrors by the aid of machine-guns. Yet now we read of daily encounters in the air. Chavez met a ghastly death after crossing the Alps. Today a score of Austrian officers fly unconcernedly over the Dolomites without the slightest chance of making an emergency landing. Aeroplanes must have improved wonderfully if the ordinary perils of flying can be so blithely ignored.

Still, marked as the changes must be in design, the aeroplane of 1916 is not mechanically different from the aeroplane of 1906.

The improvements made in machines have been architectural rather than mechanical in character. When pilots found out how to cope with swirling eddies and swift streams they realized what makeshift contrivances the first machines were. The dozen who died because their wings collapsed in a gust drove home the lesson of our tragic incompetence, and the men who have deliberately strained their planes to the breaking point by dropping a mile in a vertical line and straightening out their course at the end of the drop exhibited the weak points of early aeroplanes

and taught the scientific designer what never could have been learned in artificial tests.

The hazards of flying, then, have brought about important improvements but no radical departure from the early Wright models. In actual wing constructions significant advances have been made. The effect on planes of certain cross sections or profiles has been painstakingly studied in the laboratory, so that the builder of flying machines may now select a particular wing section to meet a definite requirement. The old flying machines had planes covered with flabby canvas, which were distorted under pressure and which constituted dangerous, unrecognized defects. In modern machines the wings are so strong that they rarely break; their surface is as smooth as glass and as tight as a drumhead. Countless shapes and arrangements of wings have been proposed, and few have been either definitely accepted or rejected. All this variety is inconsequential. The aeroplane will always be a mechanical compromise; what is gained in one way is lost in another.

THE BOAT BODY

The one unmistakable improvement which has been adopted is a boat-like body in which the aviator now sits. No longer does he perch on the lower wing of a biplane and watch the earth drift back between his legs. The boat body was adopted not to spare his emotions or shield his body from the wind, but to enable the machine to plow on with the least possible disturbance of the air. Each plane, each strut, each projection leaves a wake of its own. A single wake, which marks the easy flowing together of air behind a single body, is better. The modern aeroplane approaches this ideal; the

old machine raked the air like a harrow. That change in form we owe to the scientist and his laboratory. He measured the resisting effect of wires vibrating in the wind, of braces, of fuel tanks, of radiators, and of human legs and arms. He found that the sum total was enormous. The aeroplane builder has been compelled to abandon his cherished idea that to obtain speed as little surface and bulk as possible should be exposed. He has learned from the scientist that a large correctly designed bulk, enclosing passengers, engines, steering wheels and tanks, slips through the air more easily than an aggregation of small irregular shapes, widely scattered.

GREATER SPEED, GREATER SAFETY

More tangible than these improvements is the trebled and quadrupled power of the motor. That means not only speeds well over 100 miles an hour—vitally necessary to a military scout—but, paradoxically enough, safety. Almost any weather can be braved with 150 horsepower. The *Mauretania* buffets her way at twenty-five knots in the teeth of a gale, because of the horsepower of her engines. A military flying machine is a miniature *Mauretania* of the air. Aviators once anxiously studied the clouds and the weather vane before they would venture up; now they fly in all winds.

Military exigencies demand more than one type of aeroplane. A combat in the air is won by quick maneuvering. A small, high-powered machine, preferably a monoplane, fills the requirements. The famous German Fokker is the most prominent of the class. This machine and others like it (the French Morane, for example) are wasps in smallness, speed, and maneuvering ability.



Illustration by V. M. T. P. 1910

THE FAMOUS FOKKER BIPLANE WHICH HAS FLOWN FOR HOURS WITH SIXTEEN PASSENGERS

This machine, which has been used for long distances in the war, has carried the Germans to land, and has carried them over the sea. The only difficulty in maintaining it is the problem of a landing gear which will withstand the terrific impact of the superheated wings.



Courtesy of Boeing

ONE OF THE POWERFUL FRENCH MILITARY BIPLANES WITH TWIN ENGINES

(This Dorand armored and armed military biplane served as the pattern for the huge German scouting airplanes. The distinguishing features are the central boat body for the crew and the two smaller nacelles for the engines.)

LARGE MACHINES FOR SCOUTING

On the other hand, the scouting machine carrying guns, bombs, much fuel, and several passengers (three or four pairs of eyes see more than one pair) must obviously be large. Hence we have mammoth biplanes and even triplanes, inherently slow in maneuvering for the same reason that an elephant takes more time to turn than a mouse. In these huge craft, measuring from seventy to 180 feet from wing tip to wing tip, the weight may not be concentrated as in a small Fokker without setting up strains in maneuvering; and when the weight is distributed, as it must be for safety, it is impossible to turn quickly.

These spectacular, aerial giants are older than the war. The first and least pretentious was Colonel Cody's big machine which won a prize in an English military contest for fast climbing in 1912 and which was simply an enlarged biplane. Then came the Russian, Sikorsky—one of those who profited by the military boom of 1912. His design was bold because of its hugeness. Imagine an ordinary tractor biplane ninety feet in span, with two motors of 400 horsepower; imagine a body like a veritable Pullman car in which seventeen passengers can eat and sleep, and you have the Sikorsky. German observers in this war describe it as very stiff in turn-

ing, although capable of making sixty miles an hour. They improved on it soon enough with a fighting dreadnought—a craft which is speedier, which has even greater carrying capacity, and which mounts two machine guns. It reminds one of a catamaran; for it has two bodies, each containing a motor driving a tractor propeller, with a third in the center carrying the crew and the guns. The air resistance is less than that of the Sikorsky; little power is needed to attain a great speed; and quicker turning is possible. In none of the newspaper dispatches does the Sikorsky figure as a battle plane; it is credited only with bomb-dropping on a wholesale scale. The German dreadnought is a real fighting craft.

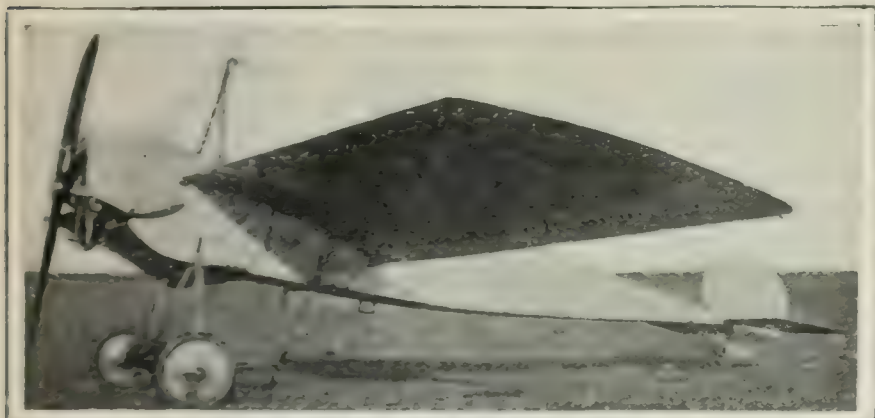
THE "AMERICA"

A good landing gear (the equivalent of a bird's feet) is even more essential to a giant Sikorsky than to a Fokker. Sikorsky resorted to a clumsy understructure which, no doubt, answered the purpose of withstanding the terrific impact of tons against the solid earth, but which reduced his speed. How the Germans have overcome the difficulty is not known. Curtiss wisely avoided it by building his *America* as a hydroaeroplane, to rest on water when not flying.

The *America* was by far the best piece of

aeroplane designing ever produced in this country. Of all the machines in the world she was built not to gain a selfish military advantage, but to fly across the Atlantic Ocean and thus to mark a new era in aerial transportation. Whether or not she would have succeeded in performing that stupendous feat, it remains to the credit of Glenn H. Curtiss who built her and of Rodman Wanamaker who paid for her construction that she was conceived in a fine, imaginative moment and that she was the product of a noble

critics comment unfavorably on the mounting of two motors at the sides of the car in a position so exposed that they must retard the entire machine. But high power, even though it reduces the radius of action, offers some compensation. The French understand these things better. Their armored Dorand, a two-motor battle plane similar to the German catamaran dreadnought, but carrying only one gun, encloses each engine in a separate, streamline body. The methodical, painstaking, scientific Germans expose their radiators at the flanks of the bodies, so as to obviate resistance and yet to obtain all the cooling effect that comes from rushing through the air at more than railway speed.



THE FAMOUS FOKKER MONOPLANE

(Germany is using this machine to fight off heavier and more unwieldy enemies. The Fokker makes over 100 miles an hour. It is armed with a machine gun. The two men owe its efficiency entirely to its high speed and its maneuvering ability.)

effort to reach an attainable but remote goal. She typified the mechanical genius of a nation to which invention means what art meant to Italians of the Renaissance. Even now one thinks of her with a thrill, soaring over a black, billowy sea, silhouetted against the moon and the silver clouds, and blotting out constellations for a second, — the symbol of a western world soaring to a higher destiny. If there is poetry in motors and planes, the *America* was a mechanical epic.

We must speak of her in the past tense; for there is every reason to believe that, after having been sold to England, when the outbreak of war thwarted all plans for a transatlantic flight, she was destroyed in performing some naval duty. But her sisters, each duplicating her wonderful cabin and accommodations for five, and her impressive spread of wing (seventy-two feet) now cleave the air of the Channel and the North Sea.

Wondrous as the *America* are because of their hugeness, they, too, are merely enlarge-



THE FRENCH MORANE MACHINE

(The German Lohner is practically a copy of this type. It has the same advantages of high speed and wispoke agility.)

ment in spite of the advantages to be obtained from a strong, compact, and light structure. Pile up surface on surface and head-on resistance must increase. By giving his dreadnought a span greater than the width of most city streets Curtiss was forced to adopt the triplane construction. And yet even this biggest of flying machines is remarkable chiefly for staggering size. Here is a craft measuring 133 feet from wing tip to wing tip. The corresponding seventy-two feet of the *America* are dwarfed, and the thirty-five feet of the ordinary flying boat seem but a hand's breadth in comparison.

Consider this astonishing vessel more closely. Because her propellers are over-

large, her four engines of 960 horsepower must be exposed, no doubt against the designer's will. Her hull embodies watertight compartments and similar refinements of naval architecture. No human hand could balance wings so expansive; hence we find that the stabilizers are actuated by a 40 horsepower auxiliary motor, which also serves to start the main engines electrically. A dozen or more men can live in her cabin, sleeping in berths and dining from tables as comfortably as in any railway car. However, her crew will probably not comprise more than five, so that she can carry as much fuel and as many bombs as possible and mount a veritable battery of three-inch guns.

Compared with this latest production in aeronautic architecture a Fokker seems like an insect. But the Fokker has a 100-horsepower motor and darts through clouds at a speed well over one hundred miles an hour. The 960-horsepower motors of the Curtiss triplane will never drive her faster than sixty or seventy miles an hour. A Zeppelin travels as fast as that. What is more, it can journey for a thousand miles, stay aloft whole days at a time, and need not confine itself to the sea in order to find a spot on which it can alight. Only the war made it possible to build the giant triplane. In more peaceful times no government would have so cheerfully bought an experimental leviathan.

The aeroplane's superiority over the dirigible lies in smallness. No dirigible can hope to outdistance or out-manuever the average aeroplane. If we may judge from past history a large dirigible is more serviceable than a large biplane or triplane. There must be a maximum favorable size for the large plane, a size which will still enable it to outstrip and out-manuever the dirigible and which will give it all the advantages, of comfort and roominess. The new triplane of Curtiss seems to have overstepped that limit.

TESTING FOR SAFETY

The mere fact that only armies buy flying machines and that only soldiers, trained to fight and die, fly day in and day out, means that aerial locomotion is not safe enough, even for lovers of sport who court danger on the polo field or in the jungle. If automobile-building has become a thriving industry,

it is because a motor-car may break down without breaking necks. Even in the crudest of early motor-cars life and limb might be risked without a thought.

From the very beginning the automobile manufacturer was able to live by selling to the general public. No aeroplane maker has thus far prospered by following the same method. Until it becomes preeminently safe the flying machine must remain essentially a vehicle of war. Not until fortunes have been spent in building and testing flying machines can there be any assurance of safety in the air. Since fortunes are now actually being spent the aeroplane is undergoing on the battlefields of Europe that very testing on **a vast scale which the public demands before it is convinced that flying involves no alarming risks.**

When the flying machine is as safe as the motorboat—and the war, as we have seen, has almost made it so—it must be sold at a more moderate price than is now possible. A dependable aeroplane is worth between \$8000 and \$12,000,—the price of a racing automobile. If it can travel from Calais to Karlsruhe and back in time of war with absolute safety, it may be trusted with an important mission in time of peace. What will that mission be? The bearing of mail matter at first, without a doubt. Then will come the transportation of generals of industry whose presence is required at a distant factory. **Whenever the cost of transportation is negligible compared with the value of the result to be obtained, the aeroplane will find immediate use.** But not until a Henry Ford appears on the scene will it become so cheap and trustworthy that it will be used as generally as the automobile.

Before it can rival the automobile the aeroplane must be considerably improved. Starting and landing grounds of large area are now necessary. Mechanism must be invented which will enable the machine to leap into the air and alight without a run, **if possible. That means larger propellers and larger surfaces which can be inclined at a steeper angle than the long tail now permits near the ground.** The enlarged propellers must be adjustable and reversible to attain this ideal. When these improvements are made there is no reason why every well-to-do dweller in the suburbs may not use the air in traveling between his office and his home.

CAMPAIGNS AS SPRING OPENS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE NEW GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST

BY all odds the most interesting military operation of the last month has been the renewal of German offensive operations between the Oise and the sea—and still later on the Champagne battlefield of last September—which has been marked by very sharp fighting in the sector between Arras and La Bassée. Nothing like as sustained and considerable a German offensive operation has taken place since the successful advance about Ypres, almost a year ago, which was ushered in by the first use of poison gas.

Does this new operation point to a new general offensive in the West, one more effort to get to the Channel, to hack a way to Calais? This question has been on everyone's lips and the fact must be recognized that there is sharp disagreement among military observers as to how the fighting is to be interpreted. As seasoned an observer as Joseph Reinach, writing in the *Paris Figaro*, asserts that there is now coming a final German effort to win a decision in the West. Hilaire Belloc, in *Land and Water*, is equally positive that the Germans are attempting nothing more serious than an effort to regain some of the ground lost by them last spring and last autumn, and thus to put themselves in a better posture to meet the great Allied drive, which everyone expects in the spring.

Of the two views, which seems the more reasonable? Perhaps the best that it is possible to do is to point out that so far the Germans have done nothing that would confirm the view that they are making a great bid for a decision, but that their operation is not yet complete, and then to examine the facts and conjectures which are available.

To support the notion that the Germans are intending to make a real drive, there is the very widely spread rumor, which has persisted for months, that such an attempt was to be made and that the Germans planned to make all on this effort. All over Europe, and quite generally in this country, the report has been in circulation. Again, we have seen in the recent weeks that the

Belgian-Dutch frontier has been closed, invariably a prelude to some great military movement in the West. Finally, we have the testimony of Russian correspondents that many German troops have been moved from the East to the West; the number has been placed as high as 600,000, while almost incredible estimates have been made of the number of cannon that have been moved.

Now, it must be conceded at once that if the Germans could win a great victory in the West,—take Calais, Boulogne, and the Channel Coast,—the moral effect would be incalculable and might lead with brief delay to the making of peace, which is postponed now because of the belief in all Allied capitals that Germany is approaching exhaustion, that the war has been won. If Germany could succeed now, where she failed at the Yser, in the battles of Flanders fifteen months ago, if she could now straighten her line out in France and by shortening it reduce the number of men required to guard it, her success would be a staggering blow, particularly to France.

But is the thing possible? Frankly, I cannot believe it, because it seems to me impossible that Germany could succeed now, when she is outnumbered in the West and has to face equal if not superior resources in munition and in guns, when she has to break through long stretches of permanent works that have been building for months. If it were not possible for Germany to do it fifteen months ago, when she had more men, more guns, and more shells than her opponents, when there were 100,000 British instead of 1,000,000 in the field, at least the weight of probability is against such a success now.

We know that Germany has kept in the West little less than 1,500,000 men at any time. To bring 600,000 from the East now,—accepting the reported figures as correct,—would be to raise the total to about 2,000,000. But the British have officially announced their force in the West as around 1,000,000, and we know that the French have not less than 1,500,000 in their first line. As to munitions, Allied superiority in the Champagne battle was manifest, and

since then not merely French and British, but American factories, the last now beginning to deliver appreciable quantities, have been busy.

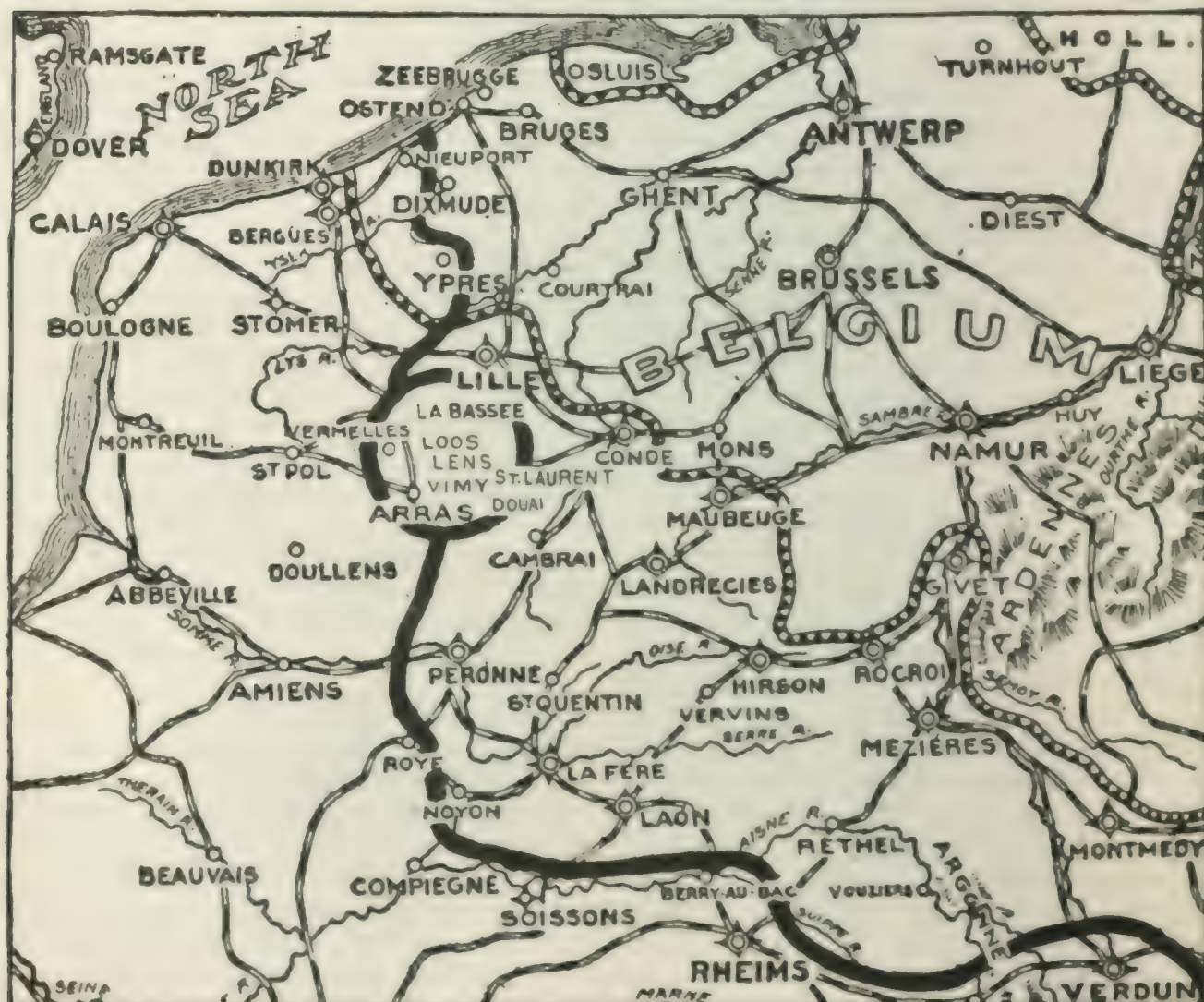
To break through the Allied lines would entail huge losses; we know the Allied failure in September cost not less than 200,000. Before a real break could be made, the Allies, having superior numbers, would be able to make a concentration of greater numbers behind the danger point and the German advance would be checked. On the surface the thing seems impossible; but the impossible has proven by no means unlikely in this war, and prophecy is foolish.

II. AN OFFENSIVE-DEFENSIVE

Conceding that the theory of a real drive is at least apparently unreasonable,—and this is the prevailing view of British and French officers at the front,—what might the Germans be seeking in a smaller way? What could their operations mean, so far as they have developed, if they did not mean a drive to Calais?

Here the answer is simple. First of all, in the general field of the war it is plain that the weather conditions, which make impossible operations in the East on a grand scale like the summer drive to Warsaw and beyond, allow the Germans to move some corps to the West temporarily. These corps, by exerting pressure, will naturally make the Allies cautious about weakening their lines by sending new reinforcements either to Salonica or Suez. We know that many have already been sent. To take a parallel, one German explanation for the fierce offensive around Ypres last spring is that it was designed to prevent the British from sending troops to the Gallipoli Peninsula to reinforce the fleet, by threatening their line in Flanders.

Turning now to the specific local purpose that the German operations may disclose, the explanation is not hard to find. We know that the Allies are planning to make a grand attack in the spring. We know that this attack is likely to come north of Arras and in Champagne, because the French and British have fought two terrific battles on the



THE GERMAN "SALIENT" ON THE WESTERN FRONT, WITH THE RIGHT RESTING ON LILLE, THE CENTER NEAR COMPIÈGNE, AND THE LEFT ON VERDUN

same ground,—battles which were recognized as efforts either to break the German lines at once or to open the way for a successful attack later, by taking the positions which would make the next attack easier.

Last May and June the French, badly supported by the British, who had to give their job up, made a very material advance north of Arras. Look at any map which shows the lines of elevation, and it will be seen that the French front, stretching north from Compiègne to the point where it joins the British around Lens, actually marks with fair accuracy the eastern limit of the hills which rise abruptly from the Channel and extend east until they break down into the basin of the Scheldt, north of the Somme Valley.

When the German advance came to an end in the autumn of 1914 and the lines were traced out for both sides, the Germans managed to hold the last crests of these hills. From St. Laurent, just east of Arras, to La Bassée, they occupied the last considerable ridges, the most important of which were the Lorette and Vimy heights, west of Lens. If they could be dislodged from this position they would then be on the downhill slope and in the great northern plain, which would be commanded by the line of crests.

In May the French actually captured the Lorette heights and a nest of little towns at their foot, which had been strongly fortified by the Germans. In the September drive the French crept up the western slopes of the Vimy heights, occupying Hills No. 119 and No. 140, but subsequently losing a portion of their gains and never quite consolidating their position, which would have enabled them to command Lens and the plain from the southwest. The British, to the north, did get Hill No. 70 and for a few brief hours were in a position to compel the evacuation of this town, which is the center of the roads and railroads of this district. But they were pushed back, owing to the bad handling of their reserves.

All told, however, the French and the British did make such considerable gains as to be in a position to complete the work with a push no more considerable than that of last autumn. If the British could gain another mile, from Loos, they would retake Hill No. 70, would envelop La Bassée, and could probably turn the Germans out of this position. If the French could make a half-mile advance, the Vimy heights would be theirs. The experience of the last two Allied offensives has demonstrated that a gain of from

one to two miles is not an unreasonable expectation, given the preparation, the munitions, and the men.

But if the Germans could retake the more important portions of the Allied gains of last September, then the work would all have to be begun again and the spring drive might go no further than to regain what had been taken last September and lost subsequently. In other words, the German movement might be interpreted as a defensive-offensive,—an operation designed to take the positions essential to the maintenance of their lines against the general attack that they expect when the spring comes.

If the Allies take Hill No. 70, Lens and the Vimy ridge next spring, the German lines may have to go back for some miles, perhaps as far back as Douai; the German hold upon Lille will be shaken, and the whole German right flank in France will be threatened. This is what the Allies aimed at last May and last September. Up to the present moment the German operations seem directed toward preparing for a new storm, but on February 15, when these lines are written, they have made little real progress.

III. THE SPRING OFFENSIVE

Once more I advise my readers to study the map to grasp the full possibilities of the spring drive, that seems inevitable and promises to come on the battlefields of Artois and of Champagne. The German position in France is a deep salient, wholly like the familiar Polish salient which Hindenburg and Mackensen broke last summer; it rests upon the fortified city of Lille in the West and upon the Argonne ridge, now turned into a German fortress, on the East.

This salient, like the Polish salient, cannot be attacked in front, because the Champagne Hills, north of the Aisne, like the Bzura-Rawka line in Poland, have been turned into fortresses and lend themselves naturally to defense. But south of Lille and east of Rheims there are points in the German line which offer a maximum of profit for the minimum of labor.

We saw in Poland that Mackensen and Hindenburg, moving towards a common objective behind the Russian front, sought first to break through the Russian line, and then, by joining hands behind the Russian center, to envelop it and cut off and capture the Russian masses.

Now, if the Allied drive in the spring should succeed in piercing the German line

south of Lille and east of Champagne, they would threaten the German center in exactly the same way, and the maximum of their possible gain would be cutting off some corps of Germans, who now hold the Aisne heights, by enveloping them. The Allied armies would operate on lines which almost exactly recall those of Mackensen and Hindenburg, and Namur would recall Brest-Litovsk, in the Polish campaign.

The Russians escaped from the net, but they had to evacuate all of Poland and most of Galicia. It is equally possible that if the German lines were broken this spring, Germany would find no real halting place until she had brought all her forces behind the Meuse, or even behind the Ourthe; that is, covering the Prussian frontier by holding Liège and the Ardennes heights to the Franco-Belgian frontier near Longwy.

Allied strategy has always been transparently clear in the West. To attack at both ends of the curving German line, to attempt to break the line and reach the German lines of communication, which in Artois and Flanders lie perilously near the front: to strive to envelop and cut off some German corps, but in any event to turn them all out of France and Belgium, by the threat of envelopment,—this has been what Joffre has sought from the end of the Battle of the Marne to the present moment.

Draw a straight line on the map from Arras east and from the Champagne front east of Rheims north; these lines will show the general direction that the Allied pushes will take. They recall exactly the pushes of Mackensen through Lublin and Hindenburg through Ossowetz and Lomza. The line from Arras almost immediately begins to cross the main railroad lines from Paris to Brussels and to Liège, and these are the life-lines of German military existence in France. Hindenburg's operation similarly menaced the Petrograd-Warsaw railroad. Mackensen in the same manner struck at and cut the Warsaw-Kiev railroad.

I am not pretending to say that the Allies will pass the first line of German trenches in the West this spring. But I am trying to make clear what their major purpose has been and probably will remain, when they undertake one more "big push." Think of the Allied armies in Artois and Champagne as the two jaws of a pair of pincers, closing in on a nut held between them, and the Allied strategy is plain.

It is always to be recalled, however, that, even if the Germans do not succeed in hold-

ing their present lines, they may straighten them and still hold much of Belgium. It is even conceivable that they may decide to shorten them, as did the Russians, without risking all on a decision. Should they do this a natural line would be behind the Meuse from their trenches in front of Verdun to Givet on the Franco-Belgian frontier and then south of Namur across the Sambre-Meuse triangle, through Maubeuge to Lille. This would abolish the salient. It would also straighten their line and shorten it materially, but it means the surrender of almost all of the French territory now held.

A line drawn west of Antwerp and Brussels to Namur and then behind the Meuse to Verdun would be still shorter and stronger, but this would mean the surrender of the Belgian coast. I mention these lines, both of which are said to have been prepared, merely to indicate that an Allied offensive might be checked far short of the German frontier, even if it were highly successful. I have discussed the whole subject at this length because I may not be able to reach it again before the spring campaign begins in earnest.

IV. MORE ABOUT ATTRITION

Very briefly, now, I desire to revert to the subject of casualties and to the theory of the war of attrition, which I have discussed at length in these articles before. Some weeks ago a member of the British Cabinet read in the House some statistics of German losses, which led to much mistaken comment, which was wholly unfortunate from the British point of view and one more example of British carelessness as to foreign opinion. As he explained at the time, this list was not the official British estimate of German losses, it was merely the tabulation made by British agents of the lists issued by the Germans themselves. The British Government has never pretended to give the public any estimate of the actual German losses, as they estimated them. Nor was there any suggestion that these German figures were accepted by the British Government as accurate. All that happened was that some member of Parliament asked the government what the total according to German lists was at that moment and he was told.

The Germans do not issue any statement of their total losses, but they do post lists bearing the names of the killed, wounded, and missing. These lists are tabulated in neutral and belligerent countries and thus

we get from time to time from Amsterdam, from Berne, and from London the figures of German losses; these figures are obtained by adding the totals of the past lists and those of the new lists.

Yet in Great Britain and in America the announcement in the House was misunderstood and many comments have been made on the supposition that the figures cited in Parliament were the British estimates, not the German admissions, and these figures have been used to confound the observers, who, like myself, have estimated the German losses to be much greater than their lists disclosed. Such estimates may be wrong, the German official statements may be correct, but the announcement made in the House has no bearing, because it was a mere statement of the figures which came from German lists.

But these figures have a particular value. At the end of November the Germans had lost in killed, according to their lists, deaths from sickness included, something over 600,000; in prisoners, missing included, a little less than 400,000; in wounded, a little under 1,600,000. Their total loss was, then, something under 2,600,000.

The British losses for about the same period were officially announced in Parliament to be 530,000,—120,000 killed, 70,000 captured, 340,000 wounded. Compare the two and it will be seen that the percentage of killed to wounded is about the same,—a little higher in the German case, but we know that the Germans report only serious wounds, as do the French, while the British report all wounds, however slight. The percentage of captured in both cases is practically the same. It is reasonable to conclude then that the familiar ratio of killed to total casualties, anywhere from one in four to one in five, is holding good in this war.

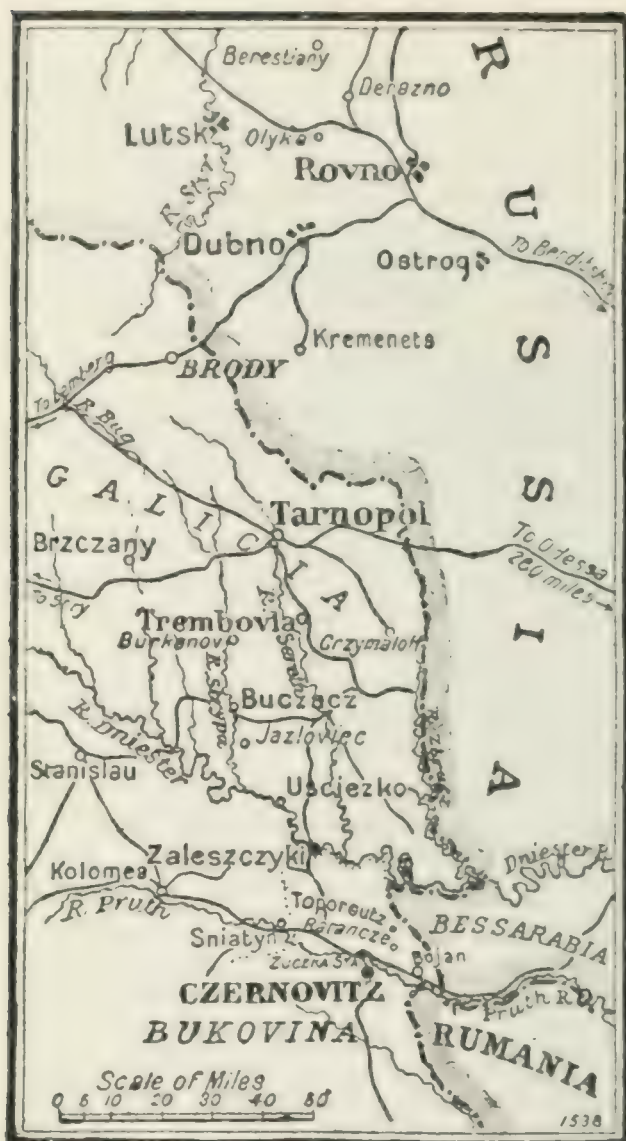
But the other day a French Socialist deputy was quoted as saying in England that the total French losses in the first eighteen months of the war had been 2,500,000,—700,000 killed, 1,400,000 wounded, and 400,000 captured. This was instantly seized upon and used to prove that the French were rapidly approaching exhaustion. The figures were, of course, preposterous. Quite possibly the French actually suffered 2,500,000 casualties in the first eighteen months,—this is the figure generally accepted,—but if they have we shall find that the ratio of killed to wounded will be about the same as the German, the figure for the prisoners does meet the probabilities.

But if the French casualties were 2,500,000, then the German figure must be far higher, for the French loss represents a 50 per cent. loss on the highest figure anyone has suggested for French numbers, namely 5,000,000. Now the French have, on the whole, done less steady fighting than the Germans, who have been engaged either in the West or the East or in both fields without interruption since the war began until December last. If the French, then, have lost 50 per cent. of their resources in men, the Germans have lost the same at least, and that would mean around 4,000,000, which is about what has been estimated. Accepting the usual ratio, this would mean: killed, 925,000; wounded, 2,625,000; captured, 450,000.

The last German figures that we have place the Prussian losses alone at just less than 2,400,000. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurttemberg issue their own lists and on the basis of population, they would add around 600,000 to the total, making 3,000,000 in all—1,000,000 less than would be expected, on the basis of French losses. What is the explanation of this disparity? The Allies believe that it is found in the alleged custom of the Germans to include in their casualties only those who are permanently disabled; that is, they declare that German reports show the permanent wastage only. Colonel Repington, the military correspondent of the *Times* of London, fixes at 2,700,000 the permanent German loss for the first eighteen months.

This last figure is pretty close to the German losses, as admitted in their official statements or lists, of 3,000,000. Hilaire Belloc estimates for the same period that the German permanent loss has been 3,250,000 to 3,750,000, and asserts that the French General Staff estimates place it above 4,000,000 after the most exhaustive examinations. Personally I believe that 3,000,000 is a conservative estimate. This accepts Colonel Repington's 2,700,000 and merely adds 300,000 to cover what is known as "temporary-permanent loss." This rather complex thing is thus explained: At any given moment there will be several hundred thousand men, whose wounds will presently heal and permit them to return, but who cannot go back at that moment. This is a constant element and will remain so. Thus at the end of the war, there will be these thousands of men, with unhealed wounds, who in a few months would be available.

Assuming that the Germans have lost



RUSSIA'S WAR FRONT IN GALICIA

3,000,000 permanently, they still have at least 5,000,000 in hand. It takes about 3,000,000 to hold their lines; it takes another million to look out for other services, garrisons, communications, etc. They still have, then, another million of reserves to draw on, before real attrition, that is, an actual decline in numbers at the front, can begin. If their loss in eighteen months was 2,700,000, this is at the rate of 150,000 per month. It will then be seven months before they will actually lack men to hold their lines; seven months will take us to August.

If the French figures are correct the point where exhaustion will begin to tell has already set in. If the German figures are correct, then there is no likelihood that Germany will run short of men in any time within which it is reasonable to suppose the war will continue. But the German figures can hardly be correct, because the experience of both the British and the French, who know their own casualties and use them as a basis for estimating the German, points to

a far greater German total and thoroughly justifies the conclusion that the German figures, as shown by the posted lists, represent only the permanent wastage and not the temporary, incident to the removal of men by wounds which are not serious enough to keep them permanently out of the line.

V. RUSSIA BEGINS AGAIN

Late in January there developed far to the south along the Dniester and in the corner where the frontiers of Russia, Austria, and Rumania meet, a new Russian offensive, which attracted very wide attention, and for several weeks made undeniable progress. Once more there were heard from Petrograd the familiar rumors that Czernowitz had fallen and that Russian troops were about to penetrate into Bukovina. Further to the north about Tarnopol and east of the fortresses of Dubno and Lutsck, which fell to the Austrians in the summer offensive, the Russians were also on the move and were approaching the Stry River between the fortress of Lutsck and the Pripet marshes.

The fighting in these regions was very severe. East of the Strypa in Galicia the Russians made material progress and passing the Sereth approached and crossed the Strypa at certain points. They seem also to have approached close to the heights which command Czernowitz, and they are reported to have pressed up-stream along the Dniester at several points north and west of Czernowitz.

After moderate progress this offensive was apparently completely checked in the last days of January, but seemed to be breaking out again at the outset of the third week in February. Its immediate purpose was comparable to that of the German action in France. The general supposition has been that if the Central Powers took the offensive in the spring they would endeavor to penetrate into southern Russia, throw the Russian line back from the Rumanian frontier and, having taken Bessarabia, undertake to persuade the Rumanians, with this as a bribe, to enter the war on the Teutonic side.

In the summer campaign the Germans and Austrians pushed a considerable distance east, leaving to the Russians but a thin slice of all their earlier conquests in Galicia. The present Russian operation was regarded as an effort to retake certain valuable positions to make more certain their hold in this corner and to strengthen their line against a possible spring offensive, by regaining

towns and hills of strategic or tactical value.

But the political purpose was still more patent. A Russian victory within sight and hearing of the Rumanian frontier would unquestionably have a real effect in shaping the opinion within Rumania, still balancing between neutrality and an enlistment on the Allied side. To take Czernowitz and a portion of Bukovina, the prize desired by the Rumanians, would be to take possession of something that could be offered to the Rumanians, while the moral effect would not fail to be beneficial.

Again, when the offensive began, the Germans and Austrians were concentrating troops to make an attack upon Salonica. This attack was promptly postponed and there was evidence that troops and artillery had been recalled from the Balkans to assist in checking the Russian drive in Galicia and Volhynia. Every day added to the already long delay of the Germans in attacking Salonica gave new promise that the attack would fail as it increased the number of Allied troops gathered there and the work on the fortifications was pushed a little closer toward completion.

To judge from the present outlook, the Russian offensive completely succeeded in its purpose to relieve the pressure upon Salonica. Indeed there is every present indication that the Germans have abandoned their purpose to attack this position, that they have found their Bulgarian and Turkish allies quite unwilling to bear the brunt of the fighting and have not been able to collect the necessary troops themselves. Salonica seems to have become another Lisbon and the position from the Vardar to the Struma, behind the Chalcidice lakes, another Torres Vedras.

Aside from the strategical importance of the Russian offensive, however, its main value lay in the warning it conveyed to Germany and the message it had for the rest of the world that Russia was not crushed, but had again found herself, was again preparing to resume the advance. More than this, she was resuming the advance in the field where her first victories had brought Austria to the edge of ruin, and her armies, supplied with heavy artillery in quantities which surprised the Central Powers, quite as much as Russia's allies, were now to be reckoned with on the offensive. Another proof of the amazing resiliency of Russia was thus supplied and a new denial was entered to the German boast, now less frequently heard, that Russia was at the point of leaving her allies and making a separate peace.

VI. MONTENEGRO IS LOST

It remains now to record the progress of events in the Balkans. The conquest of Serbia being complete, there was a general expectation that the Serbian troops, which had taken refuge in the Montenegrin hills, would make a bitter resistance, aided by the Montenegrins. Nothing of the sort happened. Instead the Austrians, moving up from the shore at Cattaro, captured the summit of Mount Lovchen, long a thorn in their sides and hitherto regarded as impregnable. Cetinje, the capital, then Scutari fell, with next to no resistance. Before the world had quite appreciated the fact, Montenegro, which had held out against the Turk for five centuries, was in Austrian hands.

Then came the report that the King had made a peace pact with the Austrians,—a pact which, Vienna reported, assured the King the integrity of his kingdom, save for Lovchen, but allowed the Austrians to occupy it. Vienna positively announced the fact; the world believed it for days. Then the King fled to Italian soil, rumor suggested that he had been practically deposed by some patriotic generals who had declined to be bound by his bargain, and Rome, in its turn, took up the dispute and announced that Nicholas had sold his country out to the Austrians, but had been unable to keep the bargain, while Vienna tardily conceded that peace had not been made.

Meantime the champions of Montenegro promptly opened upon the Italians, charging that they had sacrificed Montenegro, as it has been charged that they sacrificed Serbia, and that there was nothing left to the Serbs of the Black Mountain but to yield, when Italy failed to come to their assistance. This dispute is still going forward and it is still impossible to settle the merits. But it is clear that there is much to suggest that there is truth in both charges, and that if King Nicholas showed little of the traditional heroism of his race, his son-in-law's country manifested no grave anxiety over the fate of Montenegro until the fall of the country suddenly placed in deadly peril all Italian prospects on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and left the Italian garrison at Valona in imminent danger.

It is a fact that Italian and Serbian interests quarrel in the Adriatic. It is a fact that Italy hopes to seize lands in Dalmatia which are mainly inhabited by Serbs and belong, by right of race, to the Serbs. It is true that when Italy was asked to send



THE ADRIATIC SEA, ILLUSTRATING ITALY'S RELATION TO THE BALKAN CAMPAIGN

to descend the shore of the Adriatic, penetrate into Albania, march upon Durazzo and organize a campaign against Valona. All this would have been impossible if Italian corps had come to the aid of the Serbs in their wonderful retreat from Prisrend and Kossovo. Together the Italians, the Serbs, and such Albanians as Essad Pasha could hold might have checked the Austrians and Bulgarians in the mountains.

As it was, the Serbs, so far as they were able, fled to the coast and were transported to Corfu, now occupied by the French, to Tunis, and to Salonica, King Peter took refuge in France, and there was left only a small Italian force at Valona and a few Serbs to meet the oncoming Austri-

troops to help Serbia, at the moment when Bulgaria declared war, at the moment when only Italy had troops free and near, she declined, and her refusal sealed the fate of Serbia. Again, when the Serbs were retreating across the mountains upon Durazzo and Scutari, Italy refused to send troops to cover their retreat, and this contributed to the practical destruction of the Serbian army.

Apologists for Italy maintain that the men were lacking, that it was impossible to improvise a campaign in the brief time that was allowed. Neither the one excuse nor the other wholly satisfies. Unmistakably there will be those who will always believe that Italy was willing to see Serbia crushed, that there might be a less dangerous rival on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and that she might prevent the union of the Southern Slavs in a strong Adriatic state. Serbia crushed, even if the Allies won the war, King Peter's nation could hardly regain its strength for some years, and in those years Italy might hope to consolidate her own hold upon both Dalmatia and Albania, keeping the Serbs out of North Albania and the Greeks out of the southern districts.

But Italian calculation, if this was Italian calculation, seems to have been overastute, for the Montenegrins, finding that they could look for no aid from Italy, gave up the fight and this opened the road for the Austrians

an storm, which was now directed at Valona.

VII. ITALY'S FAILURE

If Valona falls, then Austria will be mistress of the eastern shore of the Adriatic from Pola to the Straits of Otranto. Cattaro, by the fall of Lovchen, has become the best naval base on the Adriatic. Valona will, in Austrian hands, be almost as great a menace to Italy as Calais in German hands might prove to Britain. Albania will be reorganized under William of Wied, and, despite Essad Pasha, Austrian influence, always predominant in the North, will help to consolidate Albanians.

Once the Albanians are enlisted, and they supplied the Turk with his best soldiers for years, it will require few Austrian troops to hold Albania. Bulgarian and German troops at Monastir, that is, on the flank of the Anglo-French force, if it endeavors to move along the Vardar valley, will make such an operation exceedingly difficult. As for Serbia and Montenegro, they will probably be organized under Austrian direction, possibly gaining an apparent freedom under some Austrian or German princelet, while Serbian Macedonia and a portion of the old Serbian State will fall to Bulgaria.

Austria and Germany are thus on the

point of consolidating their position in the Balkans. Save for Valona and Salonica, they have cleared the Peninsula. But this was the thing that brought Italy into the war. She is fighting, not so much for Trieste and the Trentino, which are only incidents, —Trent was hers for the taking a year ago, —as to keep her supremacy in the Adriatic, fortify her position by the possession of Dalmatia and the islands, and block the Austro-German plan to organize the Balkans and the Near East. She had marked Albania and Dalmatia for her own; she had prevented the Greeks from occupying North Epirus in the Balkan Wars; now, when Greece holds these districts, she has consented only with the understanding that they shall be evacuated at the end of the war.

All this future is now imperiled. Even if Austria shall consent to evacuate Albania and the Serb states after the war, she can argue that the Serbs, and not the Italians, are entitled to Serb lands, that Albania should be an independent state or a state partitioned between Greece and Serbia, as Greece and Serbia planned in the Turkish War. If she is forced to consider retiring from the Balkans, she can make her retirement contingent upon the absolute freedom of these states and the consequent elimination of Italy from all power on the east shore of the Adriatic.

Of course, if the Central Powers are crushed, Austrian wishes and arguments will get small hearing. But if the war wears out to a draw, if the terms of peace are made on the basis of conditions before the war, then it is plain that Italy will get nothing along the eastern shore of the Adriatic and that henceforth she will have to face the undying grudge of both the Serb and the Greek, whose aspirations she has thwarted or whose armies she has betrayed, for this latter is the view the Serbs will undoubtedly take.

For neutrals this Italian discomfiture can be borne with equanimity. Italian claim to the Dalmatian coast has little greater justice than German claim to Belgium. Thousands of Dalmatian Slavs are fighting loyally for Austria, because Italy has claimed their lands for her own. Austria, on the other hand, has never attempted to replace the Serbs of Dalmatia and Bosnia by Germans or Hungarians. If Dalmatia and Bosnia are to be taken from Austria, they can only be taken justly to be added to a real Serb state; otherwise there is little to be said about the Balkans from the Allied standpoint, for the Allies have proclaimed their cham-

pionship of small nations and races, and Italy is seeking to enslave portions of two races, the Greek and the Serb.

It will be a fortunate ending for the great war if Serbia is reconstituted to include Montenegro, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and old Serbia, if Macedonia is ceded to Bulgaria, whose claim upon it is every whit as good as Italy's claim upon Trent; if Greece is permitted to hold Northern Epirus and to regain from Italy the Dodecanus and Rhodes, which are wholly Greek. Italy's claim to the Trentino and Trieste, possibly to the Istrian Peninsula, may be justified, but outside of this her ambitions are quite as selfish as Germany's.

The present war grew out of conflicting purposes in the Balkans. Permanent peace can only come if the Balkans are organized into states, which are independent, which are based on a reasonable recognition of ethnological conditions, and have the guarantee of all the great powers, both against each other and against the great powers who seek to destroy them. All this will be impossible if Italy has her way and the recent events in the Balkans, as they tend to make complete Italian success improbable, cannot be distasteful to the most loyal friends of the general Allied cause.

VIII. PEACE TALK AGAIN

Last of all, I desire to call attention to a new set of peace rumors which attracted very general comment in February. A New York newspaper recognized to be in close touch with the German Embassy in Washington one day announced that Germany was now prepared to make peace on the following terms:

The evacuation of Belgium without payment by Belgium of an indemnity or the cession of Belgian Congo.

The evacuation of Northern France without the payment by France of an indemnity or the cession of French African colonies.

The surrender to Great Britain of all save one of Germany's African and Asiatic colonies. (German East Africa, which has not yet been conquered, was evidently intended to be the exception.)

Poland to be made a separate state, under a German prince and under Austro-German direction, Austria to cede to it a portion of Galicia.

Serbia to be portioned between Austria and Bulgaria.

Albania to be divided between Austria and Greece, which was also to receive a piece of

Macedonia. (Evidently Monastir and the Guevgheli district were meant.)

The integrity of Turkey to be recognized and Germany's economic supremacy therein to be conceded.

Finally Germany was to annex the Courland province of Russia.

These terms pretty well represent what have recently been put out in Europe, although to them should be added the cession to Italy of the Trentino, but not of Trieste. A glance at them will indicate that the Germans have no longer any illusion about Belgium, no longer expect to acquire any portion of France, and have abandoned the chatter about the "freedom of the seas," which, up to this time, has been repeated in every peace program that Germany's representatives have put forth.

Germany, it would seem, is now ready to make peace on the basis of *status quo ante* in the West; she resigns the lost colonies to Britain. For her, Russia is to pay the price. Poland is to be restored, but as a German or Austro-German protectorate. With Austrian Galicia it would be a state of some 17,000,000 of people, having an area of about 60,000 square miles; roughly, that of New York and New Jersey. The only actual territorial gain is comprehended in the Courland demand, which has a population of less than 750,000.

The partition of Serbia would give Austria most of the old kingdom and reimburse the Hapsburgs for the cession of Galician Poland. With Montenegro and North Albania they would thus acquire the mastery of the Adriatic and the supremacy of the Balkans. Holding Serbia, they would hold the road to Constantinople, and they could rely upon their Greek friend, King Constantine, to acquiesce in their reorganization of the Balkans.

Poland and the Balkans, this is really

what the German proposal now amounts to, and it is actually for these prizes that the war is being continued.

This is a long way from the situation of a year ago, when German annexation of Belgium and Northern France was the expectation of the German patriots. But it is still an impossible basis for peace. It would be a genuine gain for civilization and permanent peace if there could be constituted a Polish kingdom, including the Poles of Prussia as well as Austria and Russia, but such a state could be created only by isolating a million Germans in East Prussia and giving Dantzic and Posen to the reincarnated Poland. Against this Germany would fight to the bitter end.

But it is for an Austro-German protectorate in Poland and an Austrian supremacy in the Balkans that the Austro-Germans are now fighting. Neither side will now make peace, because the Germans still believe that they can bring this modest reward for their labors and sacrifices home; the Allies believe that they can rescue Serbia and restore the independence of the Balkans, but in doing this they will probably have to give Constantinople to the Russians. Some months hence it may be possible that all contestants will consent to a peace that will leave Turkey intact and reorganize the Balkans, not as Russian or Austro-German protectorates, but as independent states. This is the best that can be hoped for by neutrals.

Meantime it is interesting to note that, despite the fact that Germany has met no defeat, her claims as the price of peace have very greatly diminished and are now approaching a reasonable basis. Before the spring campaign we shall probably hear one more proposal, coming, like all the others, from the German side, and not impossibly even more reasonable. But it is a safe forecast that it will be rejected.



THE NEW ARMY AT ALDERSHOT, ENGLAND

KITCHENER'S NEW ARMY AT ALDERSHOT

(Courtesy of the War Office)



BUILDINGS AT WASHINGTON OCCUPIED BY THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS

(In a vault of the fireproof Administration Building, under constant temperature, are preserved the national standards of length and mass to which all American measures are referred)

UNCLE SAM AS WEIGHER, TESTER, AND MEASURER

BY HERBERT T. WADE

Here is a Government Bureau, with an uninspiring official name, whose activities are perhaps little known to the general public. Yet its work is of such far-reaching importance as to enter intimately into the life of the individual. Everyone who travels on a railroad or a trolley car, crosses a bridge, enters a stone building, especially a modern city skyscraper, or buys and uses anything by weight and measure, from cloth and meat to gas and electricity,—and this takes in pretty much everybody in the United States,—depends for safety, square dealing, and comfort on the standards of weights, measures, and tests as fixed by the United States Bureau of Standards at Washington.

THE United States Bureau of Standards Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sèvres, occupies an attractive group of build- France, and faithfully reproducing the In- ings in the suburbs of Washington, D. C., ternational Standards there preserved, upon specially located so as to be away from the which are based the weights and measures nose and confusion of the city and electric of the civilized world. These standards, of disturbances incident to trolley lines and course, are metric, a meter bar and a kilo- mechanical plants that would affect refined gram weight, but the yard and pound in ordi- laboratory work.

In a fireproof vault in the base- ment of the Admin- istration Building, protected by steel doors blazoned with the coat of arms of the United States, are deposited and maintained at a con- stant temperature the national stand- ards of length and mass,—a platinum- iridium bar and cylinder prepared at the International



A GOVERNMENT LABORATORY AT PITTSBURGH (Where beyond of rock, steel, and other material are tested, and a variety of instruments)

nary use are legally defined in terms of the meter and the kilogram, so that to them our customary measures are re- ferred through sec- ondary standards, either metric or cus- tomary, whose true values are known with precision, or through State stand- ards deposited at the various State capitals.

In a subterranean tunnel near the



STANDARDIZING HYDROMETERS

The density of a liquid, such as the electrolyte of a storage battery, is measured by a hydrometer. This is one of the many instruments sent to the bureau to be tested. Many chemicals and other substances are sold and used, depending upon their specific gravity, and accurate measuring instruments are a prime essential.

buildings, as described, are standardized the highly accurate base-bars and surveyors' tapes, measures of length used in measuring the base lines of the exact Government geodetic surveys which determine accurately the boundaries and geographic position of various points throughout the country, as well as the tapes and other measures used in ordinary surveys, which are sent for standardization by State officials, corporations and individuals, for in this work, as elsewhere, all of the facilities of the Bureau are available to anyone upon payment of a reasonable fee.

This important work of the national government is done under that section of the Constitution of the United States which confers on the Congress the power to fix the standard of weights and measures, a power which, it may be said in passing, the nation's legislature has never exercised in any full degree or even with such interest as that which it has given to the currency, banking, or similar questions of national concern. Accordingly this function and its logical extensions have been entrusted

ed to a special organization known since its establishment in 1901 as the National Bureau of Standards, with Dr. S. W. Stratton as its director.

This Bureau corresponds in large measure to such similar institutions in Europe as the Normal-Eichungs Kommission and the Kaiserliche Physikalisch Technische Reichsanstalt of Germany, and the National Physical Laboratory of Great Britain, organizations which have had a most beneficial effect on the commerce and industry, especially manufacturing and engineering, of the respective countries. At such laboratories are carried on investigations that as regards apparatus, personnel and

resources, are beyond the power of private or educational institutions, perhaps, in that they must be prosecuted continuously for long intervals of time, or may be involved in carrying out the provisions of statutes.

Notwithstanding the fact that the activities of this Bureau have a wide range, varying from the simple concerns of domestic economy to the most refined scientific investigation and questions of highly



THE OPTICAL LABORATORY

In this department photographic lenses are tested, as here shown, and various scientific investigations are carried on. By accurate measurements with the quartz plates of the polariscopes used by the Customs Service, a saving of 50 per cent in the sugar duties collected by the Government was made.



DR. SAMUEL W. STRATTON, DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS FROM ITS FOUNDATION

specialized manufactures, its functions and usefulness hardly are appreciated by the people at large whom it serves so well. In fact, in considering the matter of standards, and especially national standards, modern science and industry are not concerned alone with concrete representations of mere units of weights and measures, but the field has been extended so as to embrace standards of quality, standard methods of manufacturing and operation, and even to include standards of service such as are rendered by public utility corporations furnishing light, power, transportation, and telephone and telegraph facilities. All of these properly may be considered national questions, for it is hard to see why the fundamental considerations should be different or on a different basis in California than in Maine.

Naturally the problems of metrology, as the science of weights and measures is termed, involve highly refined laboratory work such as using as a unit to minute a quantity as the wave length of light, but this does not prevent the Bureau from investigating such problems as scales for the household or the market, and even the accuracy of railway track scales, for weighing apparatus for the largest carloads of coal are investigated, as

well as actually tested on the railways of the country, while constant effort is being made to secure more effective and harmonious legislation and regulation in the field of weights and measures controlled by the various States.

Measures of length as given by foot rule, yardstick or the gauge of the jeweler or tool-maker and the determination of weight, whether it be by the scales of the butcher or the fine balance of the diamond merchant, are but a limited class of measurements where standards, instruments, and methods are involved and must be considered. Thus in electricity there are measurements of resistance, current and difference of potential, not to mention amounts of electric energy as recorded by an ordinary electric meter; in light there must be considered intensity and economy of illumination, which enters into common experience in the candlepower of an electric lamp, in the flow of liquids as seen in current meters; in temperature as in the production of refrigeration or the study of thermometers and pyrometers to measure heat and cold; in the optical characteristics of certain substances as shown for example in the polariscopic testing of sugar; in the measurement of the intensity of the emanations



DETERMINING THE BOILING POINTS OF FINE THERMOMETERS

(Thermometers are accurately tested at the Bureau of Standards and certificates issued. Any purchaser of a clinical thermometer may obtain a guarantee of accuracy and know that the patient's temperature is indicated correctly.)

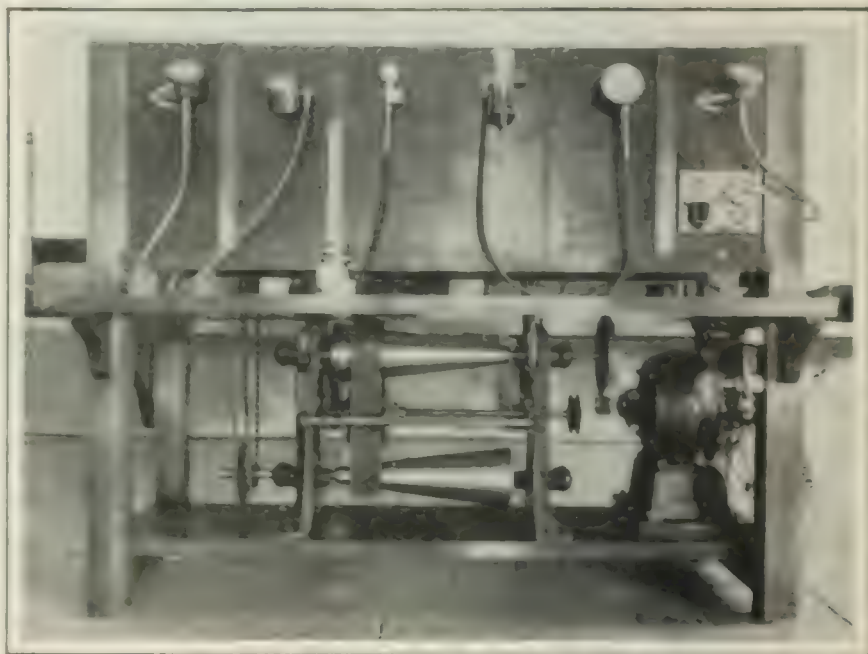
tion of radium salts or other radio-active substances.

For these and other measurements there are naturally involved standards, for it is manifestly impossible for the minds of men doing even the simplest business to meet in trade if they do not have the same units and standards of quality and quantity, much less for scientists or engineers to carry on work where qualitative as well as quantitative results must be considered, for in modern science and technology there must be no such occasions as a piece failing to fit because of lack of harmony in the measurements between the object and its position. This, of course, underlies all mechanical measurements. For example, it would be impossible to assemble a motor-car from parts made by special manufacturers if the measurements did not refer to a single standard capable of exact reproduction.

Consequently the diamond merchant sends his weights to the Bureau of Standards for a certificate of their correctness, the tool-maker his gauges, the thermometer-maker his thermometers, the instrument-maker his meters, the watch-maker his watches and chronometers, and so on through a very long list, a purchaser having a right to demand that any instrument for measurement be accompanied by a certificate from the Government. The result of this has been in most cases to raise the standard of the American product, especially in the case of thermometers, where, in particular, to mention but a single instance, it is now possible to secure clinical thermometers of high precision which not so many years ago were largely imported accompanied by foreign official certificates of their accuracy.

NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR PAPER AND CEMENT

With exact measurement underlying all science it is of course possible to determine and define qualities upon a permanent basis. For example, being able accurately to determine the amount and the constitutional elements it is possible to analyze samples of such a substance as cast iron or bronze. Then knowing in addition the physical properties of such a material, in other words its tensile strength, hardness, malleability, crystalline structure, etc., as well as its general availability for a given purpose as shown by practical test, it becomes possible by accurate quantitative analysis, and from the consideration of a number of samples to determine a



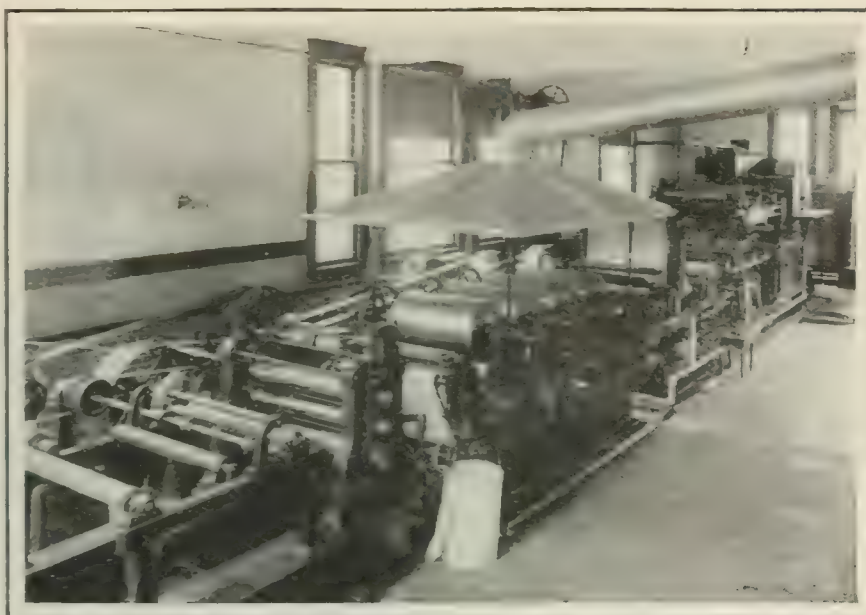
TESTING SPEEDOMETERS FOR MOTOR CARS

(Not only are these instruments tested and standardized, but the best and most accurate methods for this work are determined.)

standard sample or samples, to whose specification, both physical and chemical, all materials intended to be of a given grade should conform, and the samples thus prepared and defined become officially recognized.

Now it can be readily understood that determining standards for many classes of materials is rather more than mere laboratory research, and these have been established only after long and patient experiments, not merely in miniatures, but on a large scale, and this is one of the many reasons why the Bureau of Standards requires so complete and extensive a plant.

Accordingly, in order to study and determine standards for paper, cement, and other materials, small but prac-

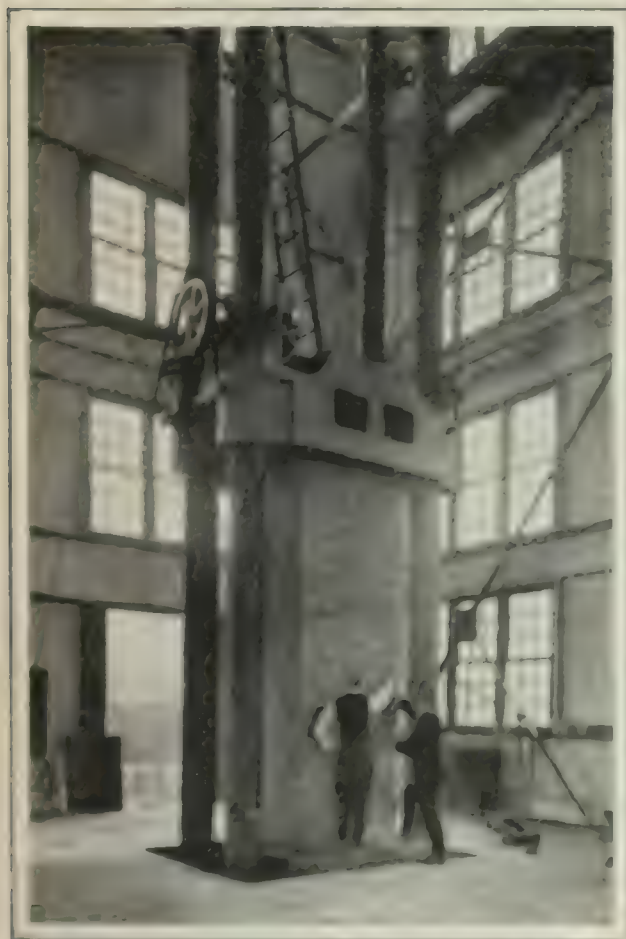


EXPERIMENTAL PAPER PLANT OPERATED BY THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS

(The Bureau prepares the specifications and tests under which more than 40,000,000 pounds of paper used in the Government Printing Office are purchased. To determine how the quality of the paper is affected by the substances entering into its composition it is possible to manufacture paper from any desired constituents. In this way the most economical method of preparing paper for any special purpose is ascertained)

tical paper mills and cement mills and kilns are actually maintained and operated, so that the product may be prepared from any constituents and in any desired manner. Then it may be subjected not merely to the tests of the laboratory, but in actual service as in a wall, or other structure. These substances are mentioned, for in paper and cement the United States Government is a large consumer, requiring some 40,000,000 pounds of the former for the Government Printing Office, and for a single work like the Panama Canal some 2,500,000 barrels annually.

The formal specifications and methods of tests for standard cement, paper, or other substances furthermore are based on actual experience as well as tests and experiments, and in their formulation the Bureau of Standards has the cooperation and criticism not only of engineers and technologists in all the various branches of the Government, but also of the engineering and technical professions generally through their societies and trade organizations, as well as through the assistance of individual members. As the United States Government is a large purchaser and must buy its supplies in the open market through competitive bids, it is of course essential, in the interest of economy, first, that it should secure the article or material best suited for the special purpose; second, that such an article shall be generally available and can be furnished by the trade generally at a price fair to the Government;



GROUP OF MEN IN WORKING DRESS, VISITING TO THE INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS LABORATORY AT PITTSBURGH

(These men are visiting from the United States Steel Corporation, and are here to observe the work of the Bureau of Standards in the preparation of standard samples of steel.)



TESTING A STEEL COLUMN FOR STRENGTH IN THE EMERY TESTING MACHINE

Experiments on these result in determining safe loads for supports in bridges and other structures, and also the results of a year's continuous service in the country.

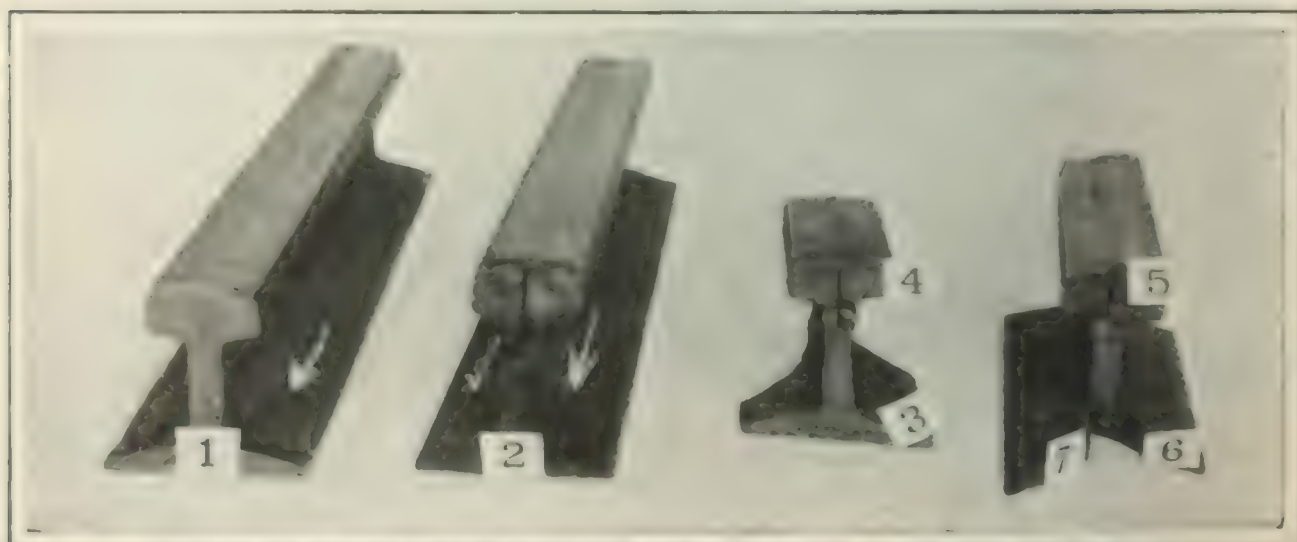
third, that methods of tests and inspection shall insure that the Government receives the qualities and quantities specified.

Now if these specifications are good for the Government it is of course manifest that they are available for the use of any individual, and he is, of course, at liberty to specify that cement, paper, incandescent lamps or other articles or materials shall conform to the official and published specifications of the Bureau of Standards. Accordingly, it must be reiterated that these specifications are not arbitrarily and autocratically established by Government engineers and scientists. Every manufacturer and consumer, every technical association or other body concerned, is invited to criticize and contribute their opinion and experience to the end that the specifications and standards selected shall be fair and representative, in other words truly national and universal, doing away with uncertainty and ambiguity. In addition they must be possible of achievement and easy of

application, yet insure proper quality for the work in hand.

STANDARDS FOR LIGHT AND POWER

Of general interest is the work of the Bureau to secure standards for public utilities. In illuminating and fuel this work has been notable for covering the whole field of the gas industry, including conditions of manufacture and distribution, test and inspection, and supervision by State or local commissions or other authorities. Accordingly, the results of these labors have been published in interesting monographs, and the officials of the Bureau are in a position to advise upon request public service or other regulating bodies, both as regards the technology and the regulation of the industry. A model ordinance has been prepared for adoption which aims to secure adequate and proper service for the consumer as well as to be fair to the gas-making corporation and insure a just return. Much public utility regula-



SAMPLES OF RAILS FROM DEFECTIVE RAILWAY TRACK TESTED FOR FLAWS



TESTING THE TRACK SCALES OF RAILROADS

The car shown in the foreground travels all over the United States, carrying an equipment of large size standard weights for testing railway freight scales. The Government scale engineers examine the weighing accuracy of various railroads and mines. Increased accuracy has resulted from such inspections and railway business has improved to the mutual advantage of shippers and carriers.

tion, the Bureau of Standards has found, has been done without a proper consideration of reasonable and proper standards of service and other technical considerations, so that as a result the regulating is either inadequate with corresponding little benefit to the consumer or else is oppressive to the corporation, with the inevitable result of producing correspondingly poor service.

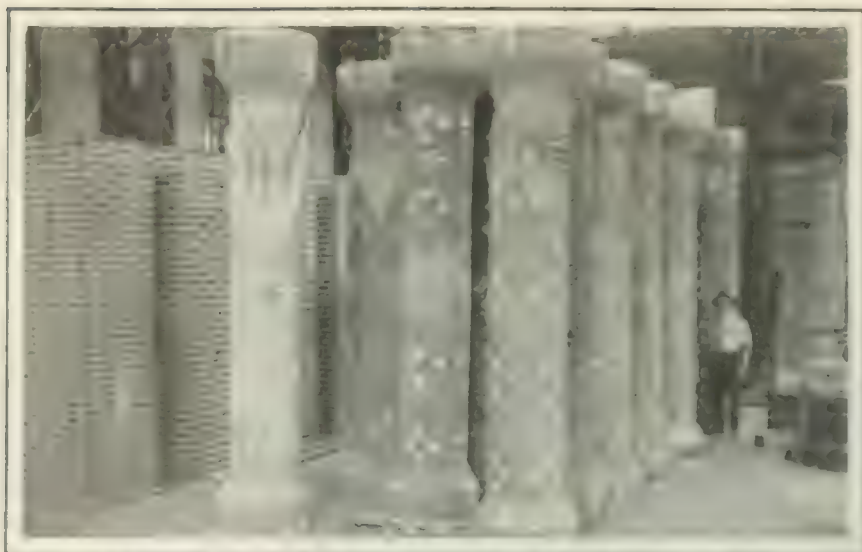
Standard safety rules for the electric in-

dustry also have been formulated that are available for all power plants or large stations and distribution systems, and the Bureau has in contemplation studies of transportation problems with a view to determining what are reasonable standards of service such as the proportion of seats to be furnished at times of maximum traffic on a street railway, the intensity and kind of lights for illumination and for signals, and



TESTING PREPARATION FOR THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

These laboratories for the testing of various types of equipment are maintained by the Bureau of Standards, and are used by the various departments of the Government. The room shown in the foreground is used for the testing of various types of equipment.



COLUMNS OF BRICK AND CONCRETE UNDERGOING TESTS

various safety and other operating devices.

Now it is quite apparent that many demands for better service from public service corporations are quite unreasonable and are impossible of realization, they yet are frequently made and receive the support of public service or other officials not informed as to the technical merits of the question, so that it is of the greatest advantage to have a disinterested organization in a position to pass with the highest technical and scientific authority on such matters. In other words, the Bureau can serve as a clearing house of information, and though its powers are merely advisory and its decisions and recommendations have no binding force, yet from its experience and the results of its investigations it can contribute often towards the settlement of serious controversies.

Standards of service naturally lead to proper conditions of maintenance, and the Bureau of Standards has been able to study such questions as the effects of electrolysis on gas and water mains due to stray currents from the return conductors of trolley lines. In several important instances there has resulted a satisfactory solution of serious differences between local authorities, street railways and gas and water corporations, due to finding improved methods of arranging for the return of the current, incidentally more economical for the railway.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Of a popular character, but none the less valuable on that account, is a manual of "Measurements for the Household" recently prepared by the Bureau of Standards, which is now available for distribution in much the same way as the *Farmers' Bulletins* of

the Department of Agriculture. The importance of this subject to domestic economy along with the high cost of living and other conditions may not be at first apparent, much less its dependence upon scientific research. Yet almost everything purchased, unless it be by numerical count, must be weighed or measured, and the cost thereof depends directly upon the quantity as given by the weighing or measuring device. Likewise electricity for light or power is sold

by the measurement of a meter which comparatively few can read, much less understand, as is also the gas for heat or light; electric lamps are purchased on a basis of having been standardized to give so much light under specified conditions.

In other pages of the manual we find that a certain amount of fuel will produce a maximum amount of heat if used in certain ways determined by scientific investigation as most efficient and economical. So many pounds of ice should produce so many units of refrigeration if used under conditions specially determined, such a quality and arrangement of incandescent lamps are best suited for the eye and for maximum light at minimum expense, and thus through a number of chapters where the application of scientific measurement and applied science is brought in simple language and in a useful way direct to the home and employed to the advantage of the individual.

Accordingly, from the farmhouse to the rolling mill turning out rails for the railway is indeed a wide range, but everywhere the Bureau of Standards aims to assist industry and the individual citizen, and it can be safely asserted that it has proved wonderfully successful in turning to practical advantage its unique experiments. It is for this reason that Congress has seen fit from time to time to extend the scope of activity of this great National Bureau, and every such move has received the support of manufacturing, engineering and industrial interests generally. Standardization and interchangeability in all efforts lead to increased efficiency, and when they become nation-wide the benefits are distributed correspondingly to the industry of the nation at large and to the individual in particular.

FARMING APPALACHIA

BY J. RUSSELL SMITH

[This is a story of the typical farming family in "Appalachia"—our own Southern mountainous region,—whose dwellers are the victims of an economic tragedy in a country that would have been capable of becoming an agricultural Eden if the people had had the good fortune to follow an agriculture befitting their environment. Also by way of sharp and illuminating contrast, the author tells us of the profitable agriculture of the mountain farmer of Corsica, who uses no plow, and whose land has a steep, roof-like slope, yet whose soil suffers no erosion after hundreds of years of cultivation. The Appalachian mountain farmer, with his cabin and his corn patch, is a tyro in comparison with this Corsican, who has a chestnut orchard and a stone house. The point of this interesting and informing tale is that we should teach our American mountain farmer true mountain agriculture, to the end that he may not only prosper, but that his soil may still be left uneroded and intact for him and for his children.—THE EDITOR.]



TRIPPING BRANCH OF
THE WILD PRICKLEBERRY
THAT GROWS THERE

wooden sled over the stony trail. There was no room or road for wheels; and the sled has the great advantage of not running too fast downhill. It is the standard vehicle in many parts of Appalachia.

"Why don't you plow your corn?" I asked

the woman, for I was a newcomer and wanted to know.

"Law, stranger, hit's too steep, en them rocks would start rollin' and run over half uv it. Many's the hill o' corn I've propped up with a rock to keep it from fallin' downhill." And she went on with her hoeing.

"Ya-a-s," said her husband a few minutes later, "I've cla'ared me that there patch," 'n grubbed hit out—now I kin raise me two or three corn crops."

"What then?" I asked.

"When corn won't grow no more, I kin turn the field into grass a couple o' years."

"Then will you put in corn again?"

"Law, no; by that time hit will be so pore 'twouldn't raise a cuss-fight."

"Then you must begin all over again with a new one?"

"That's what we ben a-doin'," he laconically remarked.

There was not a horse or a mule in the little valley, and my newly found friend had plowed his new corn patch with the steer hitched to a "bull tongue" plow, a five-inch iron shovel bolted to a wooden bar. The corn patch would give him bread, the razor-back hogs foraging in the wooded hills would provide meat without labor, and in the fall he might sell the steer to get a little money, for the cow out in the bushes had a calf by her side. The log cabin, comprising one room and a lean-to kitchen, had been produced from local logs, stones, and clay, and sheltered the tired-looking wife and the six little children. The whole scene was typical; typical mountain valley, typical corn patch, typical cabin, typical family typical in its hospitality.

"Won't you wait, stranger, and have a bite o' dinner with us? We got plenty o'



GULLIES, TWO HUNDRED FEET DEEP, ON THE SLOPES OF SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS, SPAIN

(The stumpy tops are all of the original surface remaining after centuries of plow agriculture.)

old cornbread and sow-belly," — typical mountain menu.

TRYING TO FARM MOUNTAIN SIDES BY LEVEL-LAND METHODS

The mountaineer is poor in a rich environment. His living, like that of the rest of the human race, depends directly or indirectly upon plants. In these mountains with their magnificent climate, every condition for plant growth is good,—heat, light, moisture, and fertility. In three of these respects the Appalachian district is in many parts unusually blessed. It has a heavy rainfall, heavier than the surrounding lowlands. The temperature is so controlled by elevation that there are large areas in the so-called thermal belts where there is unusual immunity from late spring and early autumn frost. The fertility of many localities is much above average, and the soils are of surprising depth.

These conditions should make an agricultural Eden, but they have only made a slum with a high death rate; a scattered slum of log hovels that would come into violent conflict with the sanitary regulations of a hundred municipalities. This fine country would probably have become the agricultural Eden of which it is capable if the people had had the good fortune to follow an agriculture that fit their environment. They are the victims of an economic tragedy—the attempt to practise level-land agriculture on the unmitigated mountain side.

DISASTROUS SUMMER FRESHETS

This Anglo-Saxon, with the level-land plow agriculture, entered the mountain, tilled

its rich forest of fine trees, scratched the sloping earth with a plow and planted corn—corn, the great king crop of the level country. Before this mountain corn crop can ripen, it must be subjected to many rains. Unfortunately, the typical summer rain of the mountains is a tearing, pouring thunderstorm which lets loose on an acre of ground, one, two, three, and even four hundred tons of rushing water in a single hour. It is therefore in the due course of nature that the earth should be washed away. To the man from the moon it would probably appear that that was our chief object. The earth being deprived of its protection of forest and roots, the gashing and loosening by the plow and hoe seem to be a further special preparation for its complete removal by the rushing waters. The light, loamy soil which, if properly cared for, might make a thousand or ten thousand crops, is gone in a few seasons, and merely serves to choke the meadows below and to hinder navigation of the valley streams.

WHY THE MOUNTAINEER MAKES CORN WHISKY

This hideous, frightful, bootless waste does not (like some others) have even the palliative of enriching one generation of men. The process of corn-growing is so laborious on this steep, stumpy, and often rocky new ground that the poor mountaineer gets but a meager crop. In the effort to make much value from little corn, he turns to the distillery to make corn whisky. This has always seemed a natural right to the hard-pressed mountaineer; hence the century-long



SLOPE COVERED WITH OAK TREES PROPERLY THINNED OUT FOR MAXIMUM ACORN AND PORK PRODUCTION
(Grafted oak tree in left foreground. Majorca Island)

conflict between the moonshiners and the collectors of internal revenue. The illicit still yet runs in Appalachia, and in many localities the man who has shot a Federal revenue officer is a local hero.

A CONTRAST—THE MOUNTAIN FARMERS OF CORSICA

Great is the contrast between these poor, uncomfortable, whisky-cursed, law-breaking mountaineers of Appalachia and the comfortable, prosperous inhabitants of similar but less favored slopes in Corsica. I have traversed miles of utilized mountain slopes in Corsica with the angle of a house-roof. The slope was steep, but it was a good road that wound in and out along its face, and the motoring was fine. At intervals we passed through villages of substantial stone houses, with well-built churches, well-stocked stores, and often having comfortable inns. The people here were farmers who made their living from these slopes despite the house-roof steepness. A genuine mountain agriculture has been developed here, a tree agriculture which prospers without the plow and its attendant erosion. The tree is an engine of production that can utilize the heat, light, moisture, and fertility of the mountain without imposing upon man the fearful task of plowing a place that was never meant for the plow. If, perchance, the mountain happens to be so rocky that plowing is impossible, it makes no difference to the tree. It

sticks its roots between the rocks and thrives, perhaps even the better, as rocks on the surface check evaporation and keep the moisture in the earth.

CHESTNUT ORCHARDS

I recall a stretch in Northeastern Corsica where, except for a few breaks not over 100 yards each, I passed for fifteen miles through an open forest of chestnut trees, and *every tree* was grafted to a heavy yielding variety. These forests are really orchards, the sustenance of the people in the frequent villages. The chestnut is to them what corn is to the Appalachian mountaineer, and more, for does not a chestnut tree once established last through two or three generations of men? There is always, so I was told, a crop, a large crop succeeding a smaller one, as is the case with many crop-yielding trees. Time and again I was told in Corsica and in France, by growers, merchants, and government officials, that the average annual yield of a good mature chestnut orchard was from 2000 to 3000 pounds of nuts per acre.

This nut is food for man and beast. It is also the money crop to pay for purchases from the outside world. The Corsican mountaineer eats his chestnuts fresh, boiled, roasted, made into mush, baked on the griddle, fried in oil, baked into a loaf, and also in a few other ways.

After the human harvesters have picked up the best of the nuts, the pigs are turned

in to finish it, and a good pig will add unto himself two pounds of weight per day for a couple of months, after which, at the beginning of winter, he is salted down for future reference.

This is not all. There is pasture beneath the chestnut trees, for they are not allowed to make a dense shade. They produce better if the sunshine can fall on all of the branches. This permits some grass and bushes to grow. Pigs, cows, mules, and goats, especially goats, browse beneath the trees. Goats'-milk cheese is an export of Corsica, and it is worthy of note that a balanced ration is furnished by the starchy chestnut bread and the cheese from the goat that browses beneath the tree. It is a standard and by no means bad-tasting meal in many Mediterranean mountain districts. The goat, which, in proportion to size and food consumed, is the greatest milk-giver in captivity, thus serves an important part in adjusting agriculture to the environment.

So far as I know, I have not seen one ungrafted chestnut tree among many thousands in Corsica. The seedling nut tree is nearly always a scrub, and the grafted ones are all geniuses, i.e., lineal descendants of the Napoleons and George Washingtons among trees.

VALUABLE TREE FARMS

It is easy to see that high values should attach to a tree that lives for a century or two, produces regularly of valuable crops without labor and sells for much good money when it is finally felled. I was repeatedly told by reliable Corsicans that while unplanted

land has practically no value, these orchards were worth from \$150 to \$250 per acre. That puts Appalachia to shame, and compares well with Illinois corn land values.

One of their methods of calculating the value of the orchards is a curious compliment to the value of the tree. The bearing capacity of the tree is estimated by an expert. This is multiplied by five centimes per kilogram of bearing capacity. This result is reduced by one-third for the cost of picking up, and this result, the earning power of the tree, is multiplied by twenty to give the value of the tree. The land is thrown in for nothing. Thus a tree yielding 200 kilograms (220 lbs.) is worth 133.4 francs, and ten such trees would make an acre of land worth 1334 francs, or more than \$250. As the trees get old and must be cut out, they are worth their cost. Hence the high rate (twenty-fold) of capitalizing the earning power of the tree. It is merely the buying of salable and non-depreciating property.



VERY STEEP CORSIKAN OAK HIDE-STORE
Oosting only from 2000 ft. slope down to sea level

ADVANTAGES OF TERRACING

These values and incomes, and this permanence show that the Appalachian mountaineer, with his

cabin and corn patch, is a tyro in comparison to the Corsican with his stone house and his chestnut orchard. The gullies, the erosion, and the soil destruction of that Appalachian corn patch show it to be the trade mark of agricultural savagery. It is worse than the work of the Indian who killed buffaloes and cut out their tongues, leaving the rest for the wolves and the buzzards. The buffaloes that remained bred again and replaced their numbers faster than



TERRACED GARDENS AND LITTLE WHEAT-FIELDS BESIDE A VILLAGE INHABITED BY
CORSICAN CHESTNUT FARMERS

the geologic forces replace eroded soil. In contrast to the fierce gullying of Appalachia, the Corsican chestnut orchard still holds its productive soil at the end of centuries. The trees and the bushes keep the soil intact and it yields on and on and on. A little of the Corsican hill land is cultivated in gardens, wheat, and hay, but the hill is first terraced to prevent erosion and make easy tillage. It is not generally considered profitable to terrace this way in America, but I am of the opinion that in many cases our mountaineer would find it more profitable to make *good little permanent terraced fields* than continually to make so many larger, poor, new ones in which he and his woman laboriously fight with stumps, sprouts, and rocks while the fertility and the soil are escaping them.

WHY NOT A MOUNTAIN AGRICULTURE?

If it sounds harsh to call the Appalachian Mountaineer an agricultural savage, I hasten to state that we should not blame him. He is doing the best he can. He knoweth naught of Corsica. He is practising the agriculture of the level lands from which he came. He should be taught better, and that is the task of the schools and of the great organizations that we have built up for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge. We have a Federal Department of Agriculture, many State departments, State colleges, State experiment stations, sub-stations, and a host of peripatetic demonstrators. Can they not

among them develop and teach a mountain agriculture that will make the mountaineer prosperous and leave him his mountain?

NUT TREES FOR MOUNTAIN FARMS

Let no one make the mistake of thinking that I am urging all Appalachia to go growing chestnuts. The chestnut is merely one and not necessarily the best one of a dozen or more fruitful trees, each capable, like the chestnut, of being made an engine for the production of great crops. From among this dozen there should be four or five that can be grown on every mountain farm, thereby making it as prosperous and as valuable as the Corsican forests, and at the same time keeping the soil from erosion.

With regard to this tree agriculture we stand just inside the boundaries of a new epoch. In the Nineteenth Century men took the seven elementary machines, added to them the new force of steam, and made an indefinite number of new combinations that have given us an age of machinery. And now comes heredity, applied heredity, called Mendel's law, by which we know how to breed plants. As was steam to the elements of machinery, so is plant breeding to the plants by which we live.

Completed experiments in breeding chestnuts illumine the whole vast field. As is well known, a blight is devastating the native chestnut forests from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania and Virginia. This magnificent

native tree, worth in the forests probably \$300,000,000, seems doomed. Are we forever forbidden to grow chestnuts? Not at all. The blight comes from Asia where chestnuts are hardened to it. For some reason our small native chinkapin is also immune. The chinkapin, though very sweet, is too small to be of any commercial value. The Japanese chestnut is very large and prolific, but too tasteless to be of any commercial value. These two were crossed by Dr. Van Fleet, now of the Federal Department of Agriculture, and the hybrid, partaking of the sweetness of the chinkapin, is sweet enough for the market, and, partaking of the size of the Japanese parent, it is large enough to be commercially profitable. Being from two hardy parents, it seems practically proof to the blight.

At the mere mention of tree crops and tree breeding, nearly every one shivers with doubt, for before his mind rises the thought of time, vast stretches of time. Too slow! too long to wait! It does sound bad, until one knows. It commonly takes the wild chestnut tree in the woods fifteen to twenty-five years to come into bearing, but Dr. Van Fleet crossed two chestnut blossoms in 1903, and in 1913 he harvested the great-great-grandchild of that union. That is to say, he had the fruit from the fourth generation of trees grown from the first hybrid nut. The last one emerged from the nut as a sprout in the spring of 1912 and ripened thirty-two nuts in September, 1913, seventeen months later,—two growing seasons. Two of the four generations required two seasons each, and two of them required three seasons each. The first year, 1903, was required to produce the hybrid nut. Thus the hybrid nut and four generations of fruiting offspring were produced in the years 1903-1913 inclusive, and before the chestnut blight has made its final kill we have a very promising substitute for the victim.

The plant-breeding business depends upon two facts: first, the constant variation of individuals of common parentage; second, the blending or mixing of the qualities of both parents. Those persons who are impressed by the time element forget that precocity also is one of the qualities in which there is great variation. Dr. Van Fleet has taken advantage of this and has brought the chestnut into the class with the strawberry and the raspberry so far as the gap between seed time and harvest is concerned. Identical results were also obtained with the chestnut by Mr. Riehl of Illinois.

There are two lessons in these chestnut facts. The Corsican farmer has merely propagated the best trees that chance produced. Dr. Van Fleet, replacing chance by science, has set out to improve the best that chance can do. Both of these lines of work need to be prosecuted with vigor. The creation of new types must be done mainly by the institutions that are created for scientific work, although it is rare fun for individuals of a certain scientific type of mind to whom work is its own reward.

The other type of this work, the propagation of best trees, is something that individuals can do for their own profit either as nurserymen or farmers. Where are these best parent trees? It is really quite a task to find and examine the 100 best walnut or persimmon trees in ten States. Here the individuals will need aid from the State and national departments of agriculture, for this survey work is preeminently in their field.

Great things are to be done in this Twentieth Century by plant-breeding, but surprising things can be done at once if we follow the Corsican example and propagate the best trees that nature has already produced. Appalachia has but to reach out her hand and take an agriculture that is far superior to her present gullied, peripatetic corn patch.

I do not venture to state the full list of crops in this new agriculture. The full list can only be made up by much survey and experiment, but there are several that have already demonstrated themselves as being good yielders, hardy, and capable of growing without the plow. Of these I would mention the mulberry, the persimmon, the honey locust, the oaks (several varieties) and the Persian or English walnut. The pawpaw and the pecan are nearly proved candidates for admission to this class, while the blight-proof chestnut will be here ready for propagation before we can get the conservative of the hills waked up, converted, and taught the methods of its utilization. This tree corn of the future will probably be, like the grass corn of to-day, the king crop of the mountain agriculture.

CROPS SUITABLE FOR PIG FOOD

Five of the eight tree crops I have enumerated, the mulberry, the persimmon, the honey locust, the acorn, and the chestnut, are primarily forage crops, chiefly pig feed, but good also for poultry, sheep, goats, and cows. Only two, the Persian walnut and the pecan, are primarily human foods. The pig also dearly loves both of these, but

they are too good for him. This emphasis upon pig food rather than human food is very, very important. Human conservatism makes us adopt new foods very slowly. It is financial peril to grow them. The area of one Appalachian county in full-bearing pecan trees of the best varieties would so paralyze the market of 1916 that the price would probably tumble 75 to 85 per cent. On the contrary, an added area of 100 counties in maximum hog production would not ruffle the price of pork. We are curtailing our use of it from sheer shortage and near-famine prices. Two hundred million people in Europe yearn to add a second meal of sausage per week to their monotonous dietary. No, pig growing is not exactly romantic, but it is safe. The pig market will not be glutted.

For the pig it would merely be a "back - to - nature movement." His first frisky weeks would be spent in the spring sunshine of grassy coves. Then on the lower slopes he would deftly pick up sugary mulberries from May to August. In September

he would seek out the persimmon trees higher up, and there grow into a sturdy porker to climb yet higher and fatten himself for the winter hibernation on sweet acorns and the yet sweeter chestnuts. Just here the back-to-nature part of it ends. Instead of dozing the winter through in a bed of leaves at the foot of a big tree, living on his fat, our porker reposes in various neat packages labelled "Honeysuckle Lard," "High Point Breakfast Bacon," "Virginia Ham," and we are living on the fat. For this reason we should convert the forest of scrubs into an open park of beautiful, fruitful trees from beneath which the animals themselves could harvest most of the crop, and where roots hold the fertile earth from generation to

generation. The present pork supply is commonly furnished by scrub razor-backs, running wild and eating the fruits of wild trees. It is no change in principle to substitute well-bred pigs and well-bred trees.

NATIVE NUT TREES

All of the eight tree crops I mention are now growing wild or nearly wild in parts of Appalachia, and each of them is capable of being grafted on wild trees which are very widely distributed, practically tree weeds.

Thus, the common native mulberry can be grafted to the "ever-bearing" sorts which yield very heavily of nutritious fruit for from eight to twelve weeks. Carolina farmers aver that one mulberry tree will feed one pig for two months. The persimmon, said to be the most nutritious fruit grown in the United States, is regarded as a pestiferous tree weed by the mountain farmer because it is so very hard to kill. It can be grafted, and many wild trees suitable for propagation load themselves to the breaking point.

The oaks have long

been grafted by gardeners in England and America and by farmers in Spain, and I submit pending proof or disproof by the agricultural scientists (who have yet no exact data) that several American species of oaks will produce as much profit from pork fattening on mountain sides as will corn, and preserve the mountain side where corn now destroys.

The pawpaw, a banana like fruit, relished by people as well as animals, grows on a graftable tree common in Appalachia. The honey locust, a tree producing a bean that is a good bean substitute and therefore excellent for cows, will propagate from root shoots without even the bother of grafting. The chestnut can be grafted. The pecan is



PECAN TREE, BEARING FOUR YEARS AFTER GRAFTING

now being grafted on native hickory stocks, and the Persian walnut is thriving on native black walnut stocks. While the ease of performing the operation on different species varies greatly, grafting is not a difficult operation. Frequently have I taught unlettered Appalachian mountaineers to graft chestnuts with a good degree of success. I could teach ten of them in a forenoon, and it would be entirely immaterial if none of them knew the difference between a and b. I would merely demand enough intelligence to catch a 'possum or a rabbit.

If any enthusiast should tell the mountaineer to go plant a farm of these tree crops, the mountaineer would laugh with derision. He would say that he wanted a crop this year, and he would be speaking the truth. He must *grow* into it, not *go* into it. That is the way things succeed, by evolution rather than by revolution. *If he knew how to graft, and had the scions from good trees*, almost any mountain farmer could put in a few hundred grafts each spring. He has wild trees that stand in his fence rows, in his fields, in his yard, awaiting conversion by grafting. Grafted mulberry trees can be bought in North Carolina for six cents each, and if the demand arises, all of the trees will doubtless be grown commercially for sale at reasonable prices.

TREE CLUBS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

What should be the actual program? The State and national departments of agriculture should hunt out the best parent trees of the species mentioned and systematically examine the whole list of wild fruiting trees. They should also breed better ones than nature has produced and disseminate the best. They should seek out, and if possible, improve upon the best methods of propagating. The processes of education should also be brought to bear upon the problem. At every mountain school the boy and girl

should be taught the important facts about the crop-yielding trees, and they should be taught how to propagate them with their own hands. The grafting and budding of trees is work that girls can do as well as or even better than boys. It requires deftness and accuracy, not strength. Why not have grafting contests between schools, counties, States? Does not the hope of the future lie with the children? Pig clubs, corn clubs, canning clubs, are doing much to advance agriculture in the plains and why not work out some such scheme suited to mountain minds and conditions?

Specimen trees should be planted in or adjacent to every school ground in all Appalachia. They would serve both as parent trees for propagation, and also for object lessons. Horticultural missionaries should go out into the hills to talk to and show those who are too old to go to school. By these very simple means, a revolution would be started which would put a new face upon the mountain, a new mind in the mountaineer, a new civilization where now we recognize a problem.

At present, in the rocky, stumpy, rooty clearing, the mountain farmer, often aided by his wife and children, has a hard fight to make and till a little field of gullying corn. When he gets his land established in grafted cropping trees that require no plowing and produce crops that can be largely harvested by the pigs, turkeys, sheep, cows, and goats, he can, with the same labor, look after ten or twenty times as much land. The communities of such farmers will be rich. Instead of living on a trail, the farmer will live on a road, as the Corsican chestnut-grower does. Instead of having missionaries go beg for him as they now must, he will be able to send his children to school. An agriculture that is adjusted to both the market and the producing environment is bound to bring prosperity.



CAROLINA PORKERS JOYFULLY HARVESTING THE MULBERRY CROP



DEFORESTED AND TERRACED MOUNTAINS IN SHANSI PROVINCE, CHINA, NEAR THE CITY OF WU-TAI-SHAN.
(Showing laborious methods necessary in order to produce crops from deforested slopes)

RESTORING CHINA'S FORESTS

A NEW AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE EMPIRE

BY THOMAS H. SIMPSON

IN the summer of 1910 an exposition held in Nanking included among its features an athletic meet to which came the teams of the twelve Christian colleges of China. These young Chinese, with their fine physiques and Occidental speech and manners, represented the most progressive element of the country. They were full of the spirit of the new China,—which after centuries of inertia is beginning to stir a people of four hundred million souls to an awakening fraught with consequences to the rest of the world.

AN AMERICAN SOLDIER-TOURIST SEES THE
RUIN AND THE REMEDY

Among the spectators was an American soldier, who in traveling through China had been impressed by the barren aspect of sections that were nevertheless teeming with people. Save in the neighborhood of shrines and temples, he had not seen a tree for hundreds of miles. Mud was the common building material, and grass and dried manure the usual fuel. Watersheds were utterly devoid of vegetation, so that the land was subject to alternate droughts and inun-

dations, with their accompaniments of pestilence and famine. Any thoroughgoing attempt to remedy this situation, the visitor decided, would involve reforestation, and an extensive movement of this kind would have to be supported by the people,—a preliminary consideration which presented a difficult obstacle. From the spectacle of the Christian students at the games, however, came an idea: These educated young men could become the means of propagating the plan among the masses.

The American soldier was Major George P. Ahern, U. S. A., at that time director of the Philippine Bureau of Forestry. Before Gifford Pinchot had risen to prominence as the foremost conservationist in America, Ahern had been preaching the doctrine in the West; upon the occupation of the Philippines by the United States he introduced it to the Filipinos, and now he wanted to spread it among a people whose suffering as the penalty of deforestation has long been instanced as the most horrible example of its kind in the world.

This desire and the efforts which pro-

ceded from it are largely responsible for the development of a new and important American force in China. Under American influence and American methods one of China's most pressing and obvious problems is being attacked, with excellent prospects of ultimate success. And if the effort is of importance to China, it is of much significance to America; for it means that, while Japan and the European powers are jealously maneuvering for political and commercial supremacy in China, America is quietly exerting a beneficial force which is producing results that, being tangible, can be felt and appreciated by those who are affected. It is one of the agencies which can relieve the terrible economic pressure under which China's enormous population labors, the easing of which is bound to hasten political and industrial progress. Stirring restively to the call of a new age, China is potentially one of the great nations of the world. Her metamorphosis necessarily must have an important relationship to the industrial and commercial expansion of other countries; and we can expect to benefit from the change just so much as we take part in it.

REFORESTING KIAU-CHAU: GERMANY'S ENERGY AND PATIENCE

This not entirely altruistic view was prominent in Major Ahern's scheme. It was not, however, wholly original with him. The Germans were powerfully actuated by it in Kiau-Chau, where the Chinese of today really first learned the value of forestry, as indicated by a report made two years ago by Herr Malte Haas, forestmeister of Kiau-Chau, on the example furnished by the reforestation of the German territory:

"It was a great thing," wrote Herr Haas, "that this work of Kultur, a work free of all political friction, could remain to be carried out under German influence, so that German thought and sentiment might be propagated in the remotest confines of the land."

Evidently Herr Haas entertained no suspicion that the Far-Eastern seat of Kultur was to fall after a spectacular siege into the hands of the Japanese.

When the Germans took possession of Kiau-Chau eighteen years ago the entire territory was practically devoid of vegetation. The hills, once covered with verdure, stood out bare and jagged like the teeth of a saw, their sides ravined and gullied by erosion, from which harbor and roadstead were being

filled up with silt. Trees had to be imported and, to give them earth in which to grow, soil actually had to be carried on men's backs from the ravines up to ledges and holes hewn in the solid rock, from which the humus had been washed away. Nearly 600 tree species from all parts of the world were planted in the early experiments, before suitable varieties were found. The first year many of the seedlings were killed by frost, the next by a plague of caterpillars, and it took three years to educate the inhabitants of the nearby villages to refrain from pulling up the saplings for firewood as fast as they were set down.

The conditions which the Germans had to remedy in building their model colony in Kiau-Chau exist practically throughout China, except in the inaccessible mountain districts. The plains are treeless: in the foothills occasional patches of shrubbery are found where forests flourished less than a century ago; in the mountains the work of cutting the last stands is going on. Wood for structural purposes is almost prohibitive in price, the product of the mountain forests being consumed mostly in the manufacture of coffins. Brush faggots and charcoal are luxuries for the wealthy. The farmers and villagers burn dried manure, grass, stubble and roots, gathered by men and boys, who scrape the ground with iron hooks that leave hardly a vestige of the humus necessary to maintain the soil's fertility.

FLOODS AND FAMINES CAUSED BY LACK OF FORESTS

Most of the famines which are mentioned frequently in newspaper dispatches from China in connection with Red Cross appeals for assistance are due indirectly to these conditions; for they follow the alternate floods and droughts which are caused by deforestation of the watersheds. The lack of domestic timber is a serious impediment to industry; and the fact that most of the rivers contain water only during the rainy season precludes the possibility of irrigation, cheap transportation, and water power. The few great rivers which contain water all the year round overflow annually, destroying numberless lives and untold property. The Hoang-Ho, for example, after forming in 1852 a new mouth some 250 miles north of its old one, turned south again in 1886, devastating some 25,000 square miles of one of the most thickly populated agricultural sections, and causing a loss, according to Chinese accounts, of

seven million lives. Authenticated records show that at least two millions perished in this single inundation.

Naturally, then, the Chinese were impressed when they saw in Kiau-Chau the changes brought about by reforestation. The governors of several provinces sent officials to attend a course in forestry at Tsing-Tau and the central government at Peking employed a number of German foresters to formulate a system of forest management to be introduced throughout the country, a department of forestry being established with headquarters at Mukden, Manchuria.

Major Ahern appreciated the value of the Germans' work; but he felt that the reforestation movement, in order to be truly successful, should be furthered by the people themselves. With this in mind he called on United States Minister Calhoun at Peking and arranged a conference with several prominent Chinese. What was needed, he told them, was a popular educational campaign, and this, he insisted, must be carried on mostly by Chinese; for it is the universal experience that such a public reform must proceed from the people. In the United States, for instance, the West swallowed hard on conservation when it came from the lips of Easterners, but it spread more easily when expounded by native sons educated in the East and sent back as rangers and supervisors in the government service.

CHINESE STUDENTS INVITED TO THE PHILIPPINE FORESTRY SCHOOL

His hearers were unanimous in assent; but none of them was able to suggest a solution. In fact, the problem seemed unolvable until, after the Nanking exposition, when Major Ahern had returned to Manila, his idea crystallized into this: If he could not start a popular reforestation movement in China, he could at least start it in the Philippines with Chinese students such as he had seen at the Christian games.

The advantage of this plan struck the Philippine University board of regents at once; for the future of the islands is intimately connected with the interests and poli-



BOTTOM LANDS BURIED IN WASTE FROM EROSION CAUSED BY DEFORESTATION OF MOUNTAINS. WU-TAI-SHAN, SHANSI PROVINCE, CHINA

cies of the neighboring countries. Incidentally, it is a pertinent fact, that whatever prestige the United States enjoys in China, despite the avid encroachments of England, Germany, Russia, and Japan, and our own lethargic diplomacy, is quite generally attributed to the influence of the students who got their education from America.

So Major Ahern wrote to the American consul-general at Shanghai, asking to be put in touch with the leading American colleges in China, with a view to placing a limited number of Chinese students in the Philippine forest school at Los Baños. He then broached the subject to the Famine Relief Committee at Shanghai and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Manila. These bodies gladly agreed to share the expenses of the students. The first Chinese student arrived at Los Baños in the spring of 1912; two came in 1913, and three in 1914.

In casting about now for a means of introducing his plan into China itself, Major Ahern learned that a progressive young Chinese named Ngan Han, who was an alumnus of the American college at Nanking and had taken a post graduate course in forestry at Ann Arbor, Michigan, had become head of the Department of Forestry in Peking. At Ahern's invitation, Han visited the Philippines in the spring of 1914 and spent three months in office and field studying the American's methods. Upon his return to China he used the Philippine forestry regulations for a pattern upon which to draft a new code to be promulgated by President Yuan

Shi kai. Just about this time Major Ahern received from the University of Nanking a request for information as to the records of the Chinese students at Los Baños. In his reply he took occasion to urge the establishment of a forest school at Nanking, suggesting possible sources of funds, proffering the assistance of himself and his associates, and pointing out that instructors could be obtained among the Chinese who would soon be graduated from Los Baños.

A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT AT NANKING

In the meantime, an American missionary named Joseph Bailie, Professor of Agriculture in Nanking University, unconsciously had been paving the way. Six years ago the Hwai River surged up in one of its periodical inundations, but this time with more than ordinary severity. The city of Nanking, long the storm center of wars and famines, became overrun by a countless horde of destitute, starving refugees, who died like flies. Thousands of them besieged the University for relief, and Professor Bailie, who took charge of this work, conceived the idea of developing the slopes of Purple Mountain, a tall peak overlooking the city, so as to furnish permanent homes and a livelihood to the refugees. To this end a local branch of the Chinese Colonization Association was formed, supported mainly by wealthy Chinese, and directed by Professor Bailie. A start was made with a thousand-acre tract.

Only a part of the land was tillable, and even that much was literally covered with grave mounds, which are a difficult problem throughout China on account of the lack of regulated cemeteries and the people's superstitious fear of disturbing the dead. Professor Bailie knew that he would have to break through an age-old barrier of superstition; but he ordered his workmen to exhume the coffins. Most of the graves were so old as to contain no longer any trace of their erstwhile occupants. Just as Professor Bailie expected, however, the "gentry" of the neighborhood foregathered to protest this desecration of their ancestors' resting-places, and sent a delegation to see him.

Professor Bailie argued that the dead did not need so much land, whereas the hundreds of living employed in breaking up the land would otherwise die of hunger. Besides, he pointed out, most of the graves were empty and ownerless, but wherever a corpse was found, it was boxed up respectfully and reinterred where it could be easily located.

The deputation pondered for a few minutes, until the spokesman remarked, "The foreigner isn't far astray," and they went away satisfied.

The colonization plan was so successful that the Chinese government gave the association an addition of ten thousand acres on Purple Mountain. Inasmuch as most of this area could not be cultivated, Professor Bailie planted it with trees, in patches of forty to fifty acres. Between the patches wide fire-breaks were established, cultivated as "farms" by refugees.

A CHINESE FOREST SCHOOL STARTED

Thus the necessary field adjunct of a forest school was all prepared, as it were, when Major Ahern's letter reached Nanking. The University board of managers seized upon the suggestion eagerly, and after a rapid interchange of letters between Manila, Shanghai, and Nanking, the forest school was instituted on March 15 last. Ngan Han had obtained for the school a government appropriation of \$3000 and, at Major Ahern's solicitation, the Famine Relief Committee had provided for three scholarships and the maintenance of a Chinese graduate of Los Baños as instructor; five scholarships were given by the Governor of Anhwei, and an equal number by the Governor of Shantung, and experts from the Philippine Bureau of Forestry helped to organize the course of study. Seventeen students began the course, six of whom had attended the German Forest School in Kiau-Chau, which was discontinued at the outbreak of the war. Each student receives under his scholarship for tuition and maintenance seven hundred Chinese dollars to cover the entire course of four years. Technical instruction in forestry will not be given until the students have completed eighteen months of intensive study of English, as there are practically no textbooks on the subject in Chinese.

The American innovation already has produced a profound effect, the central government and the provinces as well all evincing intentions to foster the movement throughout the country. The Peking government has even established a national arbor day, patterned after the custom in the United States; and recently an American, W. F. Shertesse, who succeeded Major Ahern as head of the Philippine Bureau of Forestry, signed a contract with the Chinese Government to act in an advisory capacity to the director of its rapidly growing Forest Service.

PREPAREDNESS OF THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

COMBATING THE INVISIBLE HOST

BY ALTON G. GRINNELL

IF war must be, let us have as little unnecessary suffering as possible. The medical department of an army of to-day has two distinct functions,—prevention and cure. Previous to the present world conflict we had seen but one great war waged with the weapons of science against the invisible host. More insidious than shot and shell, their name is legion. They have always been upon the battle front awaiting all comers and showing a special disposition to fraternize with the unseasoned citizen-soldier, but until a few years ago we knew them not.

The medical student, bacteriologist and entomologist have cultivated their acquaintance that you and I may not have to be introduced. Sometimes this has been accomplished with impunity. Not seldom they have gotten the better of one or two of the investigators and these silent heroes have departed this world without beholding the fruition of their work. They truly have died that we might live. But in doing so they have left to mankind a definite knowledge which has made it possible for their co-workers to expurgate the foe. Thanks to the tenacity of will which has enabled such men to pursue a cherished purpose through a quarter of a century, we now have these parasites on the defensive. Their life habits have been catalogued and cross-referenced. So complete is this system of microscopic identification that most of them have already been rounded up. So many expert bacterio-criminologists are on the lookout for the balance that this sphere is no longer a really safe place for any life-loving bacteria.

Our own Army Medical Corps has furnished to the world what is probably the most striking example in the history of preventive medicine of the conquest of a great scourge by the extirpation of yellow fever through the discoveries of Reed, Carroll, and their colleagues, and the practical application of these discoveries by General Gorgas.

While the beautiful dream of "a truly sanitary army in which the bacteriologist

marches on the skirmish line, and the exhausted soldier waits by the well-curb for laboratory reports," is impossible from the scientific as well as the military point of view, the sanitary competence of the modern army is a thing to marvel at.

The Japanese went into the Russian campaign prepared as fully against bacilli as



UNDERWOOD & LUTHER, NEW YORK
INOCULATING THE SOLDIER AGAINST TYPHOID

against bullets,—and at the end of that war their percentage of deaths from disease was the lowest ever known in any great campaign.

According to reliable reports, the fatalistic Turk, whose liability to disease was in exact ratio to his former disregard of sanitary precautions, now enjoys a health rate which compares favorably with that of any other army in Europe, thanks to the introduction of modern sanitary methods by the Germans.



THE FIELD HOSPITAL (IN THE FOREGROUND) ATTACHED TO THE CAMP OF UNITED STATES SOLDIERS

SAFEGUARDING AGAINST EPIDEMIC

Whereas the great generals of the past often saw their armies melt away with disease and apparent victory slip from their grasp, it is to-day within the power of the military sanitarian to control great pestilences, such as yellow fever, pernicious malaria, and the plague, and to immunize entire armies against cholera, dysentery, smallpox, and that disease which had such a sinister record in our own Spanish War,—typhoid fever.

Public opinion now demands that each enlisted man shall be surrounded as far as possible with all the safeguards known to modern science. If, unhappily, a great war should come upon us and we should see "the terrible and imposing spectacle of a nation in arms," would the medical department of our army be prepared to assume this task, and how could the potential soldier,—the citizen of to-day,—coöperate most successfully to relieve that department of the enormous strain which will always be thrust upon it during the period of expansion at the outbreak of war?

In the first place, we must squarely face the fact that the problem of preventing disease and caring for the wounded has so far swamped the medical department of every army in every great war. With hundreds of miles of trenches filled with rain-soaked men whose powers of resistance to disease have been tremendously weakened, with every possible handicap of modern warfare, the army surgeons of to-day must successfully combat that most subtle foe, the invisible host of parasites which prey upon men in the dark, which invariably hit a man when he isn't looking, when he is powerless to resist.

To oppose an army of any first-class power

we would need immediately at least 500,000 men. Our present standing army (in the United States) is about 50,000. Ninety per cent. of our forces would, therefore, be made up of State militia troops and volunteers. The vast majority of these have, in time of peace, been well fed, clothed and protected by warm houses from exposure to the elements. Modern municipal governments have provided them with an abundance of pure water, and promptly removed all wastes and filth. By force of custom the comforts, and even the luxuries of civil life have come to be regarded as necessities. When, however, these citizens become soldiers, all this will be rudely reversed. Colonel J. R. Kean, a noted army sanitarian, gives us this vivid word-picture of the enlisted civilian:

The luxuries and habits of a lifetime are stripped off by the rough hand of military necessity until he stands forth the fighting man of all the centuries, divested of everything except the weapon in his hands and the clothes on his back, cooking his simple evening meal before the fire, with the earth for his bed and the sky for his roof. He will often have to march all day in rain-soaked clothes and sleep on wet and frozen ground. He is obliged to drink such water as he can find, and usually has no means of boiling it, nor is he always able to protect himself from the filth of others.

During this reversion to primitive conditions the newly enlisted man will be under the close scrutiny of the army surgeon, who will study the reaction of the soldier to his environment and do his utmost to build up the individual so that he will develop the highest degree of resistance to disease.

How then would these 450,000 citizen soldiers be taken care of to-day as compared with the 216,000 troops that were in the field during the year of the Spanish War?



MAINTAINED AT TEXAS CITY FROM 1911 TO 1915

IMMUNITY FROM TYPHOID, THE MOST DANGEROUS OF CAMP DISEASES

Perhaps the one thing which would most immediately and vitally affect the recruit of to-day would be the procedure by which he would be completely immunized against typhoid fever. In 1898 we had about 25,000 cases of typhoid fever in the army; in 1913, the first year after the army had been completely immunized by vaccination, with 95,000 troops serving in the United States and all of our insular possessions, and with 10,000 men in camp along the Mexican border, we had four cases, two of which were recruits who had the disease before joining the army.

The humiliating experience of Chickamauga Park will not be repeated, thanks to the work of Sir A. Wright, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and Major Frederick F. Russell, Medical Corps, U. S. A., and their collaborators.

In a recent address in which he urged the British soldiers to present themselves voluntarily for vaccination against typhoid fever, Sir William Osler stated that by this measure alone, if universal, the efficiency of the men in the field would be increased one-third.

The following remarkable statement by Dr. Osler graphically describes the true value of the preventive which makes possible the relegation to the medical museum of the bacillus which has been the cause of untold suffering and financial loss in all lands.

If, in spite of the doctor's care and his own personal activities, the soldier falls heir to a half-million germs of the unfriendly kind, he is spied out by the doctor at once and hustled off to an isolation hospital in order that he may not become a "carrier," that most dreaded of camp parasites, for in the proximity which must be constant in war time a "carrier" is much more dangerous than a lone volunteer to a battlefield fleet.

If the latter can keep out of sight long enough

it may get in its deadly work, but give a disease carrier the same privilege and he will most certainly infect a whole command.

Such is the power of the purely invisible microbe when once it finds itself free to roam in such verdant pastures as are to be found in the constitutionally weakened men in the rain-soaked trenches. Every other method known to modern science having been found to be impotent in the face of an unknown carrier, especial attention centers on that method which has been found by actual experience to give certain immunity from the most dangerous of camp diseases regardless of conditions.

The entire efforts of many men for many years having placed in the hands of the proper authorities the weapon with which to successfully combat typhoid fever, it seems remarkable that in view of the statistics of former years which show that this disease alone is more than liable to decimate an army in a year's time, every soldier has not availed himself of the opportunity of taking this vital protection against the most potent of camp diseases. If some manufacturer could produce an armor which would weigh nothing and not be cumbersome, and would assuredly protect the soldier against the bullets and shrapnel shells of the enemy, it is not unlikely that every soldier would avail himself of this "immunity bath." But when protection is offered which will cost him not 1/25 the inconvenience of even the lightest armor, and which is proof against a foe more deadly than the enemy's bullets, it has been the experience of the armies that the soldiers did not freely avail themselves of this protection.

Typhoid fever is, therefore, no longer to be dreaded, either among the military or civil population of this country. Whenever the public comes to fully appreciate the value of this preventive and vaccination is universally practised, it is believed that typhoid fever will be as rare as typhus and cholera.

When we seriously consider the number of cases which occur in the United States every year (at least 350,000), one-tenth of which are fatal, and the further fact that thousands of those who do not die of the disease are permanently injured from damage to the heart, nervous system, kidneys, etc., the importance of this method of disease-prevention can hardly be over-estimated.

A PURE WATER SUPPLY ALWAYS AVAILABLE

Supplying pure water to the troops in the field is always one of the most gigantic tasks confronting a modern army. It is a serious question with most of the European armies to-day, and was a vexatious problem for the Anglo-French forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula. While a trained and seasoned trooper can readily make a day's march on a canteen of water, the "discipline" of the average volunteer is most severely tested when he is instructed to pass by a roadside pump. Any water that is cool, regardless of the number



PREPARING TYPHOID VACCINE, WHICH RENDERS THE SOLDIER IMMUNE FROM THE DISEASE THAT FORMERLY WAS SO GREAT A MENACE

flannel is fastened to the top of the bag, through which the water is poured. The starch iodine reaction gives exact information as to whether sufficient hypochlorite is being used. As these products are always furnished with the field medical equipment the medical officers have a practical method of control.

AN ADEQUATE MEDICAL PERSONNEL

At present there are 443 regular medical officers, ninety-four medical reserve officers, and fourteen con-

tract surgeons on active duty.

This is hardly adequate to do the work that is required in time of peace and carries no proper insurance against war. In war time ten medical officers are needed for every 1000 of bacteria in it, looks good to the recruit. Also, the smoke and dust of battle cause the most intense thirst, which the soldier is inclined to slake whenever and wherever he can. Scientists have demonstrated that numerous infections find their way from person to person by the "water route," and the medical officers of all armies have endeavored for many years to perfect an apparatus which could be used for the purification of water, and which would at the same time be portable and efficient.

An apparatus devised by Major Wm. L. Lyster, Medical Corps, U. S. A., will, it is believed, make it possible to furnish pure water to either large or small bodies of men in any locality at any time. This appliance consists of a canvas bag of specially woven flax, twenty-four inches in diameter and twenty-eight inches long, which weighs, empty, about seven and one-half pounds, and holds sufficient water to supply a company of infantry at war strength with a canteen of water for each officer and man. The bag is fitted with five self-closing faucets just above the bottom seam, by means of which the water is drawn into the canteen, thus obviating the necessity of rehandling.

After the bag has been filled with water, one tube (about $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains) of hypochlorite of calcium is shaken directly on the surface of the water, no stirring being necessary. Under ordinary circumstances the water is rendered safe for drinking purposes within five minutes.

Some surface waters in the field may carry suspended matters to an extent that interferes slightly with the hypochlorite process. To reduce this matter a piece of Scotch outing



THE SIMPLE APPLIANCE DEvised BY AN ARMY MEDICAL OFFICER TO HOLD, PURIFY, AND FURNISH DRINKING WATER TO THE SOLDIER

men for professional and administrative work. In time of peace at least seven should be provided, who should be trained in the specialty of the military surgeon. It is imperative that these should be regular medical officers who are familiar with the personal hygiene of soldiers and sanitation of camps in which large bodies of men are concentrated, the methods of supply and transportation, and military tactics. These will be immediately needed for positions requiring experienced supervision in the camps of mobilization and concentration, lest they become breeding places for epidemic diseases as in the Spanish War, and for the theater of operations, including the zone of advance.

The thousands of skilled medical men who will offer their services, and will assist to their utmost in emergency, can in no way take the place of trained medical officers whose military duties are vastly more complex. Their purely professional work will be needed in the general hospitals of the service of the interior in long campaigns, but if the army is dependent in a great degree upon improvised medical aid, it will suffer enormous and unnecessary losses.

RESERVE MEDICAL FIELD UNITS

The Dodge Commission, which was appointed just after the Spanish War to investigate the medical department, made most emphatic recommendations regarding the accumulation of reserve medical supplies—"a year's supply for an army at least four times the regular strength to be constantly on hand,"—and also recommended that the medical department should have charge of transportation to such an extent as would secure prompt shipment and ready delivery of all medical supplies.

The department now has in storage at the various medical supply depots a sufficient reserve of field medical units for an army of 200,000 men, or about one-half that recommended by the commission, and the Surgeon General hopes within a few years to be able to accumulate the total reserve recommended. These units comprise field, base and evacuation hospitals, regimental infirmaries, etc., and are complete in all essential particulars, excepting transportation, and may be ordered out from the supply depots by telegram whenever needed. The transportation problem has apparently been solved by placing a hospital corps man in charge to accompany

each important shipment to its destination.

A field medical supply depot is also available for the use of each chief surgeon, from which can be immediately obtained all the necessary vaccines, serums, medicines, etc. Soldiers who are engaged in trench warfare are usually plastered with mud or dust, and the character of bullet-wound infections is very deadly. Tetanus and gas gangrene have been much more common in the present European War than in former wars, and the administration of anti-tetanus serum has become almost a measure of first aid. Field laboratories, X-ray machines, etc., will also be available for the use of the bacteriologists and surgeons at the front.

CAMP SANITATION AND THE CITIZEN-SOLDIER,—PAST AND PRESENT

It is believed that the bitter lessons taught by the inefficiency and sickness of the Spanish War concentration camps, as contrasted so sharply with the almost ideal conditions which obtained in the camps on the Mexican border during the past two years, have made a profound impression upon the intelligent American mind of the "rank and file" which will constitute our army in any future war.

The line officers of our army have been so impressed with the value of sanitation and personal hygiene as demonstrated by the record of recent years that they are scarcely less enthusiastic than the medical officers, and the whole service has become imbued with the idea that to keep well is the crowning virtue.

The attitude of the medical officer toward his brothers of the line has best been expressed by Lieutenant Col. F. A. Winter, Medical Corps, U. S. A., in a lecture delivered at the War College some time ago:

In conclusion, please let me assure you that we are striving with thorough altruism to do our share in a great work. We want your help,—we must have it; and we also want that commendation which we know the line officer to hold in his heart of hearts for the hard-working doctor, who throughout the history of our army has taken his medicine,—in a two-fold sense,—right by the side of his brother of the line. To that brother he has the right to say:

I have eaten your bread and salt,
I have drunk your water and wine;
The deaths ye died
I have watched beside,
And the lives ye have lived were mine."



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York.

A GROUP OF TYPICAL TURKISH PEASANTS, ILLUSTRATING RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

TURKEY'S CALL TO AMERICA

BY REV. GEORGE F. HERRICK, D.D.

[The statements made in the following article derive especial weight from the fact that for more than half a century Dr. Herrick was a resident of Turkey, as a missionary of the American Board, and has an intimate acquaintance with all classes of the Turkish population. The article on the Kurds, immediately following this, is contributed by a young Persian, now a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University. He also has a familiar knowledge of the people about whom he writes.—THE EDITOR.]

PROBABLY ninety-nine out of every hundred readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS to-day regard the Turk with the utmost loathing. The treatment of the Armenians by the men now in power at Constantinople has so completely out-Heroded Herod that any voice raised to speak a kindly word for the Turk is at once silenced.

If in Germany any utterance questioning the absolute justice of the government's relation to the present war is "*verboten*" [forbidden], what must be the case in Turkey?

Many years ago,—it was before Abdul Hamid's day,—I was traveling with post-horses in Asia Minor. The "driver" taken on at one station seemed a surly fellow and unlikely to add to the interest of the next stage of the journey. When we were out in the open country the man became completely transformed. Being "full of matter" and thinking he could speak to me freely and with safety, he criticized his government in very "choice" Turkish—the language lends itself to vituperation in a superlative degree—for the merciless rigor of its enforcement of conscription. His own home had been left hopelessly desolate.

Till the Turks, under German training, leadership, and supply of modern munitions, scored the success at the Dardanelles which has more than any other event of the war amazed men of the West, probably a large majority of Turks secretly cursed the men now in the government saddle for forcing them to fight against their old and tried friends, the French and the English. And it is certain from ample evidence, very little of which for obvious reasons can be produced in court, that millions of Turks regard the conduct of the men now ruling at Constantinople, in their treatment of the Armenians, as inhuman, contrary to their religion, and opposed to Turkish interests.

Our sympathy for the Armenian people, in their unparalleled sufferings, cannot be too deep or our condemnation of those responsible for those horrors and for the actual perpetrators of those atrocities too strong.

At present no man dare forecast Turkey's political future. As an independent government, to be reckoned with by world powers, she has no future, though she is just now under the illusion that her future is to rival the glory of her past.

If and when the Allied Powers are victorious the present hopes of the Turks will vanish. Should Germany win in the war, Turkey will be her vassal, wholly controlled in her interest. She is reported as now demanding grain from Turkey, while multitudes of the most ancient and worthy inhabitants of the country, ruthlessly torn from their homes, are starving in the desert and the Moslem peasantry of Asia Minor are in dire straits.

In the late years of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign all Turks not the Sultan's creatures were exiled or muzzled; just so it is now with Enver and Talaat and the Germans in power at Constantinople. When this nightmare passes, as pass it will, the educational and reconstructive work of Americans in Turkey, now only temporarily limited, will prove itself a beneficent force of greater value, will be more warmly welcomed by the people of all races, Christian and Moslem alike, than ever heretofore. Most of the missionaries are still at their posts. The schools and colleges, with few exceptions, are open and in many cases in full swing. The hospitals are overcrowded. Is the expectation of enlargement in our work in the near future an evidence of unreasoning optimism? It is optimism but not unreasoning.

There is now no opposition to American influence in Turkey so persistent as that which in the last half of Abdul Hamid's reign was patiently and successfully met and overcome, with the result of a phenomenal increase of our educational and medical work.

Some speak of the missionary work at Van as wiped out. Very serious material loss there has been. The Van missionaries, Dr. Ussher, Mr. Yarrow, and their associates, are in this country. What are they doing? Have they retired acknowledging defeat? No, a thousand times *no*. They are recovering from the terrible strain they have heroically borne, a strain in the case of two noble souls of their number which proved beyond mortal endurance. The survivors are preparing, with renewed strength, to return, with reinforcements, and with the necessary material resources to work for Armenians and Turks as soon as the war ends and peace is established. They will do this with vastly increased promise of the highest permanent usefulness in the years to come. Serious difficulties will appear—will appear, to be overcome.

So it will be in all those centers of educational and philanthropic work undertaken by Americans in Turkey. *The people are still there.* Their cry for help to live, and to enable their children—of every race—to live worthily, to attain more abundant life, will be more urgent, more compelling, just as soon as the black war clouds have been dispersed and the desperate need of all those people has made its irresistible appeal to philanthropic Americans. The invitation will be to no holiday excursion. It will be a call to strenuous, life-long service, a service fit for those strong young men and young women who have love to God and love to men as their inspiring motive and who desire to make their lives tell most for their Master and for human welfare.

THE KURDS: THEIR CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS

BY YOEEL B. MIRZA

IN the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Kurds attracted the attention of the civilized world by falling upon the Armenians and massacring them. Taking advantage of the casualty in the Western world, the Kurds and the Turks appear now to be determined upon settling once for all the question of exterminating the Armenian race. The wholesale murder of the Armenians is not all due to religious hatred, as it was at first supposed. A chief reason for this

slaughter is economic jealousy. The Armenians are thrifty, industrious, and, for the most part, a well-educated people. Practically all the rug industry in the Orient is controlled by them. They live and dress better than their neighbors. Such things have always hurt the false Kurdish pride. The recent atrocities inflicted upon the Christian races by the Kurds in this war have been observed and published broadcast.

The aim of this article is not to review

the well-known subject of Armenian massacres, but rather to give the reader information gathered from first-hand observations of the Kurds, their land, and their predominating characteristics.

The origin of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily settled, but it is believed that in their veins flows the blood of Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Assyrians. In early times the Kurds preferred mountains for their place of habitation, and took great pride then, as they do now, in being called "Gurdu," a title which signifies "warrior." To-day the "Gutu" are better known in the Occident as Kurds, and number about two million, five hundred thousand,¹ and have their abodes mostly in Kurdistan. Their land, which is extremely mountainous, rises to the east of the upper Tigris in the direction of Uremiah. The area of this space is sixty thousand square miles. There is not a mile of railway in the whole country, and neither is there a road fit for traveling except by caravan.

No people are more mistrusted by the Persians and the Turks than the Kurds. They do not consider a man's religion and standing; they would rob a Turk or a Persian as well as an Armenian or a Greek. The Ottoman Porte and the Persian Shah have not the power to interfere; for that very reason, I believe, the Russian rule in northern Persia was a great blessing to the peace-loving peasants, as Russia was the only government which was able to establish order and to create fear among the Kurds. Of two million, five hundred thousand Kurds, there is no one who calls himself lawgiver and ruler, no one who assumes the authority to punish his fellow Kurd. Law with a Kurd is a personal matter. Each individual considers himself his own king and prince. A monarchy of self-control is unknown among them. The Kurdish mind is his constitution, his gun and sword the means by which he enforces his law and justice. Such a state of affairs is not, of course, favorable to the establishment of a stable government, nor is such an atmosphere conducive to the development of the better qualities of human nature.

Occasionally some queer stories have been told by visitors to Kurdistan; one of these remains in my memory as exemplifying the schooling of a young Kurd. My grandfather, who had been doing missionary work

among the Kurds, related the following conversation with a chieftain:

"You have several sons, I understand?"

"Yes," answered the chief.

"Are they all married?"

"All but poor Ali, and no girl will marry him, because he is not a successful thief and robber."

"Well, what are you going to do about it?"

"Oh, I have advised him," responded the chief, "to carry with him a gun and a sword, and I have explicitly impressed upon his mind, that no matter how bloody and evil the deed he might commit, it will only add respect and honor to his name and family."

Such is the advice of the Kurdish father to his son. The word kill is the most used term in the whole Kurdish vocabulary. If two Kurds were in conversation, it would not be very long even for one who knows nothing about the language to detect the word "ulderam,"² "I will kill him." It would indeed be very unusual to see a young Kurd without a club in his hand, a dagger in his belt, or a gun on his shoulder.

Allegiance of any description is, according to philosophers like Rousseau, a folly, if not a crime, and quite beneath the dignity of a human being. Such is the philosophy of the Kurds. They love personal liberty and under no condition will they willingly subject themselves to any ruler.

The Kurds take no interest in modern reforms. They dislike the light of civilization. We hear of every known nationality and people in America except the Kurds. Civilization has never penetrated the Kurdish character; they prefer their barbaric freedom to law and justice. They have no established homes; in summer they live in tents of goats-hair on the mountain tops, and in winter in mud villages. Their usual diet consists of bread and buttermilk, and cheese made of goats' milk. They have experienced little change since "Noah's Ark rested on the Mount of Ararat." James Bryce, in his "Transcaucasia and Ararat," p. 256, gives a graphic picture of the Kurds:

Through the Empires of Assyria and Persia and Macedon, through Parthian Arsacids, and Iranian Sassanids, through the reigns of Arabian Khalifs, and Turkish Sultans, and Persian Shahs, these Kurds have roamed as they roam now, over the slopes of the everlasting mountains, watering their flocks at this spring, pitching their

¹ There are no means by which we can claim with certainty the exact population of Kurds; the census in Persia, but in Turkey has a government census been established.

² The word "ulderam" is Turkish in origin, as the Kurdish language is largely intermingled with the Turkish and Persian languages.

goats-hair tents in the recesses of these lonely rocks, chanting their wildly pathetic airs with neither a past to remember nor a future to plan for.

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of the Kurds is great devotion among the members of families. This is exemplified in the following incident. A chief from the mountains of Kurdistan descended into the plains of Urumiah and there engaged in plundering the property of the citizens of the state of Azerbaijan. The militia was ordered to trap the culprits. The chief was subdued. They were brought into the city, and all were sentenced to death except the chief, who was spared for his grey hairs.

Among them was a youth of twenty, strong and healthy; his rugged appearance made an instant appeal to every spectator, and the cry rose, "Save him, save him!" Immediately the old chieftain, whom the Governor had forgiven on account of his age, rushed forward and demanded, before they proceeded with the execution, to speak to the Governor. After the poor old man had experienced much rough treatment at the hands of the crowd, the permission was

granted. In true Oriental fashion, he thus addressed the Governor:

O, eye of my home and of my family. We did come from the mountains to carry some food to our families and to our herds. We admit that we have done harm to your law-abiding citizens. You have sworn that the guilty men should die, and it is just, but I, who am pardoned on account of my age, come here to demand a favor of my lord. The youngest of my family is with me; he came here because I asked him. This is his first offense. He is young, and has hardly tasted the sweets of life; is just betrothed. I am here to die in his stead. Inshallah, inshallah (in the name of God) let a worn-out old man perish, and spare a youth, who may long be useful to his family, to feed the flocks and tend the sheep. Let him live to drink of the waters flowing from the fountains and silvery streams of Kurdistan, and to till the ground of his ancestors.

The Governor was greatly moved by the old man's appeal. He granted the chief's wishes, and the old man went to meet his fate, while the youth cried wildly and became distracted with grief because the Governor reversed his decree and took the more valuable life of the aged chief. This is characteristic of a system which bears to-day more clearly than any other traces of the patriarchal government.



KURDISH TROOPS IN THE TURKISH ARMY

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WE make no apology for giving in this number, as in February, a fairly large proportion of our space to the current discussion of Preparedness as a practical issue before the country. Our readers will find the digests of the latest published writings of President James and former Secretary Garrison of special interest and value. The articles on "Britain as an Arsenal," and "War Relief and War Service," summarized on pages 356-358 from the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*, respectively, give us the most enlightened English point of view regarding the remarkable transformations in British economic life brought about by the exigencies of the war. Some of Canada's gains from the war are set forth in the extracts from Mr. Sibley's *Canadian Magazine* article (page 358).

A politico-economic conception quite new to most American readers is outlined in a remarkable article appearing in the French journal, *Le Correspondant*, the main points of which are summarized on pages 359-60. This is the proposed Austrian Zollverein.

In connection with Mr. Kaempffert's article in this number of the REVIEW, on the aeroplane industry, readers will find suggestive material (illustrations as well as text) on the subject of aviators' tactics in the air on page 360. This is followed by an interesting account of certain animals that live in trenches adapted from *La Nature* (Paris).

Other important and timely topics treated in the department this month are: "Civilization and Climate," "New York's Health Insurance Project," "Salvini, the Tragedian" (from an Italian source), "German-Americans and German Literature," and "The Revival of Interest in Folk Song."

The *North American Review* for February, in addition to Captain Stockton's discussion of our military policy, which we summarize on page 355, has an article by Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N., on "Naval Defense."

The *North American's* opening editorial, ten pages in length, is devoted to the question of "Wilson and a Second Term," and arrives at the conclusion that the present occupant of the White House must be the next Democratic candidate for President.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for February has the following articles relating to the war: "On Understanding the Mind of Germany," by John Dewey; "A Philosopher's View of the War," by Count Hermann Keyserling; "The Pathos of America," by Henry Osborn Taylor; "The Cost," by Alfred Ollivant; "In French Hospitals," by Anna Murray Vail; and "At the End of the Line in War Time," by Edmund Kemper Broadus.

We are quoting from Mr. Edward Garnett's "A Gossip on Criticism," in the *Atlantic*, on pages 366-367.

Coming to the February issues of the popular illustrated monthlies we find in the *Century* a prophecy by Dr. Hendrik Willem van Loon on "The World After the War." In the same magazine Ireland is epitomized by the Irish journalist F. Sheehy Skeffington as "A Forgotten Small Nationality."

The February *Scribner's* is called a motor number, but not all its articles are devoted to that interest. Besides the second instalment of Edward H. Sothorn's "Remembrances," giving the story of Lord Dundreary and Recollections of famous players, there is a story by Colonel Roosevelt of a moose hunt and the charge of a big bull moose; and an intimate account of the results of the German invasion on a French village is given by Madame Waddington.

The careers of certain Americans who have been made rich and powerful by the war are vividly sketched by Albert W. Atwood in the *American Magazine*. Charles M. Schwab, Pierre S. DuPont, Marcellus H. Dodge, and Samuel F. Pryor are the personalities who stand out most prominently. In the same magazine Mr. Milton Fairchild's advice for teaching morals to boys and girls by the use of photographs is outlined by Ray Stannard Baker.

MILITARY TRAINING IN OUR LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

AN important address on our land-grant colleges as centers of military training was given by President Edmund J. James, of the University of Illinois, before the Committee on Military Affairs, of the House of Representatives, on February 10. The address appears in full in the *University of Illinois Bulletin* for March 6.

After stating that in his opinion the fundamental element in the whole question of Military Preparedness is the creation of a sufficiently numerous body of adequately prepared officers to man properly the armed forces of the nation, and outlining the principles on which any method of training officers which is to be efficient and satisfactory to the country at large must rest, President James proceeded to discuss the practical question, How can these officers be provided? His answer to this question, in brief, was to utilize the means at hand in the series of national-state institutions, now more than fifty in number, known as the land-grant colleges. Among the arguments advanced by President James in support of his policy, are the following:

These institutions are first of all national institutions. They owe their origin to national initiative, were created in response to national legislation, and are supported in large part by national appropriations. They are required by federal law to give instruction in military science and tactics, and nearly thirty thousand young men are now receiving in these institutions such military training as may be obtained by three hours' work per week through two years under the supervision for the most part of an officer of the regular army detailed for this purpose by the War Department of the United States, and carrying out a scheme of instruction approved by said Department.

All that is necessary to make at least the beginning of an adequate scheme for supplying the reserve officers, and for that matter, many of the active officers of our national forces, is to energize and vitalize the military departments of these institutions, already in organic connection with the federal War Department, already attended by fifty thousand young men, all of whom are pledged to perform at least two years' military service. How much better it is to train effectively the young men who are now on hand and who are willing to accept this training, instead of trying to get thirty thousand other volunteers who will come in, in any case, with reluctance.

These institutions are already among the strong centers of intellectual life and light in the States where they are located. They are permanent foundations of no mean extent, and will with the passing years exercise an ever larger and more

important leadership in their respective communities. The value of the property of these institutions already exceeds one hundred and sixty million dollars; their annual income exceeds thirty-five million dollars; and their total attendance exceeds one hundred and fifteen thousand.

The fact that they are State as well as national institutions, drawing the bulk of their income from State sources, and that in them the cooperation of the State and the nation is so finely exemplified should be an additional reason for making them an important link in this great chain of national defense.

These institutions are moreover peculiarly democratic in their nature. The tuition charges are moderate or altogether absent, the mode of life of the student and professor is simple, and the cost of living is comparatively low. Because of their relation to the State and the nation, the feeling of loyalty and patriotism on the part of the students is strong, and the time and effort and expense required for this military service are given cheerfully, and in some cases enthusiastically.

President James proceeds to describe briefly what one of the typical land-grant colleges, the University of Illinois, is already doing in this field, taking Illinois, as he says, because he knows most about it and is most fully aware of its defects. It is assumed that other institutions are doing as much, other things being equal, as Illinois, and in much the same way.

The University of Illinois is one designated as Class C under Paragraph 4, General Order No. 70, War Department 1913, that is, Colleges and Universities not essentially military where the curriculum is sufficiently advanced to carry with it a degree and where the average age of the students on graduation is not less than 21 years. This Military Department was established under the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. The total Federal appropriation for the last fiscal year under the various Acts, Morrill, Adams, Nelson, Hatch, etc., was \$122,422.14. The expenditures on account of Military have been as follows: During the two years ending March 31, 1915, \$227,913.57 was expended upon the new Armory (floor space 200x400), which has been in use since January 1, 1915. It will require \$250,000 more to complete this building. In addition to the above, the appropriation for incidental expenses, Military Scholarships, etc., pertaining to the Military Department was \$8500 for each of the past two years.

The organization of the Corps of Cadets is as follows: Two complete regiments of infantry (24 companies), a Foot Battery of Field Artillery, Signal Company, Engineer Company and Hospital Company. Also, a band for each Regiment, a Reserve Band, and a Trumpet and Drum Corps. The total number of cadets in the Mili-

tary Department, November 1, 1915, was 2069, including the band of about 165 men. The band is composed of members from all classes of the University. Those of the first two years substitute this for their Military drill. During the last two years they have the same status as the Cadet Officers, and receive \$24 per year.

During the Freshman and Sophomore years, Military Training is compulsory. Sergeants are selected from the Sophomore class, Lieutenants from the Junior class, Captains and Field Officers from the Senior class. These selections are made by the Commandant of Cadets and approved by the Council of Administration, provided the appointees are in good standing in their undergraduate course, and morally fitted as well. The commissioned officers receive a special Military Scholarship (value, \$24 per year), which is paid to them upon the satisfactory completion of each year's work. They are, also, presented by the University with a sabre and belt upon graduation, as well as a commission by the Governor of Illinois as Brevet Captain in the I. N. G.

All students must gain five credits [out of a total of 130] in Military Training in order to be entitled to graduate. Any student excused from Military for any purpose whatsoever must make up these five credits in some other department.

Drill is held twice a week, and the requirements of Paragraph 27, G. O. No. 70, are fully complied with, that is, each cadet receives eighty-four one-hour periods of instruction in Military, at least two-thirds of the total time being devoted to practical instruction. Paragraph 28 same order is fully complied with, except in Range practise and regular encampments for the entire Corps. There is no rifle range within forty miles of the institution, and no provision has been made as yet by the authorities for summer camps. The entire Corps of Cadets is given gallery practise in the Armory throughout the year. Only a small percentage of the cadets get outdoor range practise, because the expense of going to and from the Range is too great, and has to be borne by the cadet himself. Forty-six students attended the various summer encampments this year,—forty-three at Ludington, two at San Francisco, and one at Plattsburg. The majority of these men are now officers in the Corps of Cadets and greatly increase the efficiency thereof.

The instruction, both practical and theoretical, comprises all of the Drill Regulations, portions of the Field Service Regulations, Ceremonies, Calisthenics, Bayonet Exercise, Guard Duty, Target Practise, Signalling, and minor Tactics.

The organization of the Engineer Company and Hospital Company effected this year will improve the instruction along these lines.

It is suggested by President James that this plan of coöperation between State and nation offers the method under which each part of our body politic may bear its share of the total expense in an equitable manner. If the State is willing to furnish such a large part of the equipment, and in addition the boy who is to be trained, it is not too much to ask that the nation should on its part provide the rest of the essentials in order to make this work fully effective.

The essentials, according to President James, are these:

First, more officers detailed by the War Department for the work of supervision and instruction. We have at present at the University of Illinois only one such officer for a brigade of over two thousand men. The military authorities in the War College are willing to recommend the increase of this force, and some of the most experienced officers think that it should be increased to one officer for every five hundred cadets.

In my own opinion, this would be a minimum force. It should rather be one for every four hundred cadets. The commanding officer of such a brigade as ours should be of the rank of Colonel in the regular army. And yet, owing to the lack of trained officers, the War Department solemnly proposed two years ago sending a second lieutenant.

Furthermore, the time spent on such a detail as that at Illinois should count for the officer as time spent with the troops in considering his service and promotion. The discrimination against such work as this, which is involved in the present rules, acts to discourage officers from accepting such details. The Commandant of a University brigade like ours is as busy and hard working as any officer with the regular troops in time of peace.

Every officer detailed for such work should be in first-class condition as to his health. He should not, generally speaking, be a retired officer, but a man in the full vigor of active work. The Military Commandant at such an institution as Illinois has a position of unique influence with the young men of the University. No other person comes in such intimate contact with such a large number of the Freshmen and Sophomores in college as he. Personal influence still counts to-day as always in the past for more than any other kind of influence. The man detailed for this work should be the very highest type of the gentleman and the scholar, fully sensible of the great responsibility he assumes in taking such a position.

Secondly, the Federal Government should furnish the same kind and amount of supplies and equipment for the use of these cadet regiments as for the National Guard itself. In fact, the War Department should be authorized to make a distinct class of these regiments and furnish them all the supplies and equipment of every sort which they can show they will make good use of, dealing directly with the authorities of these land-grant colleges themselves in promoting the efficiency of this branch of the national defense.

In concluding his address before the Committee on Military Affairs, President James presented a still more comprehensive plan in connection with these land-grant institutions, involving the establishing of a regular four-year course in Military Science and Tactics, in each of the universities, at any rate in each of the larger institutions, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Military Science and Art, and qualifying the student to enter the regular army as Second Lieutenant on a par with the West Pointer.

SECRETARY GARRISON'S MILITARY POLICY

THE resignation, on February 10, of Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison because of differences with President Wilson as to measures before Congress for increasing the nation's military establishment gave a new impetus to the discussion in the press regarding the Continental Army and other features of the Administration's preparedness program, for which Mr. Garrison had been sponsor.

His own explanation of his policy appears in the February number of the *National Monthly* (Buffalo, N. Y.), of which Mr. Norman E. Mack is editor. This statement was prepared before Mr. Garrison quit office, and may be accepted as the most authoritative announcement of his views and plans that has been published since the opening of Congress. The statement is in the form of question and answer, and summarizes as briefly as possible the reasons that led Mr. Garrison to make the definite recommendations that at first met with the approval of the President.

At the outset, Mr. Garrison assumes that the problem before the country is this: "What should be done in the way of permanent, sensible, adequate development of the nation's military resources?" In addressing himself to this question, Mr. Garrison soon reached the conclusion that the situation is not to be met with a regular standing army of the required size; that is to say, there is a practical agreement that at least 500,000 men should be subject to call and command of the President for a first line in the event of a war of any considerable size. To this force must be added the troops needed for over-sea garrisons. The initial cost of recruiting, equipping, housing, clothing, feeding, officering, and training between 500,000 and 600,000 men would be stupendous. By maintaining such an establishment the nation would be relying solely on a paid professional army and not on citizens trained and obligated for military service. A reliance of this kind is un-American.

It would be impossible to raise an army of such size except by conscription or compulsion. The present maximum of recruiting for the regular army is about 50,000 a year. If the country demands conscription laws, Congress, of course, has the power to enact them, but in Mr. Garrison's opinion there has not yet been any such united de-

mand as would justify Congress in taking such action. He, therefore, rejected as impracticable the proposition for a standing army of adequate size for national defense. He did, however, propose a regular army of 142,000 men. This, he says, would be large enough to garrison the over-seas possessions, give us 510 officers, and more than 19,000 men for the harbor defenses of continental United States, and about 50,000 men of the mobile army, troops, with their officers and the extra officers and non-commissioned officers needed for training the other military forces. In time of peace, this force is sufficient for the needs of the country. It is ample for internal disturbances, border duty, or as an expeditionary force. It is also sufficient for the other great and imperative duty of training the citizen forces.

Mr. Garrison was then asked how he proposed to make up the first line, and his answer was: "With the regular army, the Continental Army, and whatever organizations volunteer for service."

The Continental Army, so-called, is described by Mr. Garrison as the supplement or reserve of the regular army. It would consist of 400,000 men organized and equipped, officered and subject to instant call. It would be raised by annual increments of 133,000,—each man to serve with the colors three years,—so that after the first three years it would always have 400,000 men united with the colors. The period of training suggested is sixty days in each year, but Mr. Garrison never insisted on this point.

It will be recruited territorially and will be trained by the officers and men of the regular army. Its officers will be procured from a variety of sources—those who have served with the regular army or the National Guard, those who have taken courses at military schools or colleges and attained sufficient primary instruction to be developed by intensive work, those who go in as privates and work through prescribed courses at instruction establishments of the regular army, those who are already in an officers' reserve corps, and those who may qualify hereafter to be placed therein. We purpose standardizing the course of instruction, or training in the military courses of the hundreds of institutions which now have or will have such, and by such cooperation and supervision obtain each year thousands of available young men for this service. All that is needed is efficient cooperation and the adoption of the proper system to obtain the results. West Point itself will be increased to its maximum capacity with its present plant and will then have 774 cadets.

Before Mr. Garrison had stated his scheme for the Continental Army, his interrogator had brought up the point that was later to develop into the serious difference between Congress and the administration on the subject of the utilization of the National Guard. The question to which Mr. Garrison made reply in the *National Monthly* was this: "What about the idea that the National Guard could be made the other force outside of the regular army, and form with it a first line?" In answer Mr. Garrison said:

To that matter I gave the most profound consideration of which I am capable and obtained the views of everyone whose experience might help to a wise decision.

I realized the sentiment in favor of doing that if it was possible. I feel that the men and officers of the guard had been working hard and with great embarrassments and obstacles, and nothing would have pleased me so much as to have been able to determine conscientiously that I could recommend that solution of the problem. It is not, however, possible to do so if you study the conditions and the facts.

In the first place, the very conception of the Constitution was of two separate forces—one for national purposes solely, the other primarily for State purposes and only to a very limited extent for national purposes. Since the State troops could be used for some Federal purposes, the Constitution provides that the National Government may prescribe the organization of the State militia; that is, may determine what kind of troops they shall be, may furnish them with arms, and may prescribe the discipline by which they must be trained. The Constitution vests the government of the State militia in the States, and provides that the States shall appoint the officers to train the troops.

The very first necessity of any successful military system is therefore lacking; unity of author-

ity, responsibility, and control. Instead of one central jurisdiction conceiving and legislating and regulating and commanding, as is essential, we have forty-eight separate States exercising full jurisdiction of government and control. The attempts to get around the Constitution by the Federal Government annexing conditions to the acceptance of money will not stand any real test or strain. The Federal Government can not buy jurisdiction and the State can not sell it. Heretofore on many occasions when the governors of States have disagreed with the purpose for which the Federal Government has desired to use the State troops they have objected to and at times prevented such use. They have even disbanded their troops to thwart the purpose of the National Government. This power to govern, to appoint the officers, and to train the troops is vested in the States and can not be taken from them save by changing the Constitution. To build on the present foundation would therefore be impossible; to await a change by a constitutional amendment would be folly.

It is inconceivable that you could get the States to increase their present forces of say 129,000 to 400,000 in any event, even if you determined to accept that solution of the problem. Many of the best officers of the National Guard believe and state this. Many of the men and officers are in the guard because they wish to equip themselves for national service if needed.

In concluding his statement in the *National Monthly*, Mr. Garrison remarks that his recommendations and those of the War College Division of the General Staff are identical in principle, and differ only in detail. The General Staff recommended a larger increase in the regular army, fuller equipment in the way of horses and transportation, etc., of the Continental Army, and more men in the Continental Army than he felt it wise to recommend.

VIEWS ON PREPAREDNESS AND PACIFISM

IN his discussion of the question of preparedness in the *Yale Review*, Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes represents neither extreme in the controversy, but sets forth what may be regarded as the conclusions of a modern Pacifist who believes in national defense, but fears that the advocacy of a big navy and other military preparations may lead the country into war.

Mr. Stokes brushes aside the contentions of those advocates of preparedness who have warned us against the possibility of a German attack. He maintains that the ships that we already have, together with "those that would naturally be constructed, in fol-

lowing out a well-conceived building policy, without any sudden and enormous enlargement of expenditures, and with full appreciation by naval officers of the lessons of the war," should be adequate to meet any German fleet that is likely to attack us in the near future.

As to our land forces, Mr. Stokes is convinced that by adopting some features of the Swiss system, greater efficiency, a largely increased force, and a higher morale could be secured without spending another dollar. He proposes a shortening of the years spent by regulars "with the colors" and a lengthening of the period with the reserves, instead of

the present term of seven years' enlistments, of which the last three are "on furlough." He commends training camps like those at Plattsburg and proposes the concentration of our army in eight posts instead of forty-nine, as well as an increase of federal supervision over the State militia.

Mr. Stokes thus summarizes the incidental benefits that have already been accomplished by the preparedness movement:

It has called attention to our unsatisfactory enlistment laws and to our uneconomical plan of national defense, and rightly demands reforms of Congress. It has advocated the strengthening of the militia and the development of officers' training camps. It encourages the American Legion in an important task which the Government should assume, of keeping in touch with former soldiers and sailors. It opposes congressional interference for local political purposes with the administration of the army and navy. It has shown the absurdity of the old theory that an effective army can be raised in a day, and emphasizes the importance of well-trained reserves. It holds up the ideal that every citizen should be ready and willing to render service to the State for its defense, and shows the educational value of military training as a discipline among our heterogeneous population. It calls for a study of the systems of Switzerland and of Australia, which have proved themselves well adapted to other democratic countries and which are certainly worthy of study, even if it should be decided not to adopt them or anything like them in this country. For these services the advocates of preparedness deserve thanks.

On the other hand, he finds that the preparedness campaign has to answer for certain serious evils:

Preparedness exaggerates the danger of invasion, tending to put our people in a condition of stage fright; it fails to appreciate the changes that have come about in restricting the legitimate causes of war, and that will come about abroad after the present war in the more democratic control of foreign affairs; it is blind to the perils to our nation involved in entering the competitive race for armaments with European countries; it over-emphasizes some of the martial virtues and does not fully realize the opportunities for the development of the best of them off the field of battle; it takes inadequate cognizance of the force of public opinion, economic pressure, and non-intercourse as at least partial substitutes for war; it fails to appreciate the difficulties in raising taxes for the enormous new expenditures proposed, without creating widespread dissatisfaction; and it overlooks the insidious dangers in a democracy, where the directing heads in the executive and legislative departments are constantly changing, of having in Washington,—the home for excellence for retired and for longed officers,—an increasingly powerful military group, supremely interested in enlarging and further enlarging our army and navy.

In closing his article, Mr. Stokes quotes

from a lecture delivered by Lord Rosebery in November last, in which he laments the announcement "that the United States,—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war,—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada, destined to be equal or second to our own."

Our Military Policy

In the *North American Review* for February, Mr. Richard Stockton, Jr., criticizes the administration's plans for national defense. The true solution of the problem, according to Mr. Stockton, is a large, regular force with compulsory service. He seems certain, however, that no policy of that kind will prevail in Congress. In attempting to maintain a State-controlled militia, Mr. Stockton asserts that money is being wasted, and that still more will be wasted if it is attempted to raise a "Continental" army without incorporating the valuable features of the militia system. He holds that the federal government, which must declare and conduct war, should have absolute control of the preparation of all fighting units which it will be compelled to use. Vesting the control of the military force in forty-eight practically independent States means an almost total military waste.

In Mr. Stockton's opinion we should maintain but two forces in this nation, each with its reserves. One should be a regular army of sufficient force to perform the duties of peace without hardship, and the other a Continental army of federal citizen soldiers replacing the militia entirely for the purpose of national defense, but taking over its personnel, equipment, and features of its organization, which time has shown to be valuable.

Ought Christians to Be Pacifists?

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, Ohio), Dr. H. W. Magoun vigorously repels the assumption that the man who fights cannot, under any circumstances, be regarded as a consistent follower of the Galilean. He specifically condemns the hypocrisy of those peace advocates whose motives are grounded in the desire to avoid the risk of financial loss. He is unwilling that such men should be designated as humble followers of Christ.

They are nothing of the sort. They are parasites on His bounty and little else. He stands for righteousness, and He stands for it at any cost.

No, I am not a bloodthirsty syashtucker. I am the mildest kind of a mild-mannered man, but I see things as they are. This present war was bound to come. It could not be avoided.

And it must be fought out to a finish. If it is not, then we shall make no progress in the paths of peace. And we must be ready to do our part,—if necessary. God forbid that it should be necessary; but God forbid still more that we should dodge or shirk our duty! Let us by all means be followers of the Galilean. No nobler calling can await us, and we shall gain, not lose, in manliness.

It is no time for such persons to lose heart. Nor is it time for them to abandon high ideals. Let them work for peace, if they will; but let

them remember that righteousness must come first. Peace without that, even if it is established among the nations now at war, will be a great disaster. It will be a dream and a delusion. Nothing short of international righteousness will answer, and we must be prepared to back up that position to the limit. If it means another baptism of blood for us, that can make no difference. If we are followers of the Galilean, we must be ready to pay even that price for righteousness in the world at large. On no other basis are we safe. And on no other is He honored.

“AN ASTONISHING SPECTACLE”— BRITAIN AS AN ARSENAL

ENGLAND'S industrial mobilization is the subject of an article contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* by Dr. A. Shadwell. This writer keenly feels the pity of such a transformation as has taken place in Great Britain's economic life. Speaking of reactions of war on industry, he says:

When the war comes to be reviewed in proper perspective, its social and economic aspects will be found at least as remarkable as the military events, and perhaps more instructive. And among them the influence of war on industry and the converse influence of industry on war will take a prominent place. We are, indeed, witnessing a phenomenon so extraordinary and unexpected that we can only see its surface as we pass, and are hardly able to comprehend even that. Never before has the supreme concerted effort demanded by war been so fully brought out and the inscrutable mystery of human conduct been so clearly posed as in the prodigious conflict of industrial nations. War has directly absorbed a far larger proportion of the common energy than ever before, and there seems to be no limit to its power of absorption.

All the belligerent nations are similarly affected in the measure of their industrial development, and the absorption of war is not even confined to them. In neutral countries, too, civil manufacturers have been mobilized and attached to the chariot of war upon an enormous scale.

This is an astonishing spectacle, and the more closely it is examined the more astonishing it appears.

All the accumulated mass of knowledge, the slow-won mastery of natural forces and materials, the skill, the craftsmanship, the cunning manipulation and blending, the infinite variety of tools, the huge apparatus of world-wide transport by land and sea—all the means which man has in the lapse of ages gradually made his own and applied to maintain life, increase comfort, and serve his daily needs in countless ways—all these are suddenly turned to purely destructive purposes with an ardor and energy unknown to civil life.

Dr. Shadwell declares that if the German visit that was made to Sheffield shortly before the war were to be repeated now the

eyes of Germany would be opened, for next to the achievement of the navy in wiping out the German submarines Dr. Shadwell counts as England's greatest feat the creation of the system of war industry that exists to-day. To see this industry in its full extent, however, would require far more than a mere visit to Sheffield. Indeed, the visitors would have to “sweep the country from Cornwall to Aberdeen, and from Loch Lomond to the Downs.”

When England went to war only a limited number of armament firms were in a position to accept orders, and most of them were doing still more urgent work for the admiralty, so that they could take War Office orders on a large scale only by giving up commercial work, extending their factories, and sub-contracting. The most important group is at Sheffield where five large firms have their headquarters with other establishments and offshoots elsewhere.

Three of them have shipyards also—Vickers at Barrow, Cammell and Laird at Birkenhead, and John Brown at Clydebank—besides other works. An important offshoot is the Coventry Ordnance Works, jointly owned by John Brown (with whom Firths is associated) and Cammell and Laird. The fifth Sheffield firm is Hadfield's, who specialize in projectiles. These five Sheffield firms, being equipped for heavy work of all kinds, have played a most important part in arming our forces. There are two other great firms of a similar character elsewhere—namely, Armstrong's at Newcastle and Openshaw (Manchester), and Beardmore's at Glasgow. These seven firms have been and are the backbone of our industrial army in war. They are able to undertake nearly every class of work, large and small, from fuses to battleships; and their aggregate resources far exceed those of Krupp's.

Dr. Shadwell rightly says that the development of these resources into the all-embracing organization of to-day is an achievement of which England was thought inca-



HOSIERY FACTORY INSTALLED IN A PICCADILLY MANSION

(In this mansion, which is used as the headquarters of the Queen's Work for Women Fund, a power winder has been installed to expedite the winding of wool for two million pairs of socks for soldiers)

pable. But the work of the Ministry of Munitions during the last six months is essentially a feat of organization by business men. Such a system of organization as has been perfected for this purpose was never before attempted in Great Britain, and in Dr. Shadwell's opinion has certainly not been surpassed, if it has been equalled, in other countries.

It is essentially a scheme for gathering up loose units, both small and large, but particularly the small, and enabling them to contribute in one way or another. And its interest lies in the fact that it has raked the country with a tooth-comb for all the spare units available. It is not confined to industrial districts; it penetrates into remote regions associated only with agriculture or pleasure resorts. One of the twelve areas is the West of England, with Bristol for headquarters and feelers that run down to Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. Another is East Anglia, where contributions are levied among the Broads and bathing places. Wherever two or three laches are gathered together, there some help is being given.

To the complaint still frequently made that the business capacity of the nation is not fully utilized by the government, Dr. Shad-

well, they have no superiors in their own lines of industry. As an instance, Dr. Shadwell refers to the Bombay and Burmah Trading Company, said to be the largest trading concern in existence, one of its incidental assets being a herd of trained elephants valued at \$20,000,000. Yet the manager of this great business is content to occupy an assistant's seat in a sub-office of the Supply Department at Whitehall.

Woman's Interests and Conditions as Affected by the War

An article on "War Relief and War Service," by Mrs. M. G. Fawcett, in the *Quarterly Review* (London), shows how Great Britain's civilian population has contributed in various ways to the nation's efficiency. In particular, the article points out that woman's professional and industrial status has been altered more or less permanently by

the demands of the hour, and that her capacity in many lines of effort is now recognized as never before.

In the new work in which women have been engaged they have shown a high degree of industrial efficiency, not merely in the mechanical feeding of automatic machines, but in work which requires technical skill of a high order. Mrs. Fawcett quotes from the well-known technical journal, *The Engineer*, a paragraph offering proof that women can and do require a high standard of skill and efficiency:

We need only mention one case, but it will appeal to every mechanical engineer.

In a certain screwing operation it was customary, before the employment of women to rough the thread out with the tool and then to finish it off with taps. Some trouble having arisen owing to the wearing of the taps, the women of their own initiative did away with the second operation and are now accurately chasing the threads to gauge with the tool alone. This is work of which any mechanic



MRS. MAURICE HEWLETT

(The wife of the distinguished novelist has become one of the busiest aeroplane-builders in England. She first won her pilot's certificate, driving machines in France and England, and then turned her attention to their manufacture)

might feel proud. . . . In fact it may be stated with absolute truth that women have shown themselves perfectly capable of performing operations which hitherto have been exclusively carried out by men.

It is not likely that after this experience of women's industrial efficiency they will be excluded from the skilled trades after the war. The practical problem will be to raise their industrial status without lowering the industrial status of men. Mrs. Fawcett laments the fact that at present women have not only been excluded from what are known as men's trades, but also in a large degree from what are universally recognized as women's trades, such as catering,

housecleaning, and cooking. The disgraceful waste which has characterized the administration of the training camps for soldiers is largely attributed by Mrs. Fawcett to the fact that "women have not been put to do their own job."

CANADA'S GAINS FROM THE WAR

IN spite of the heavy losses already sustained by Canada, because of her part in the great war, Canadian writers and editors are still optimistic and like to dwell on the gains that they think the war will bring to them, while they look upon the losses as temporary.

In the *Canadian Magazine*, Mr. C. Lintern Sibley summarizes "Canada's Mighty Gains from the War." One point brought out in his article is, that Canada's manufacturing development has proceeded far more rapidly than is commonly understood. Canada has not been an exporter of manufactured goods, for the simple reason that her workshops have been occupied in meeting the demands of her farming activities. The equipment of her transcontinental trunk railroads has also largely absorbed her attention, but since the war began Canada's energy has been largely directed to the sup-

plying of munitions for the European campaign, and it is believed in Canada that the machinery erected for this purpose will in later years help to meet the world's demands after Germany, "the great price-cutter of the nations," is put out of the running. This is Mr. Sibley's view of Canada's export opportunity:

Do we realize the possibilities of the new conditions? Are our Government and our industrial and commercial leaders alive to the opportunities? Because if we are to reap the full benefits of the new era which the war is opening for us, we must begin now to prepare for the great world-trade that will be open to us. Already overseas friends are knocking at our doors. India has sent inquiries for manufactures of metal. Australasia is looking for an extension of reciprocal trading. Russia is ready to extend in her enormous empire the trade we have begun with her. The end of the war will see for Canada big opportunities in friendly markets that would not have come but for the war.



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FINANCIAL MAGNATES AS PRIVATES IN THE CANADIAN ARMY

This writer suggests that, apart from trade, Canada will benefit from the lessons of the war. The stern education of the times has shown the Dominion that unity is essential for her future:

Coming to larger issues, perhaps the outstanding consideration is the remarkable revelation which the war has caused of the strategic importance of Canada in the British Empire. Canada has often been spoken of as the granary of the British Empire, but never before has it been

brought home so vividly to the people of Great Britain as it has been by the supply of foodstuffs which has poured out in such an unending flood from Canada to the Old Country since the war began. Then there is the dominant position which Canada gives as a base for sea power, and last, but not least, the importance of the Canadian nation as the connecting link between Great Britain and the great English-speaking nation to the south of us. These considerations will compel a still more intimate interest in furthering Canadian development on the part of the capitalists in the heart of the Empire.

"THE TRUE AUSTRIAN DANGER"

A VERY remarkable political forecast, left unsigned with a significant prudence, appears in *Le Correspondant* (Paris) for January 10, under the title quoted above. The anonymous author of this striking article declares boldly that Germany realizes that her scheme of military conquest cannot be achieved, and that she is already planning a more subtle form of European domination by means of a *Zollverein* or Customs League cementing the Central European States. The consent of Austria is to be gained by the proffer of a third crown to her Emperor-King, that of the new kingdom of Poland, which Germany contemplates forming from the Polish territory conquered from Russia. The author

believes further that Hungary will sanction this for private reasons of her own.

The writer analyzes this alleged political scheme in detail and expresses his conviction that it constitutes a menace to the rest of Europe greater than that actually faced in the momentous struggle now taking place.

A double current is making itself felt in Germany at the present moment. On the one hand there is the desire to see peace concluded, and on the other hand there is the will to create a new Germany, stronger than that of 1914, under the vague enough title of "Middle Europe."

These two tendencies, perfectly convergent, constitute for the Allies a danger which cannot be sufficiently denounced. It is certain that the Germans, well understood and that they will never succeed in crushing the Allies, they need

therefore to find some dream of compensation for their dream of hegemony.

Such compensation would be attained, in their eyes, by the adjunction of Austria-Hungary to the political system of the Hohenzollerns. Different articles in the press, notably these of the too celebrated Dr. Friedjung, as well as a book by Dr. Friedrich Navemann,—a book which has had an enormous success,—make sufficiently clear to those who know the Germany and the Austria-Hungary of to-day the precise nature of the new concept of world domination which governs the German mind. . . .

The fact is of a capital gravity. If Germany obtains "her peace," even if she benevolently renders liberty to Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine to France, and colonies or zones of influence to England and Russia, but forms the *Zollverein*, the customs union with Austria-Hungary, we shall shortly be confronted with a power far more formidable than that which in 1914 dared to attack the whole of Europe, a state whose frontiers would run from the North Sea to the Adriatic, from the sands of Poland to the Rhine, from the Rumanian forests to Holland.

The writer affirms that such a state is already in process of formation under the significant title of Middle or Central Europe, and that the romantic dream of a Germanic Holy Empire has given place in Germany to a spirit which is "positive, commercial, almost American." He points out that Germany has already begun to dominate her ally.

Her superiority in interior organization is manifest. Humiliated Austria is forced to have recourse to her in everything. Germany commences henceforth to dominate her ally. She imposes upon her her generals, her formations; she extorts provisions to such an extent that last winter Vienna lacked the products derived from Austro-Hungarian land, while Berlin was able to lower their price. But Germany has delivered Vienna from the haunting fear of a Russian invasion. . . . In close collaboration with German troops, under the command of German generals, the army has been successful in the offensive against the Russians.

The writer declares that the reward exacted by Germany for these services is the proposed *Zollverein*.

Timidly at first the press speaks of an accord in the customs tariff of the two countries; but very soon it becomes a question of a customs union. The extraordinary thing is that such a proposition has had an excellent reception in Austria. She has forgotten everything. She no longer remembers the *Zollverein* of other times, the prelude to the absorption by Prussia of the small German states. . . . Yet she cannot be ignorant that, merely as an economic matter, such a measure would place her industry and her commerce at the mercy of the industry and commerce of Germany, better organized, better furnished, with outlets far vaster. The oft-repeated dogmas of *Weltpolitik* (world politics), of great

states united in federation for the great world struggle, for *Welthandel* (world commerce), have done their work here too.

This new theory, the issue of the maximum "do everything on the big scale," is fatally certain to give to Germany, united to Austria, an economic predominance,—the preface to a military domination which would surpass in amplitude all anterior German plans.

In such a state of affairs, says the author, it would be not merely the small states which would suffer in the economic struggle of nations, but even the great powers would not be able to hold their own without forming formidable coalitions, new United States. To lull the fears of Austria her autonomy and government would at first be scrupulously respected, but eventually her history would be that of Bavaria.

The repercussion of such a policy on France and on Europe would be incalculable. From the time of Louis XIV until the epoch of Prussian hegemony Germany was divided and weak. . . . It was only too often repeated that the difference of race and religion would prevent these states from allowing themselves to be fully assimilated by Prussia. The present war proves the contrary. The union of Austria and Germany, economic at first, would have the same results. Neither race nor religion would prevent fusion. For the moment only the customs union is being agitated, but when the monarchy had been sufficiently mined by German propaganda and closely bound by German industry and commerce, when the Austrians had lost faith in their own strength and perceived that it was too late to broach a struggle against their tyrannic ally, Germany would discover,—if she has not already discovered,—a new process for swallowing the country.

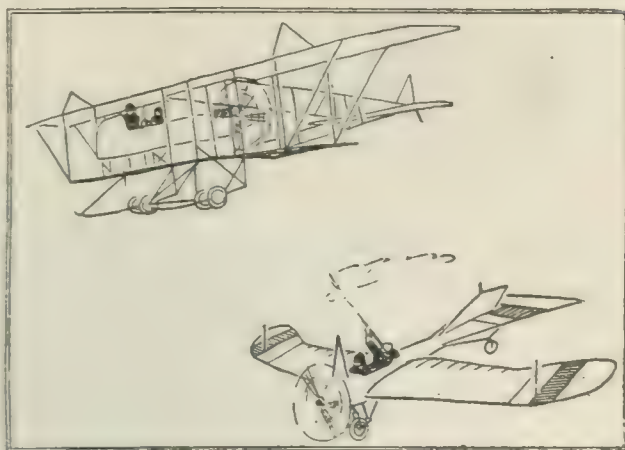
Thus we shall find reared before our faces this formidable Austro-German wall, cutting Europe into two portions. When that day comes we shall bitterly regret having allowed the absorption of Austria-Hungary by Germany.

In his concluding paragraphs the writer remarks suggestively:

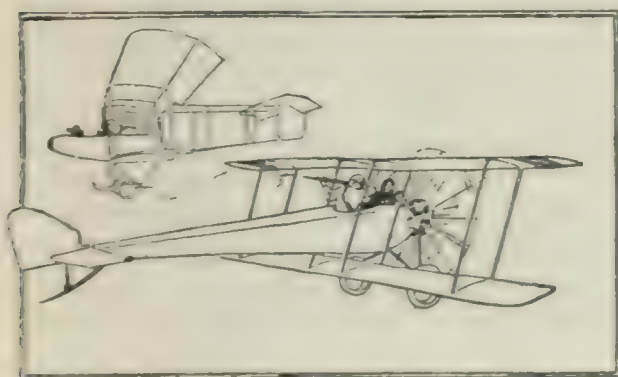
As we have seen, the Prussian system does not lack amplitude. Austria-Hungary, tightly bound at first by the Customs League, would fall sooner or later under the direct domination of the Hohenzollerns. Serbia, Bulgaria, united to the Central Empires, would open the road to German extension in the Orient. Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, then, very far on the horizon,—but not too far to be dreamed of,—the Indias. What a marvelous perspective open to German commercial and military activity! But if Austria resists, if she refuses the *Zollverein*, all is compromised. Let us not forget that she holds the key of the Orient. Without her, Germany, crowded back to its limits, closely watched by the Allies, will have lost all. . . . To save Austria from German domination is to save Europe from the menacing vision of a Germany extending from Kiel to Constantinople.

FIGHTING TACTICS IN THE AIR

AT the beginning of the great war, fighting in the air was a new science. Aviators knew little about how to take care of themselves in this new form of warfare, or how best to attack opponents. In the limited use of aeroplanes in previous wars, there had been no actual fighting. Eighteen months of experience, however, in actual warfare, with thousands of aeroplanes in daily use, has helped to develop the tactics of aerial fighting. Certain definite methods have been evolved and are adhered to when possible by opposing antagonists, although it is true that



ATTACKING A STRONGER ADVERSARY FROM BELOW, —A POSITION IN WHICH THE BIPLANE IS SERIOUSLY HANDICAPPED, ITS PILOT BEING UNABLE TO SEE THE ENEMY



THE MOST COMMON SITUATION.—TWO AVIATORS PASS EACH OTHER AT HIGH SPEED IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS

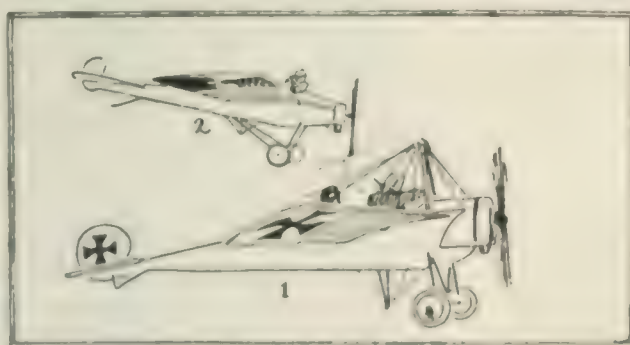
such tactics are subject to modification according to new developments in machines and the individual brilliance and initiative of the aviator.

After nearly two years of active service, veteran aviators,—says a writer in the *Automobil-Revue*, of Berne (Switzerland),—have, however, succeeded in laying down some fundamental rules to be followed in the situations more frequently confronting an aviator.

There are about half a dozen situations

in which the opposing machines usually find themselves: (1) passing each other in opposite directions, with the enemy to the left; (2) flying parallel; (3) when a weaker but faster machine seeks safety in flight; (4) when rising above the hostile machine; (5) when dropping below to a position where the plane of the enemy aeroplane shuts off the view of its pilot; and (6) a circling attack of three or more machines upon a single craft.

In the first situation, where the opposing machines pass each other, the advantage of having your opponent on the left lies in the fact that it is easier to turn to aim a rifle to the left. If, however, the fighting passenger



OF THE TWO PLANE NO. 1 HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF SHOOTING TO THE LEFT



A WEAKER BIPLANE ATTACKING A FIGHTER FROM BELOW, —A POSITION IN WHICH THE PILOT IS SERIOUSLY HANDICAPPED, HIS VIEW OF THE ENEMY BEING UNABLE TO SEE THE ENEMY

happens to be a left handed shooter, he can surprise his antagonist by taking a position to his left and shooting towards the right. This element of right and left position is still more important when the aviators are flying parallel. Then the man passing his opponent to the right has him at a disadvantage, for he can shoot to the left, while his opponent must aim toward the right. The parallel flight usually comes as the result of the pass

suit in which the faster machine overhauls the slower, choosing its own position and altitude. Should the pursued aviator learn that his machine is slower than his opponents, he can then resort to a sudden drop, and endeavor to shoot his adversary from below. In this position, he would be protected in a measure by the wing of the opposing machine.

Weather conditions sometimes affect the struggle in the air. For instance, the pursued aviator, by flying directly towards the sun, may compel his pursuer to look directly into its blinding glare in order to locate his prey. Often, too, a cloud may providentially appear and serve to envelop a hotly-pressed scout. Another trick that may serve a good purpose when being pursued is to slow down quickly, causing the enemy machine to pass by at high speed. The slowing down process, however, must be accompanied by a simultaneous drop, otherwise the machine would naturally offer an easier target.

Enormous air-pressure at high speed in the air makes it difficult to hold and aim a rifle. Aeroplanes not fitted with regular machine

guns have, therefore, several pivots attached to their sides into which the rifle is set, these pivots permitting a certain restricted arc of fire. In order to fire beyond this arc, the rifle must be changed from one pivot to another, a process which is not made easier by a speed of seventy or eighty miles an hour. Aiming at an aeroplane going at this speed is in itself difficult. To make a hit is far more so. With a distance of, say, 500 feet between machines, allowance must be made for their relative speed, and the fraction of time required by the bullet for its flight. To make anything like an accurate guess under these conditions is far from being easy of accomplishment, and a hit is largely a matter of chance.

The fundamental rules evolved in aerial warfare are not, of course, monopolized by any one of the belligerents, nor do they apply to any particular machine. They are simply the result of the practical experience of the aviators on all sides, and will doubtless be added to considerably as the war goes on and experience in the use of the aerial arm continues.

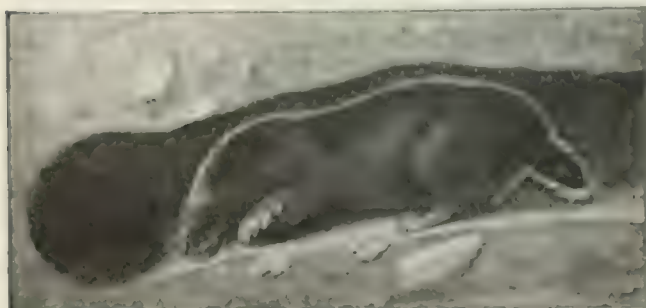
ANIMALS THAT LIVE IN TRENCHES

NOW that so large a part of civilized humanity has reverted temporarily to the domestic habits as well as the primitive ferocity of our ancestors, the cave-men and cliff-dwellers, it is interesting to note the analogies between the modern trenches built for defensive warfare and the burrow and underground tunnels constructed by various animals as refuges and homes. M. Henri Coupin has an article on this subject in a late number of *La Nature* (Paris). He calls our attention to the fact that the highest as well as the lowest orders of animals construct such earthworks, for there are numerous examples among mammals and birds as well as among spiders and insects.

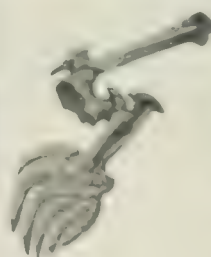
One of the best known earth-dwelling

mammals is the common mole, whose delicate fur has of late years become an important article of commerce, and whose French name, *taupe*, has entered the English language as a synonym of its soft neutral color.

Moles are past masters of the art of excavating the soil and disappearing from view. They are aided in their underground road-making by their large fore-paws, provided with powerful claws, which serve at once for picks, shovels, and rakes. If one of them be extracted from his retreat and placed on the ground, it digs its way under so rapidly that it disappears in the twinkling of an eye, and then establishes a system of subterranean canals in comparison with which the "bowels" of our enemies' trenches are but playthings. To try to pursue it among them is a very difficult affair, and only an experienced mole-digger can succeed at it.



THE MOLE IN HIS TUNNEL HIS BONY PAW



Besides its tunnels the moles establish at certain points "dungeons" which serve as general living quarters. In the interior of the dungeon is a rounded chamber which serves for a resting-place. This is four or

five inches in diameter. It is surrounded by two circular concentric conduits or galleries. Of these the external one is arranged on the same plane as the rest-chamber, from which it is from seven to twelve inches distant, while the one inside is at a higher level. From the inner room three passages run obliquely upward, opening into the inner circular gallery, which is connected with the outer gallery by five or six descending passages alternating with the first ones. From this outer gallery run eight or ten diverging passages running in every direction but curving to enter the principal tunnel. A safety passage descends from the interior chamber, then curves upward and opens into an air-passage or chimney. The walls of this elaborate earth-citadel are thick, smooth, and well packed. In the chamber is a soft bed of leaves, grass, rootlets, etc., mostly brought from the outside by the little creature to make itself comfortable.

Other well-known burrowing animals are the fox, rabbit, and badger. The first of these digs or steals a deep chamber, whose ramifications end in a large *cul-de-sac*.

The chambers are arranged around the principal burrow which is three meters deep (over three yards), with a perimeter of from fifteen to twenty meters and a dungeon of one meter in depth. The galleries communicate with each other by transverse passages and have divers openings to serve in case of flight.

The badger also seeks safety in an almost subterranean life. . . . Its strength enables it to dig with surprising rapidity. In a few minutes it is completely buried. Its vigorous fore-paws, whose digits are completely united and armed with solid claws, are a great help; its hind feet help it to throw out earth; but when the work is too advanced it proceeds backward, thus sweeping all the earth outwards. Of all

the animals which dwell in burrows the badger builds the largest and takes most precautions. The tunnels are seven to ten meters long, and their openings are some thirty paces apart. The dungeon extends a meter and a half under ground; if it is on a steep slope this depth sometimes reaches four or five meters, but in this case there are usually ventilating tunnels which open vertically.

Other mammals which build similar homes are the rabbit, marmoset, prairie dog, and ground-squirrel, as well as the "fenec" fox of Northern Africa, and the ornithorynchus. It is more surprising to find such frail and air-loving creatures as birds building earthworks for their homes, yet the common cliff-swallow performs an immense work with apparent ease.

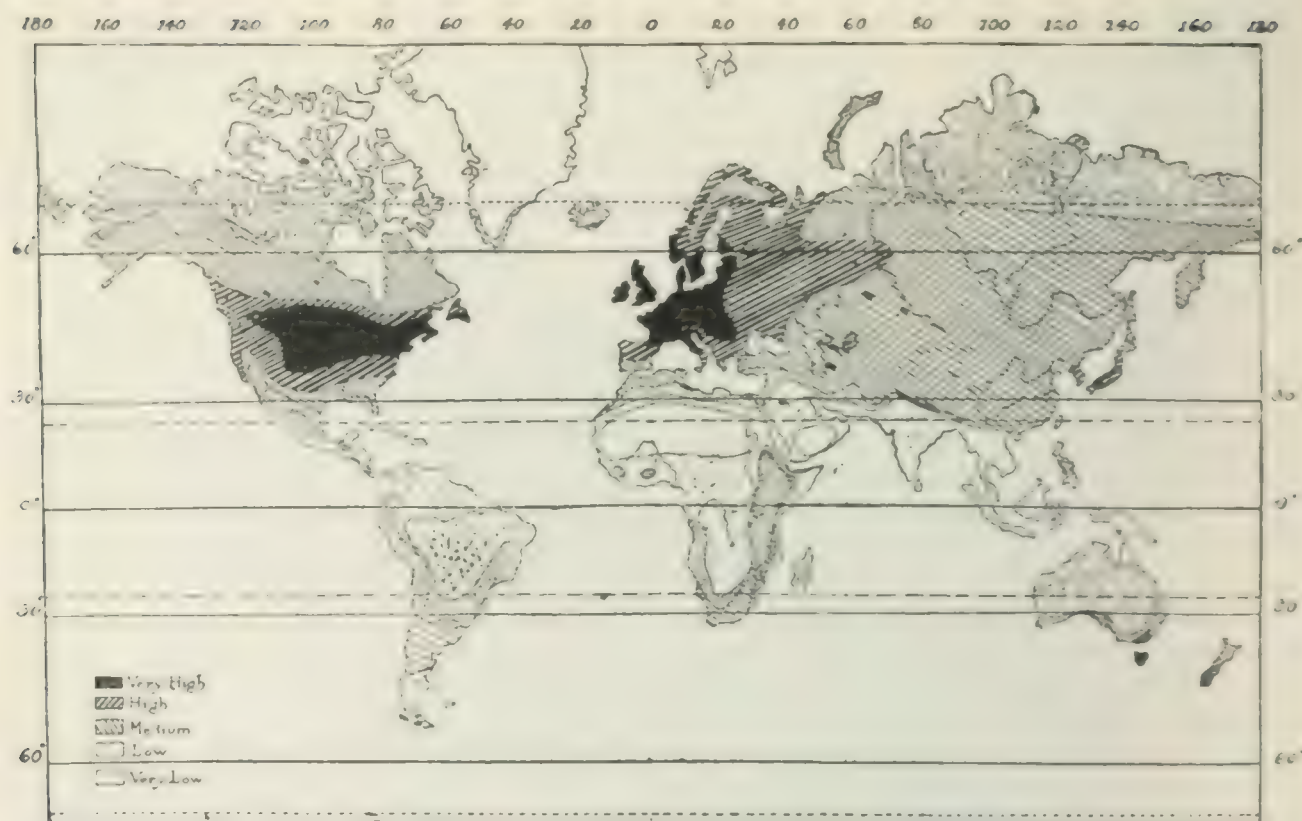
In two or three days a pair will dig a cavity five to eight centimeters at the entrance, still more spacious at the bottom, and opening into a gallery one or even two meters long. At this time the activity of these birds is almost prodigious. . . . Very curious too is another bird, the *Geositta*, called by the Spanish the *Carita* or little mason, which nests at the end of a narrow burrow extending horizontally to a distance of two meters. . . . Darwin writes: The bird chooses to build its residence on a little slope on firm though sandy soil, on the edge of a road or stream. Here (*in Bahia blanca*) the walls are made of earth. I noticed that those which surrounded the house where I lived were pierced in many places with round holes. . . . I interrogated my landlord on the subject and he complained bitterly of these birds, and later I myself saw them at work. A singular thing is that they seem to have no idea of thickness; else they would not attempt to dig their burrows in clay walls whose dimensions they should know from continually flying around them. I am persuaded that the bird is stupefied when it finds itself suddenly in the daylight after penetrating the wall.

DOES CIVILIZATION DEPEND UPON CLIMATE?

THE books and papers of Dr. Ellsworth Huntington constitute a continued story of breathless interest, which has now been "running" for more than ten years. Their fascination is cumulative. Hence the last book in this series, "Civilization and Climate," is a momentous document. The busy citizen will find this writer's address, "Weather and Civilization," published in the *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* a handy syllabus of the work just mentioned, and the same journal con-

tains an appreciative sketch of Huntington's career by Professor J. Russell Smith.

Dr. Huntington is a geographer, but his conception of geography is a broad one. With equal justice he might be rated an historian, for he has illuminated history by showing how it may be interpreted in terms of man's physical environment. Anthropologist, geologist, climatologist, he has ranged through a broad field, but all for the one purpose of gathering evidence in behalf of a definite hypothesis, which may be thus epitomized:



DISTRIBUTION OF HUMAN ENERGY ON THE BASIS OF CLIMATE

The climate of any given region of the globe is subject to fluctuations having periods of from one to several centuries. Human affairs are vastly influenced by climate. Hence climatic fluctuations are one of the capital factors in history. Last but not least, climate explains, in a large measure, the existing distribution of civilization and human efficiency, and needs to be reckoned with more consciously than it has been heretofore in the economic and political arrangements of mankind. In the *Bulletin* article just mentioned the author says:

We have impressions about good climates and bad, and we are quite sure that tropical people are inefficient largely because of their climate. Yet how much do we know of the ideal climate? At what season of the year do we work most rapidly or most slowly? Are we most competent on clear days, cloudy days, or rainy days? Do the mind and the body respond to the weather in the same way?

To find out the real effect of climate we need accurate statistical tests. It is not safe, however, to base our judgment merely on comparisons between people who live in different parts of the world. The differences thus found may be due to many things beside climate. They may arise from race, food, religion, social environment, and many other causes. The only safe procedure seems to be to compare people with themselves at different seasons in a variable climate. For this purpose I have taken nearly fifteen thousand people distributed from Connecticut and Pennsylvania on the North to Florida on the South. About thirteen thousand were factory operatives who were doing piece work, and whose wages depend entirely on their own feelings.

About 1600 of Dr. Huntington's subjects were students at West Point and Annapolis, whose daily marks were examined to see whether they varied according to the weather or season. The results of these investigations showed a striking dependence of both physical and mental efficiency upon three weather elements; viz., mean temperature, variability of temperature (*i. e.*, the changes from day to day), and humidity. The curves by which the author has exhibited these relations are full of surprises. For example, it appears that our efficiency is not, as commonly supposed, at its lowest in midsummer, but in midwinter, while we are most efficient in October and November. The dependence of human energy upon temperature is scarcely less intimate than that of the activities of the vegetable kingdom upon the same element! Temperature variability depends especially upon the passage of cyclonic storms, and this stimulating element of climate is, accordingly, at its maximum in the regions where such disturbances are most frequent; viz., the northeastern part of the United States and northwestern Europe.

The work of factory operatives from Connecticut to Florida and of students at West Point and Annapolis shows that when to-day's temperature is the same as yesterday's people tend to work slowly, while if there is a change they work faster. Of course the change may be too extreme, but that occurs only occasionally. With ordinary changes a rise in temperature, taking the year as a whole, is somewhat stimulative, while a drop

of from four to ten degrees causes people to work faster than at any other time. This means that each of the storms which pass over us gives a distinct impetus and makes us work faster.

People work best with high humidity in winter, while in the spring a relative humidity of about 75 per cent. and in summer about 65 per cent. is best. The surprising thing is that when the air is dry people's energy declines at all seasons. Apparently this is one of the great reasons why our power to work falls off so badly in winter in spite of the fact that we protect ourselves from the outside air by means of our heated houses. Within our houses the winter air is extraordinarily dry, worse than any except the most extreme deserts. This parches the mucous membranes and renders them sensitive. It appears not only to have a direct effect upon our capacity for work, but also to make us sensitive to colds. Thus dryness is one of the most important causes of disease and of our high winter mortality. If we could devise means to make the air in our houses, office, schools, and factories more moist in winter, we should help ourselves immensely. At the same time we should save fuel, for it would not be necessary to have the houses so warm.

With the information thus acquired as to the actual effects of atmospheric conditions upon man, the author proceeds to compare the geographical distribution of climates with that of "civilization." He publishes two charts, one of which (here reproduced) shows

how "climatic energy" would be distributed over the world if all people were influenced by weather in the same way as the subjects of the author's experiments. The other shows the distribution of civilization as determined from the opinions of a large number of geographers, ethnologists, and others, of various nationalities, whose collaboration was sought by the author in connection with this unique inquiry. The two charts are strikingly similar.

Civilization and climatic energy appear to go hand in hand. This suggests the far-reaching hypothesis that a stimulating climate is an essential condition of civilization. Doubtless there are several other equally important conditions. Only a race of high mental capacity can be expected to rise high. Only a race which develops great institutions and which has high standards of education, morals, and religion can reach the highest levels.

In considering this hypothesis one at once inquires about the past. Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, and other great civilizations grew up in regions where the climatic energy is low. The wonderful Maya civilization in Central America made its growth in what is now one of the worst climatic regions of the globe. Do not these things prove that a stimulating climate is by no means essential to civilization? The answer lies in a study of the climate of the past.

NEW YORK'S HEALTH INSURANCE PROJECT

A FAVORITE delusion of the American people is that they are less conservative than the citizens of the Old World. If just the reverse were not the case, we should not, as we do, repeatedly behold great social reforms pass through their experimental stages in Europe and await adoption in this country until we are in a position to profit by, and avoid, the mistakes of our European cousins.

In that time, which now seems so long ago, when Great Britain was at peace abroad while convulsed with several varieties of strife at home, one of her severe trials was getting adjusted to a far-reaching scheme of compulsory sickness insurance,—or, as certain advocates of this form of philanthropy prefer to call it, "health insurance," a term that emphasizes the scope it is designed to give to the methods of preventive medicine. The British Insurance Act, adopted at the close of 1911, went into operation in January, 1913, after the almost unanimous opposition of the British medical profession had been effectually broken down. The lack of tact on the part of the government and the

misconceptions on the part of the medical fraternity which were jointly responsible for this period of strife furnish an object lesson by which the legislators of the State of New York will be able to profit in dealing with a bill introduced by Senator Ogden Mills on January 24. The *New York Times*, in an illuminating discussion of this bill, says:

Although its promoters, members of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation, have been working on the project for more than three years and have distributed over 13,000 copies of the tentative bill, the plan comes as a surprise to many people, and a wave of inquiry is sweeping through associations of employers. The underwriters of casualty policies are also summoned in sudden council, and physicians whose fortunes might be affected are manifesting grave concern.

"Paternalism," "socialism," are slogans of the foes of this measure, which is bound to arouse discussion in every direction. It means in general terms an effort to introduce into the United States the compulsory health insurance of Great Britain or the sickness insurance of Germany, so that every manual worker and every wage-earner whose income does not exceed \$1000 a month will, when he becomes ill, have the services of a phys-

cian, attendance, and even medicine and surgical appliances, and that for at least half a year, if his disability continues, he will receive a weekly allowance for the support of himself and his family. Death and funeral benefits are included.

The association which is pushing this project through the instrumentality of a committee of earnest and influential men believes that if it becomes law in New York, all the other States of the Union will ultimately adopt similar measures. Workmen's compensation acts now in force in New York and elsewhere may be regarded as paving the way to this more sweeping enactment.

One-fifth of the expenses of maintaining the compulsory insurance plan is to be borne by the State, which would supervise its administration, and the balance is to be shared equally by employer and employee.

The committee has been busily engaged since 1912 in gathering information bearing on the proposed law, this investigation including first-hand observation of the workings of similar schemes in Great Britain and Germany.

The social aspect of bodily ills in this country escaped serious attention until statisticians discovered that every one of the nation's 30,000,000 wage-earners loses approximately nine days from illness every year, that the cost of their medical treatment is \$180,000,000 annually, and that \$500,000,000 expresses the resultant loss in wages.

As wage studies reveal, says the committee, that the savings of many workingmen are inadequate to meet the burden of medical care, it is necessary to prevent illness as much as possible, and to distribute the cost of it so that it will not

produce poverty and dependence. The New York Charity Organization Society reports that 75 per cent. of the applications made to it for aid are due to losses incurred by illness.

It is the committee's belief that the burden can be greatly lightened, and important economies effected, by distributing the cost of human ills among workmen, employers, and the State. It maintains that its insurance system, seemingly radical at first glance, will reduce its own cost by preventing illness, and will thereby improve the health of the American people.

And this brings one to the status of the medical profession. Will the fortunes of the doctors rise or fall under the proposed regime? In spite of the theoretical indorsement which the scheme has received from various medical organizations, many general practitioners are disturbed. The measure, if adopted, will, it is assumed, tend more and more to make the physician a servant of the State rather than the possessor of a comfortable private practice or possibly a precarious one.

However, Dr. M. M. Davis, of Boston, who has discussed the physician's point of view on this subject in the *New York Medical Record*, finds the experience of British medical men extremely encouraging.

Despite the fact that physicians felt that their calling would be imperiled, Dr. Davis declares that their average income has increased from \$750 a year to \$2000. This is due to the fact, he says, that, although the fees charged average \$2 each, all are collected, because back of the organizations is the power of the state.

At the same time it is regarded as carrying the profession a step further into the realm of preventive medicine, now proclaimed as new, although the Chinese long ago decided that the physician should be paid for keeping man well rather than for ministering to him when sickness befell.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF AMERICAN LITERARY CRITICISM

IT has been said that there is no American literary criticism worthy of the name, that we are unable to recognize and appraise what our literature achieves, and that, therefore, our "standard of literary values rests upon sand." Mr. Edward Garnett, writing in the February issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, endeavors to explain the reasons why our criticism is considered worthless, or of such fluctuating values that no dependence can be placed upon it as a guide to a correct estimate of American literature.

Mr. Garnett does not exalt English methods or English standards, but he thinks the Englishman is less liable to believe in shams, because of his centuries of practicality and

independence in artistic judgment; also that the press in general in England has preserved a certain catholicity of taste from its long traditions of critical integrity, and that it takes pride in keeping the fires of pure intellectuality burning brightly. Criticism in England keeps a certain level of excellence; in America, while there are admirable bits here and there in various daily papers, weekly and monthly journals, the truth is often drowned in "the great flood tide of mediocrity sweeping past. And the rank and file of reviewers in the daily press (with honorable exceptions) remind one of the triumphant Ephraimites at the passage of the Jordan."

If an unorthodox artist, or poet or novelist who would pass over with his work does not frame the four great shibboleths aright, he and his book are banned and cast in derision on the rocks. These four shibboleths, tests for literary righteousness, which taken together appear to exercise the tyranny of a great superstition over the modern American imagination, might perhaps be classified as (a) the commercial-success shibboleth; (b) the moral shibboleth; (c) the idealistic or sentimental shibboleth; (d) the optimistic shibboleth.

Why is it that the American mind as represented by its literature is so prone to accept conventional, stereotyped valuations in place of first-hand, fearless analyses? The peculiar vice of commercialized civilization, and especially Americanized civilization, lies in the association of what is useful and profitable materially with what is mean and ugly spiritually and esthetically. The sin of ugliness is predominant in the cities. It is reflected in the mental atmosphere of the newspapers, with their unending stream of drab or sensationally colored reports of life's multitudinous happenings. The ordinary man who eagerly accepts his newspaper's superficial commentaries and its jumbled scrawls and transcripts of news, served up at lightning pressure by the pressmen on the trail, does not ask that these reports shall be palpably idealized, or moralized, or grossly conventionalized. But when the poet—Whitman yesterday, or Mr. Robert Frost to-day—shows us the essential beauty or force of life, working in the familiar scene, in the characteristic human impulse, the American reviewer applies instinctively his shibboleths: Is this piece of literature commercially profitable? Is it morally useful? Is it idealistically watertight? Is it happy in its ending?

Mr. Garnett finds that this is the attitude of sundry critics who do not like to face truth, and this weakness reacts and upsets the scale of literary judgment. We grow confused before facts; our faith is disturbed; we try to think that life must be not as it is, but as we would like to have it, and our criticism is affected by our personal experiences and standards of life.

Similarly the Puritan's confused fear of sensuous beauty, and his desperate shutting of the eyes to the interdependence of body and soul, of flesh and spirit, is a sign of his own weakness, of his lack of truthfulness. In such an atmosphere of make believe there is and can be neither real art nor real beauty, dominated as it is by consideration of utility and material profit and ideals, and divorced as it is from mental sincerity and the beauty of truth.

Concerning our treatment of fiction, we are decidedly in error in ranking all kinds of fiction apparently in the same category. For instance, one might write a criticism of a novel by Mr. W. D. Howells, and a novel by Ernest Poole, and one by Theodore Dreiser and mislead the reader if we did not state that Mr. Howells' work, character-

ized by a rare quality of vision, artistic power, subtlety, and a unique quality all his own, to use Mr. Garnett's words, was in category (a); and that the work of Mr. Poole and Mr. Dreiser which we welcome for many admirable characteristics combined with great creative imagination is in category (b).

In recapitulating his theory of criticism in general, Mr. Garnett writes:

To recapitulate: as regards fiction and poetry no subject or theme is outside the pale of art. The literary artist is known by the spirit of his treatment; and fresh beauties, fresh forces are generated in a greater or lesser degree by the work of creative spirits.

It is by this unique temperamental quality, something peculiar to himself as expressed in the fresh intensity, power, or charm of his imagination and insight, that we assess the rank of a literary artist.

It is from the perception of the significant relations of the living parts to the general scheme of nature and life that new pieces of art are continually being born.

Any conventional valuations, social or moral, as to what is "good," "beautiful," or "useful," or any stereotyped academic or esthetic formulas are necessarily inimical to the powers of art.

In mediocre art the public sees its own face as in a glass, and loves to see mirrored back to it its own familiar features.

The critic may aim at showing what significant light a piece of indifferent or bad art may cast on the life of society, but his main object is, first to lend an attentive ear to what a literary artist is telling us, and then to make clear anything false, commonplace, or weak in his outlook or treatment, and to hail any elements of original power or beauty.

In the face of his impressions as to our shortcomings in the matter of criticism, he encourages us to believe in the future of American literature, that is, provided that our native critics do not smother it with their untruthful, inartistic criticism.

Let me say here, that I believe firmly that American literature will count many great, original achievements within a couple of generations. All the pith and sap of a great literature are there, now inchoate in the social body, a ferment of spiritual force which sooner or later must burst into flower. The blend of buoyancy and gravity in the American temperament, of rare audacity and questioning conscientiousness, enriched by the foreign ingredients lavishly cast for generations into the national melting-pot, will find expression by and by in multiple free-running springs of original genius, in works of conquering vigor and triumphant energy. But American critics, in their aim of hailing and supporting a native American literature, must make a continuous and sustained effort to penetrate the blank, rolling mist of conventional valuations, which ever threatens to veil and smother the works of original power and beauty.

AN ITALIAN TRIBUTE TO SALVINI

A SYMPATHETIC tribute to Italy's of impersonating the "David" of Alfieri's greatest tragedian, Tommaso Salvini, play. Of this the writer relates the following incident:

who died on January 1, 1916, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, appears in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) from the pen of his friend, Signor Gattesco Gatteschi. In the writer's brief notice he can only touch lightly, here and there, upon some salient point or characteristic episode of Salvini's long and honorable career. First and foremost, he impresses

us with the conviction that the actor's personality in real life was no less noble and generous than that he so often revealed upon the stage. His warm appreciation of the excellence of the modern school of actors and playwrights, his devotion and loyalty to his family and his undying love of his art, are illustrated by a number of intimate reminiscences.

While in the interpretation of the masterpieces of dramatic art Salvini always sought, by careful and prolonged study, to seize the meaning of the poet, and to assimilate his conception of the character, he possessed in an unusual degree the power to give a distinct form and substance to many characters but indifferently portrayed by their authors. Notable in this respect was his remarkable rendering of the part of "Corrado" in Giacometti's rather conventional play, "La Morte Civile," where the never-failing applause of the audience was almost exclusively due to the constructive power of the actor.

Salvini's impersonation of "Saul" in Alfieri's Biblical tragedy was second only to his peerless "Othello," in Signor Gatteschi's opinion. This part was a favorite one in his ripe manhood. In the closing years of his artistic career, however, when already past his seventieth year, he conceived the design

A few evenings before the representation, Salvini invited myself and Florizel, the dramatic critic of the *Livorno*, to dine with him at his home. After dessert and before beginning to sip our coffee, he recited to us the entire role of the Hebrew hero pursued by the hatred of his king. Rarely in my life have I enjoyed an intellectual

treat equal to that of hearing his melodious and clearly discriminating rendering of Alfieri's noble lines.

But when the recital was over, and our coffee finished, we rose from the table, our host, whose voice had retained all its freshness and beauty, but whose limbs were heavy with age, was forced to make a considerable effort to get on his feet, breathing heavily the while, and with hands firmly pressed down on the arms of his chair. Involuntarily I exchanged glances with my friend, and our looks signified: How will he manage, as David, to rise from his knees on the stage?

However, on the night of the representation, under the powerful inspiration of his art, his youthful vigor returned to him and he moved as freely as when in the early days of his career, his declamation of the

lines of "Egisto" in the Italian version of Voltaire's "Mérope" had drawn from his master, Gustavo Modena, the prophetic words: "He seems expressly fitted to realize one day Alfieri's ideal of 'David'."

As is commonly the case with those whose life has been exceptionally prolonged, Salvini was spared a painful death, something his highly keyed sensibility had much dreaded. In marked contrast to what is popularly supposed to be the histrionic temperament, one of his last requests was that his funeral ceremonies should be severely plain. . . . On a bronze sarcophagus made under his own direction, and placed some years ago in the beautiful cemetery on the hill of San Miniato, overlooking Florence, he had this concise inscription engraved:

T. SALVINI ATTORE
SECOLO XIX



TOMMASO SALVINI

GERMAN-AMERICANS AND GERMAN LITERATURE

AN eminently fair statement of the relation of the German-American to the "Kultur" of his native land appears in the last number of the German-American magazine *Walhalla* (New York). This article, from the pen of Dr. Camillo Von Kleuze, of Providence, a man of long connection with American universities, emphasizes the duties of such citizens both to the native and to the adopted country, rather than unduly glorifying their contributions to American life. Prof. von Kleuze writes as follows:

We German-Americans are alarmingly exposed to the danger of being lacking in culture. A child born in America of German-American parents almost always loses touch with the traditions of German culture without becoming familiar in his home life with Anglo-Saxon cultural values. When he comes in contact later with English literature, in the upper classes of the high school or the college, he is only too often lacking in the background possessed by the child of cultivated American parents. In later life the disadvantages of this are shown by his indifference in general to cultural values as such.

It is in this way that we may, at least in part, explain the circumstance, not very complimentary to ourselves, that we German-Americans have contributed comparatively little to the cultural life of the United States. We all know that the greatest foundations for cultural purposes, (colleges, libraries, collections of pictures; yes, even the great metropolitan orchestras), owe their existence or maintenance to the public-spirited generosity of citizens of Anglo-Saxon or Irish ancestry.

The German-Americans are highly esteemed throughout the whole country as virtuous, industrious, and peaceful citizens, but they play a very small part, considered as a cultural force. Let us not try to meet this reproach with the reply that our Germandom is largely recruited from classes which even at home possessed neither the leisure nor the means to devote themselves to the cultivation of the intellectual life. For we must remember that many of the most eminent patrons of our American cultural life spring from similar classes among the Anglo-Saxon and Irish populations.

These conditions are all the more regrettable and mortifying because the general level of education in Germany stands at a level unmatched elsewhere, and during the last century and a half Germany has contributed more than any other land to the enrichment of the higher life of humanity.

Dr. Von Kleuze here refers to the present war and says that one significant outcome of it has been to bring home to his compatriots the fact that their position as factors in

American life is far from brilliant. He declares that the time has come for them to organize themselves culturally as well as politically and show their fellow citizens that they are something more than patient and diligent beasts of burden. Most important of all, he thinks, is it that they should take measures to rob of its sting the reproach so often heard of late: "The German-American has done next to nothing to enrich American culture." However exaggerated this accusation may be, he admits that it would never have been made had there not been a measure of truth in it.

We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the old home, to which we are indebted for so much, to rid ourselves of this reproach. But we owe it, above all, to the new home, to whose glorious upbuilding we would fain labor with zeal.

For we dare not forget for an instant that the America of the future will be the home of our children and our children's children, and that now the moment has come to make felt as never before our influence in the construction of this home. We are continually hearing it repeated that America is essentially an Anglo-Saxon land, governed by Anglo-Saxon traditions and views of life, and that it is the duty of the foreigner to meekly subject himself to this condition.

Prof. Von Kleuze very justly objects to the idea that the America of the twentieth or twenty-first century should remain essentially Anglo-Saxon. On the contrary, he holds, a new popular soul, or "folk-psyche," is being formed, which we have the right to hope will be deeper and more many-sided.

And shall we German-Americans sit idly with our hands in our laps, and not contribute our share, so that German traditions and German ideals may likewise have their part in the building of the new national American culture? But how can we achieve this when we allow our children to grow up lacking all knowledge of German cultural values? The pressing question, therefore, is: How shall we proceed to guard against this?

The mother tongue is the essential vehicle of culture. The first step, therefore, is to see that the children receive the inherited treasure of the German speech. We can not expect, and need not expect, that the children shall master it completely as a mother-tongue. On the other hand, the ground for the reception of German culture can very well be prepared in early youth by dictating, and later the reading, of the intimate German folktales, the German picture books and German songs. In later years the education of the German nature can be furthered by household readings of Schiller, Goethe, Körner,

Whland, Heine, Storm, Stifter, Ebner-Eschenbach, Isolde Kurz, and for adults Rudolf Herzog, Gottfried Keller, and others.

In this way the German language will not be a burden to the child nor a hindrance in the learning of English as a mother-tongue, but a source of pleasure and stimulation. Probably, too, every German family can take an illustrated journal, such as *Die Woche* or the *Leipziger Illustrierte*, which will keep alive interest in modern German culture.

The author also advises citizens of towns having public libraries to insist on the inclusion of German books, so that adults may keep abreast of German thought. He gives some interesting advice as to these, recommending among novelists such writers as Ricardo Huch, G. Keller, C. F. Meyer, Maria von Ebner-Eschenbach, Wilhelm Raabe, Clara Viebig, Isolde Kurz, Ernst Zahn, Otto Ernst, Thomas Mann, Rudolf Herzog, R. H. Bartsch, and Handel-Mazetti. He makes interesting comments on

Germany's well-known classic writers, as well as on Hebbel, Hauptmann, Treitschke, and Nietzsche, and his closing paragraphs are well worth attention:

This brief sketch of the works of modern German literature can be easily completed by every one who goes deeper into the subject. Scarcely any literature is so rich and many-sided as the German, and it reflects a singularly forceful and poetic folk-character. We must not forget that at present other nations (*das Ausland*) are doing all in their power to lessen its influence as much as possible.

But we in whose veins runs German blood, who bring with us from our very cradles an understanding of the German nature and German thought, should regard ourselves as the guardians in the new world of the German cultural thought. And this not from any assumed superiority to our fellow-citizens, nor from a desire to separate ourselves from them to form a state within a state, but from the conviction that herein consists our contribution to the culture of this country, and that by this contribution we can enrich and deepen American culture.

THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN FOLK-SONG

FOR a period of several years we have had a revival of interest in folk-song in the United States. And while this interest has extended to other countries, it is in this country that it has assumed a definite form, that of organized research in the different States. As we have a very small stock of antique ballads, we have collected Serbian, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, German, French, and Spanish ballads and hunted out those that had drifted across the seas with our forefathers. In 1914, the Bureau of Education in Washington issued a bulletin listing 305 English and Scotch ballads, and urged the school-teachers of the various States to form ballad societies to rescue the vanishing folk-song before they should be utterly forgotten.

An excellent informational article, "Ballads Surviving in the United States," by Prof. C. Alphonso Smith, is published in the current issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (New York). Dr. Smith writes that in the quest for the ballad the Southern States have been most successful. Eight States have made reports on ballads:

Tennessee reports eight as surviving through oral transmission in her borders, Georgia nine, Texas ten, South Carolina thirteen, North Carolina nineteen, Missouri twenty, Kentucky twenty-four, and Virginia thirty-seven. To this list must

be added West Virginia, which, with a folk-lore society founded as late as July, 1915, already reports twelve traditional ballads. With duplicates omitted this makes a total of forty-two traditional ballads in the Southern States out of the seventy-six found in the United States. Nearly half of those reported from the South have been collected in the last two years and seven of them,—viz., "John of Hazlegreen," "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne," "Robin Hood's Death," "Robin Hood and Little John," "Robin Hood and the Tanner," "Robin Hood Rescuing Will Sturley," and "Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,"—have as yet been found nowhere else in the United States. The five ballads most widely distributed in New England are "The Elfin Knight," "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," "Lord Randal," "Bonny Barbara Allen," and "The Gypsy Laddie"; the five most widely found in the South are "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet," "Lord Lovel," "Bonny Barbara Allen," and "The Maid Freed from the Gallows."

Professor Smith calls attention to the fact that our ballad-collecting must be done quickly if we are to do it at all, because illiterate people grow more and more unwilling to admit familiarity with these songs. Then in other instances the sources of our own folk-songs are no longer fertile. The great lumber camps for several generations produced many original ballads that are for the most part completely lost. In the North Woods of New York State fifty years ago,

many "shanties" in the lumber districts held contests in ballad-singing. Each shanty had its particular songs, commemorating incidents of the logging camps or the virtues of the bosses of their respective camps.

In the South, the negro folk-song, which was usually either a chant to accompany monotonous labor or the spontaneous outburst of religious zeal, as in the case of the "spirituals," is vanishing. As the plantations were dismembered and the negro was forced out into individualistic industrial life, the emotional life that found utterance in his songs was galvanized into another form of expression. Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote in his essay on "Negro Spirituals" that he could not discover exactly how these spirituals were composed, whether they grew by accretion, or had a conscious or definite origin in some leading mind. One day when he was being rowed from Beaufort to Ladies Island, the boatman made a confession: "Some good spirituals," he said, "are start jest out o' curiosity. I bin a-raise a sing myself once."

But there will never be a real renaissance of ballad interest in the United States until we realize that the ballad is unique not only in its origin but in its perpetuation. In other words, these ballads that survive are not already made but are still in the making. There is no standard version of any living ballad in the sense in which we speak of the standard version of Gray's "Elegy" or Poe's "Raven." When Gray and Poe died their poems ceased to be malleable material. But as long as a ballad circulates by oral transmission it is always in process of making or re-making. The first version, if we could catch it hot from the lips of the composing throng, would not, through mere priority, be one whit more authentic or authoritative than the latest version, provided the latest version was also the product of the people. Let us think of a ballad as a thought or deed or situation or incident or motif adventuring forth to get itself artistically expressed. The standard version, if one insists on the word, is merely the most adequate incarnation that the wandering concept is fortunate enough to assume; it is the best version, whether made in Great Britain or America, whether the child of the fifteenth or the twentieth century.

British Ballads

In the *English Review* for December, Sir Henry Newhall presents an interesting discussion of British ballads. The article is of especial interest to collectors of American folk-songs, inasmuch as most of our surviving early ballads are largely drawn from English sources.

The author finds that only a part of our

pleasure in the old ballads is due to the fact that they were intrinsically good poetry. An analysis of the ballads that hold their place through many generations reveals one remarkable quality, which is not intellectual nor actually necessary to the telling of the story, a quality that "seems to be added suddenly, beyond the expectation of the hearer, beyond the intention of the singer himself." Exactly what this quality may be, Sir Henry cannot tell us. He intimates that there may be "visitings" of a power beyond us, and that they may come to the humblest as well as the greatest of poets. He finds that there is in them a certain magic that is unexplainable; they contain the essence of "the sudden glories of pure romance, the mystery of shadows by which love and youth are turned into agony, and agony again to loveliness." He does not think we can put away the ballad-form unless we believe that the life of nations and individuals in the future can not be in a measure similar to that of the past.

That is not an easy belief at this moment; to some of us it has never been an easy belief. It is true that for generations now our greatest poetry has been subjective, introspective, analytical,—often so intellectual as to be a reflection upon life rather than itself a form of life. But on the other side there have been changes too; the consciousness of national life has been so intensified that epic poetry has become once more possible. The ballads are, before all things, epic; they are the heroic life of a people told in lyric episodes. What is Mr. Kipling's "Ballad of East and West"? Is it a personal anecdote in verse? No, for the name of the hero is never mentioned; he is the Colonel's son, the servant of the White Queen, the type of the heroic West. What is Mr. Hardy's great poem "The Dynasts"? A drama in form, but an epic in form of thought, for it is concerned with individuals only as units of national life. To these reflections our present experience is adding another; we are looking day by day upon a battle of nations, where valor is of little account unless it is the valor of millions, and where the bravest fighter asks for no glory but the realization that he has "done his bit." The poets will in time sing of this battle, and will thereby express a multitude of individual feelings, their own and other men's, in forms which will be new and necessary. But it may be that one or two, less distinguished, less differentiated from the national type, will be moved to express more elementary feelings by a more objective method. If so, they will be likely enough to utter in the old ballad form,—a form, I believe, still of very powerful enchantment, capable of moving the heart both with the sound of the trumpet and with the deeper music of the harp of Bimote, strong with remembrance of the dead.

THE NEW BOOKS

ESSAYS, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

RUPERT BROOKE'S "Letters from America"¹ have been collected and are now published in book form accompanied by a discerning and sympathetic preface by Henry James. In May, 1913, Rupert Brooke started on a journey to the United States, Canada, and the South Seas. Most of his letters were originally published in the *Westminster Gazette*; a few in the *New Statesman* soon after the outbreak of the war. They are valuable not so much for the actual observations they record as for the evidence they give of the reactions of a new objective world on radiant youth and genius. In the early letters, one feels the groping mind of a boy whose deeper emotions are unshaken by harsh or passionate contact with the realities of life. The charm of the letters increases as the poet's mind expanded and reacted, reflecting the joy of his freedom in the mirror of his mind, the images gathering brightness from the glow of an untarnished spirit. But after all, one feels in the letters,—as in Rupert Brooke's poetry,—that what matters to us is not so much what he did, as what he *sees*. Henry James pictures him as a fortunate creature beloved by the gods, dogged by the same felicity that seemed to attend Sidney; "Rupert expressed us *all*, at the highest tide of our actuality," he writes. This preface of James's is one of the best bits of writing he has done in recent years, for he has fixed the image of Rupert Brooke beyond even the intimate weaving of our sympathies, within the sacred circle of that inner intellectual vision that is as permanent as the soul of the race.

An article on the life and career of Rupert Brooke appeared in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for October, 1915, and comment on his "Collected Poems" in the issue of February, 1916.

"Affirmations,"² by Havelock Ellis, presents a discussion of fundamental questions of life and morality in the form of five studies, the subjects of which are: Nietzsche, Zola, Huysmans, Casanova, and St. Francis of Assisi. Out of the affirmations of these men so opposed to each other in canons of life and art, the author wishes us to seek stimulus that will better arm us for the conflict of life. His view of Nietzsche is sympathetic; that of Zola, depreciatory, and the study of St. Francis presents a somewhat unfamiliar picture of the beloved Saint. The appreciation of Casanova is a delight, and that of Huysmans a work of genius, a splendid elucidation of the whole modern emotional movement, which insists that the "spiritual cosmogony finally rests, not indeed on a tortoise, but on the emotional impulses of the mammal vertebrate which constitutes us men."

"In Pastures Green"³ is a most enjoyable book of lazy essays, by Peter McArthur, that tell the story of an ordinary poor farmer trying to make a bare living from the land in the Province of Ontario. The author landed on a farm five years ago with no assets, he writes, but a love of nature, a sense of humor, and a deep-rooted conviction that because he had been brought up on a farm he could make a living for himself and family. There is one other asset, he omits to mention, that of a well-cultivated mind. During the experimental work with the farm he wrote these essays for the *Toronto Globe* and *Farmer's Advocate*. Every page of the book shows how much joy a farmer can get out of things, if he has imagination and can reap a harvest of dreams along with his wheat and apples. To those who desire to understand the soul of nature Mr. McArthur gives Whitman's advice: "I will never translate myself at all, only to him or her who privately stays with me in the open air."

Six thoughtful essays dealing with war, music, German and American culture, our nervous humanity, Japan and Japanese women, marriage and feminism form the content of Marian Cox's new book, "Ventures in Worlds."⁴ It is an unusual volume that will interest women in particular, as the subjects are in the main considered from a woman's point of view. In her essay on music Mrs. Cox deplures our continual plague of music in America; and associates German lust for supremacy in part to the continual intoxication of the German ego with music. The paper on marriage, while it has an unfortunate title, is perhaps the best of these vigorous essays. It pricks the institution of marriage with the goad of self-realization, and begs society to awaken to the fact that the seeking of material considerations in marriage is slowly undermining the institution. She accuses man of violating in greater measure than woman the God-given law of natural selection. "A Cup of Tea in Japan," describes the "Cha-No-Yu," the picturesque Tea Ceremony of the Flowery Kingdom, and its relation to "harmony, courtesy, and beauty." Mrs. Cox is the author of a brilliant novel, "The Crowds and the Veiled Woman," and a book of striking short stories entitled "Spiritual Curiosities."

"The Ways of Woman,"⁵ by Ida Tarbell, analyzes the activities and responsibilities of the average normal woman. The seven essays of this volume supplement the earlier book by Miss Tarbell, "The Business of Being a Woman."

¹ *In Pastures Green*. By Peter McArthur. E. P. Dutton. 264 pp. \$1.75.

⁴ *Ventures in Worlds*. By Marian Cox. Kennerley. 224 pp. \$1.45.

⁵ *The Ways of Woman*. By Ida Tarbell. Macmillan. 146 pp. \$1.

² *Affirmations*. By Havelock Ellis. Houghton, Mifflin. 272 pp. \$1.15.

³ *Letters from America*. By Rupert Brooke. Scribner's. (With portrait.) 180 pp. \$1.25.

They are, in order of titles: "What Women Are Doing," "Give the Girl a Chance," "That's Her Business," "The Talkative Woman," "The Culture Chasers," "The Twenty-cent Dinner," and "A Young Girl's Thoughts."

It would be desirable if human conduct could be studied by anxious would-be reformers from the Freudian point of view which Edwin B. Holt, Assistant Professor of Psychology, presents in a brilliant exposition of the Freudian field of philosophy entitled "The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics."¹ As in the case of Madame Montessori, who evolved her principles of education in her work with backward children, Freud has made his achievements almost entirely in the field of abnormality. Professor Holt shows that his principles, like the Montessori methods, have a wider application. The chief tenet of Freud's theory is the identification of virtue with knowledge. Life is the game of cross-fire between opposing wishes. To suppress wishes is to get at ethics from "below." To get at ethics "from above," instead of suppressing wishes, we analyze, scrutinize, and then discriminate, endeavoring to avoid the bad and discover the good. Thus we not only develop moral choice in the individual, but we bring about an exterior moral development in the objects of wishes or the field upon which desire plays. Mr. Holt dwells briefly upon Freud's widely discussed "Theory of Dreams."

Before the war very few people, aside from students and college professors, really knew anything definite about Belgian literature. Now nearly every schoolboy can tell you something about the writers of Belgium. Jethro Bithell, author of "Contemporary Belgian Poetry" and "Contemporary Flemish Poetry," publishes a new volume, "Contemporary Belgian Literature,"² that shows the development of Belgian letters to the

present day. A secondary object of this well-balanced study is to express practical sympathy for Belgian writers. Mr. Bithell says: "They will need readers after the war, and they deserve them." The book begins with the history of Belgium, the long record of warfare, of "invasion ventured and invasions repulsed," and of the long internal conflict in governmental affairs of Fleming and Walloon. The Belgian literature, which is Dutch, is the work of Flemings; that which is French is by the "purists," the Walloons. The first is the literature of images; the second that of ideas. The Flemings have "out-Zolaed Zola"; the Walloons have given free play to fancy, to the "scintillation of ideas." Lemonnier, Eekhoud, Verhaeren, Maeterlinck, Demolder, Flemish, Symbolist, and Parnassian poets, novelists, critics, essayists, dramatists, and scholars are commented upon extensively in this important piece of literary scholarship.

Mr. George Wharton James writes in the foreword of an exceedingly valuable and interesting volume, "Our American Wonderlands,"³ that few Americans know their own land even in a cursory way, and that many of the trails of the United States are still fresh and newly trodden, while the wonders they offer are beyond those of the old world. This book-journey to American scenery begins in the Grand Canyon of Arizona and leads to the cliff dwellings, the "Painted Desert," to the Petrified Forests and the colorful deserts of Arizona; to the great natural bridges of Utah, the Garden of the Gods, Yellowstone Park, the glaciers of the National Park in Montana and on to the old Missions of California and to other matchless wonders of the western States. In the east, the trail takes us to Mammoth Cave, the Natural Bridge in Virginia, and to incomparable Niagara." The book is amply illustrated with reproductions from photo-

BIOGRAPHY

"ALCOTT MEMOIRS," a book that will meet a gracious acceptance from all lovers of Louisa Alcott's books, has been compiled from papers and memoranda of the late Dr. Frederick L. H. Willis, the "Laurie" of "Little Women." It is a record of ten years of life with the Alcott family. Dr. Willis had planned to write his biography and relate therein his boyish experiences with the Alcott family, but he had barely begun the task when he died. His picture of the fifteen-year-old "Louisa May" is particularly vivid. "Joe," of "Little Women," was tall, thin, and brown, and resembled one of a cult, for she never seemed to know what to do with her long limbs, which were very much in her way. She had a decided mouth, a comical nose, and sharp grey eyes which appeared to see everything, and were he turn

fierce, funny or thoughtful. . . . Round shoulders had Joe, big hands and feet, a flyaway look to her clothes, and the uncomfortable appearance of a girl who was rapidly shooting up into a woman and didn't like it." The material has been edited and arranged by Edith Willis Linn and Henri Bazin. Dr. Willis was a descendant of Nathaniel Parker Willis, of early New England literary fame.

"The Beloved Physician, Edward Livingston Trudeau,"⁴ by Stephen Chalmers, gives a brief account of the heroic life of the man who did more than any other physician in this country to fight the Great White Plague. One chapter records Dr. Trudeau's acquaintance with Robert Louis Stevenson while he was under his care during the winter of 1887-88. The illustrations include cuts of Dr. Trudeau's first home at Saranac Lake, and the little red cottage built in 1884, which was the nucleus of the famous Cottage Sanitarium.

"The Freudian Dream," by Jacques Guillemin, Harcourt, Mifflin (322 pp. \$1).

¹The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics. By E. B. Holt. Houghton Mifflin, 1920. Pp. 344.

²Contemporary Belgian Literature. By Jethro Bithell. Houghton Mifflin, 1920. Pp. 344.

³Our American Wonderlands. By George Wharton James. H. C. McMillan, 1920. Pp. 320.

⁴The Beloved Physician. By Stephen Chalmers. Houghton Mifflin, 1920. Pp. 322.

TWO LITTLE-KNOWN COUNTRIES

ONE of the first requisites to our helpfulness to South American countries and a necessity to our understanding of them is exact knowledge of their history, geography, developed and undeveloped resources, industries, lives, customs, and general feeling of their peoples. A comprehensive book on Bolivia¹ published in "The South American Series," the work of Paul Walle, Commissioner of the French Ministry of Commerce, gives ample and exact knowledge about that little-known country. Bolivia covers an enormous territorial expanse. It has all climates; vegetables of temperate climates are grown there as well as products that love the tropic sun, such as quinquina, rubber, coca, coffee, cocoa and sugar cane. Tin, silver, antimony, pitchblende, bismuth, gold and copper mineral deposits are plentiful in the Andean regions. At present, along with other South American countries, Bolivia is entering upon an era of intellectual and economic transformation; railway construction is increasing, and the political condition manifests improvement. Monsieur Walle's advices to French commercial organizations in regard to Bolivia and all South American countries should be acted upon by the United States without delay. We should investi-

gate the field of commercial exchange made possible by the Panama maritime route, discover what these countries buy and sell, take note of our competitors, look into "climatic, physical, material and industrial conditions"; and realize that many of the "great battles of the future will be fought on the economic field," and that the victory will be "on the side of the best prepared." Included in the book are sixty-two illustrations and four maps.

One of the useful books offered with the object of enabling the reader to get a correct perspective on the geography and history of Europe is a study of the "Portugal of the Portuguese,"² by Aubrey F. G. Bell. He has written entertainingly of the characteristics of the inhabitants, their life in town and country, of their religion and literature, and briefly of the early period of Portugal's romantic history when Lisbon was the center of learning and of trade. Now Portugal's star has fallen; the land lies fallow; the people need education and the country needs western scientific methods of development. Mr. Bell writes that it is a land of wax needing a sculptor who will take into account its noble traditions.

WHAT TWO WOMEN SAW OF THE WAR

"A JOURNAL of Impressions in Belgium"³ consists of expanded notes made by May Sinclair during her experiences in 1914, with a Field Ambulance Corps in Belgium. They are offered to people who prefer to see things, as the author phrases it, "across a temperament." It is evident that Miss Sinclair tells the truth about her ordeal; nothing has been glossed over or made otherwise than it was. Out of ordinary raw human material, she saw saints and heroes evolve; out of slipshodness and inefficiency, order and efficiency. The biggest stories of the war she intimates will never be written; they happened on battlefields, or in dark trenches, or hospital wards where there were no journalists and correspondents. Taken as a human document, the book is vastly interesting, but as a plea for efficiency and preparedness, for knowing our business whether it is motoring, nursing, cooking or fighting, it is part of the "handwriting on the wall" that has stared America in the face since the beginning of the war. When real emergency comes we are mere rubbish cluttering the earth unless we have been trained to a job and have the tools of our trade at our disposal.

In April, 1915, Mrs. Mabel Dearer, a highly talented Englishwoman, accompanied her husband

to the battle front in Serbia, to serve there as a hospital orderly. "Letters from a Field Hospital"⁴ are the home letters she wrote during her brief period of service. They are published with a memoir by Stephen Gwynn, a tribute to a friendship of many years' duration. On July 10th Mrs. Dearer died of enteric fever. A scrap of paper scrawled in pencil found in the mud-stained bag in her tent explains in a measure why she flung her life and bright genius into the vortex of misery in Serbia. There was a vacancy in the service; she filled the gap, giving all the attributes of her highly developed personality in the same spirit that Rupert Brooke gave, as a protest against the outrage of war. Her last message on the mud-stained scrap of paper is illuminating: "*To the Greeks foolishness, to the Jews a stumbling block.* Christianity can never teach common sense. It teaches the kingdom of heaven. It may permeate common sense with the tincture of its ideals, but the more common-sensible it becomes the less it is Christianity. It is the folly only possible to the supremely wise." Mrs. Dearer was the author of novels and plays, a poet and a skilled artist. A collection of her poems will be published shortly. It may not seem amiss in connection with mention of this book, to record the fact that in the October following Mrs. Dearer's death, her youngest son, Christopher Dearer, died of his wounds at Suvla Bay.

¹ Bolivia. By Paul Walle. South American Series. 400 pp. \$3.50.

² Portugal of the Portuguese. By Aubrey F. G. Bell. Scribner's. 278 pp. \$1.00.

³ A Journal of Impressions in Belgium. By May Sinclair. Macmillan. 294 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Letters From a Field Hospital. By Mabel Dearer. Macmillan. 152 pp. \$1.

POETRY OF THE DAY



GEORGE STERLING

For felicitous phrasing, melody, and adherence to classical standards, the poetry of George Sterling is unexcelled among that of American poets. In the light of dawn in Yosemite, he sees the soul of man:

" . . . an eagle from its eyrie yearning,
Goes up against the splendor and the burning—
Goes up, and sees afar the world made free
O liberty to come
What trumpets shall announce thee on what
glooms?
What lips now dumb
Shall sing thy ancient victories and dooms,
And in what halls
Shall man set up an altar to thy star?

A sprightly book, "The Fringes of the Fleet," by Rudyard Kipling, offers six sketches in praise of the ships of the auxiliary fleet of the British Navy; trawlers, submarines, and patrolboats. They are rich with the vernacular of the "Service," and they give us vivid pictures of the new kind of scientific fighting man, the man with the impersonal mind, hard at work at his job. While Kipling robs the sea of much of its old romance, he still sees it as a "vast place divided between wisdom and chance, its highways patrolled by England's ships in order that civilization may go about its business on our waters." The only trouble with these stimulating sketches is that there is not enough of them. Six poems accompany the sketches. They are rather ordinary and do not enhance the value of the prose.

"Children of Fancy," poems by Ian B. Stough-ton Holloran, may seem filled with invisible meanings, out of touch with the world of reality, for the verse of this excessively round, blue and silver volume is the very spirit of fancy clothed in the myriad shadings of the poet's mind. The children are dream children, the rose youth of myth and fable, or the walls of modern boyhoods that attract attention for an instant, and pass on to the domain of the unattainable. Mr. Holloran's poetry is delicate, musical, chapsoidal; often shaped to recital; classical themes, always of pronounced conclusion, filled with a vague

THREE poems by George Sterling, whose home is in California at Carmel-by-the-Sea, are issued in an attractive gift-book edition by A. M. Robertson (San Francisco). They are: "The Evanescent City," which is the city of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, an ode "Yosemite," and "Ode on the Exposition." They are exquisitely printed, and the two first mentioned are illustrated with cuts from photographs.

haunting of undefinable beauty that can never be embraced in words. It is a book of poetry for poets; one can hardly say more. Mr. Holborn tells us in the preface that art is "seeking to suggest and even realize that which we would have be, that which with indomitable will we would force from fate's reluctant hand."

Helen Gray Cone publishes "A Chant of Love for England and Other Poems."³ The title poem answers the German "Hymn of Hate" for England; the "other poems" include sonnets, songs, ballads and various beautiful verses, all of which is vastly more vigorous and firm in its hold on reality than most poetry written by women. The poems "Ivo of Chartres," "A Resurrection," and "Abraham Lincoln," establish their author in the front rank among those poets who have true spiritual vision, who see "the o'er brooding soul, purely ablaze, full-flooded with the light of God."

"To Your Dog and to My Dog"⁴ is a book for everyone who owns or who has ever owned a dog. It contains a collection of thirty-two poems by Kipling, Scott, Matthew Arnold, Newbolt, Lord Byron, and others, the tributes of masters to their dogs. Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt has collected the poems and written a graceful introduction for the volume.

A book of nature poems, "Songs of the Fields,"⁵ by Francis Ledwidge, the Irish peasant-poet, will please all who love the country or who are familiar with the peaceful loveliness of the Irish countryside. The introduction is by Lord Dun-

sany, who discovered Ledwidge and helped him to make a collection of his poems. He compares the poet to "a mirror reflecting beautiful fields," or to a "still lake on a cloudless evening." Ledwidge, like the late Rupert Brooke, is a soldier. He is attached as Lance-Corporal to the Fifth Battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He was born in the quaint, sleepy Irish village of Slane, in County Meath. As a boy he worked on a farm, later in a copper mine and in a grocery store in Dublin. It is certain that in this book of songs of fields, flowers, and birds, we

FRANCIS LEDWIDGE, THE
IRISH POET

have one of the new authentic voices of Irish poetry.

¹"A Chant of Love for England and Other Poems," by Helen Gray Cone, E. C. Horn, 100 pp., \$1.
²"To Your Dog and to My Dog," by L. N. Kinnicutt, Houghton, Mifflin, 144 pp., \$1.
³"Songs of the Fields," by Francis Ledwidge, Doubleday, 1919, pp. 91-93.

⁴"The Fringes of the Fleet," by Rudyard Kipling, Doubleday, 1919, 100 pp., \$1.
⁵"Children of Fancy," by Ian B. Stoughton Holloran, G. Dorland Press, 1919, 92 pp., \$1.

"Good Friday and Other Poems," by John Masefield, will please even those who do not generally read poetry. The genius that flared so triumphantly in "Salt Water Ballads," "The Widow in Bye Street," and "The Everlasting Mercy" shines now as a fixed star in the world of poetry. One goes to Masefield's poetry not alone for its beauty, but for moral comfort as well. He has seen life and he knows the hearts of men. The story of the drama "Good Friday" is that of the events preceding Pontius Pilate's decision to crucify Jesus. It is simple, poignant, and dignified. A dramatic monologue and a sonnet sequence complete the volume. The sonnets are a mosaic of the flashings of the poet's mind over the universe of thought, the whole shaping bit by bit slowly and cloudily, and emerging

as the vision of the "Beautiful." Here is one of the best of the sonnets:

"Flesh, I have knocked at many a dusty door,
Gone down full many a windy midnight lane,
Probed in old walls and felt along the floor,
Pressed in blind hope the lighted window pane.
But useless all, though sometimes when the moon
Was full in heaven and the sea was full
Along my body's alleys came a tune
Played in the tavern by the Beautiful.
Then for an instant I have felt at point
To find and seize her, whosoe'er she be,
Whether some saint whose beauty does anoint
Those whom she loves, or but a part of me,
Or something that the things not understood
Make for their uses out of flesh and blood.

THE MODERN DRAMA

FIFTY English, American, and foreign plays are presented in substance, by means of narrative and dialogue, in "The Masterpieces of Modern Drama,"¹ by John Alexander Pierce, with preface by Brander Matthews. The object of the work is to aid in the acquisition of the art of reading plays by means of "compromise between the dialogue of the play itself and the unbroken narrative of prose fiction." It is difficult to imagine a better work for people who desire in a brief space of time to grasp the content of modern drama. The volumes are illustrated with cuts of photographs of leading actors and actresses in the scenes of the various plays.

"John Ferguson,"² a play in four acts by St. John G. Ervine, author of plays and novels of Irish peasant life, introduces us to an Ulster farmer and his family, and tells the story of the misadventure brought about by the neglect of a relative in America to mail a letter which carries money to redeem the mortgage on the Ferguson farm. The machinery of the play creaks a little, but the dialogue is good and the underlying interest, the Irish peasant's love for his bit of land, is well brought out. Like most plays of its kind, it is a better acting than reading play. "Clutie John" and the mean-spirited "James Cæsar" are excellent characterizations.

Another Book on the Theater. By George Jean Nathan. B. W. Huebsch. 358 pp. \$1.50.

A characteristic volume of Mr. Nathan's spicy, witty comment on plays, actors, and matters theatrical. His views are rebellious, but entertaining and provocative of thought, whatever way you take them.

Writing for Vaudeville. By Brett Page, Home Correspondence School, Springfield. 639 pp. \$2.

A valuable work that contains instructions how to write and sell playlets, monologues, two-act burlesques, musical comedies, and all kinds of vaudeville acts. Nine complete examples are given of the various vaudeville forms by Richard Harding Davis, Aaron Hoffman, Edgar Allan Woolf, Taylor Granville, Louis Weslyn, Arthur Denvir, and James Madison.

The Technique of Playwriting. By Charlton Andrews. Home Correspondence School, Springfield.

A capital working guide to the amateur playwright.

Writing and Selling a Play. By Fanny Cannon. Henry Holt. 321 pp. \$1.50.

A book on playwriting written from the inside of the theater. The author has been an actress and has written and staged plays. The book gives advice as to play-construction, scenario, characters and dialogue. It is one of the best books of its kind on the market. A bibliography of reference books and plays is included in the contents.

Plays by August Strindberg. Fourth Series. Translated by Edwin Bjorkman. Scribners. 283 pp. \$1.50.

These plays are "The Bridal Crown," "The Spook Sonata," "The First Warning," and the historical play, "Gustavus Vasa." Mr. Bjorkman's interpretative preface gives an excellent background of knowledge about these plays and leads the reader into the history of Sweden and the country life of Sweden's most beautiful province, Dalecarlia.

Gerhart Hauptmann, Dramatic Works. Vol. VI. Huebsch. 419 pp. \$1.50.

This volume contains an introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn and three plays: "The Maidens of the Mount," "Griselda," and "Gabriel Schilling's Flight."

¹ "Good Friday and Other Poems." By John Masefield. Macmillan.

² "The Masterpieces of Modern Drama." By John A. Pierce. Doubleday, Page. 2 vols. 450 and 400 pp. \$2 per vol., ill.

³ "John Ferguson." By St. John G. Ervine. Macmillan. 116 pp. \$1.

"Prunella," or "Love in a Dutch Garden." By Laurence Housman & Granville Barker. Little, Brown. 89 pp. \$1.

The Vosey Inheritance. By Granville Barker. Little, Brown. 131 pp. \$1.

Waste. By Granville Barker. Little, Brown. 133 pp. \$1.

The Marrying of Anne Leete. By Granville Barker. Little, Brown. 79 pp. \$1.

Four excellent modern plays that reveal some of the essentials of the new drama. Mr. Barker is a disciple of Ibsen, therefore his plays are distinguished by studies of human nature, by intellectual conversation and radical philosophy, rather than by the melodramatic action thought necessary to good plays by some playwrights.

Tempted in All Points. By Ralph H. Ferris. Badger. 157 pp. \$1.

Dollars and Sense. By Otto Kraemer and Lester W. Humphreys. 109 pp. \$1.

Melmoth the Wanderer. By Gustav Davidson and Joseph Koven. 179 pp. \$1.

Three excellent plays published in the American Dramatists Series. "Tempted in All Points" is a Biblical play that deals with the tragedy of

the betrayal of Jesus: "Dollars and Sense" is an amusing story of the career of a San Francisco banker. The joint authors are Portland (Oregon) attorneys. "Melmoth the Wanderer" portrays the triumph of brotherly love over the modern theories of individual development. The authors are prominent New York attorneys.

The Steadfast Princess. By Cornelia L. Meigs. Macmillan. 87 pp. 50 cents.

A Drama League Prize Play for children that sets forth the life of a Princess who overcomes many obstacles and remains true to her ideals and the people over whom she rules. A play of exceptional literary quality, and one that can be easily staged and adapted to amateur production in private houses.

Plays by Anton Tchekoff. Scribners. Translated by Julius West. 277 pp. \$1.50.

These plays show different phases of the life of the Russian people. "On the High Road" is a character study. "The Proposal," "The Bear," "The Wedding," and "The Anniversary" are humorous plays displaying great variety. "The Three Sisters" and "The Cherry Orchard" are tragedies of inactivity. They expound the belief that all human unhappiness is the result of some slovenliness of "thought and execution, education and ideal."

THE NEWEST FICTION

A NEW book of yarns of the sea by Joseph Conrad is a literary event. "Within the Tides" gives us four fine tales. The first, "The Planter of Malata," handles a favorite theme of Conrad's, spiritualized love that casts upon the shoulders of man or woman the mantle of the ideal. When life is weighed in the balance by love and found wanting; when one has given all—even the pride of manhood to be trampled upon, why, that is the end; one cannot go on living. Felicia Moorsom, the English beauty of the "topmost layer" of society with the soul of foam, pivots the tale dangerously near a satire on fashionable society. As for Renouard, the "Planter at Malata," scorned by Felicia: "His disappearance was in the main inexplicable. For to whom could it have occurred that a man would set out calmly to swim beyond the confines of life—with a strong stroke—his eyes fixed on a star."

"The Partner" is a story—roughly told by a seaman—of a sordid tragedy connected with a certain ledge of rocks in the English Channel; of a shipwreck that was planned, and of a murder that was not planned.

"The Inn of the Witches" is a variant of an old horror tale. A Castilian inn kept by two witch-like crones and their youthful gipsy apprentice in crime has a sumptuous bedchamber, the "Archbishop's Room," from which no traveler returns to relate what befell him there. This story will satisfy the most ardent admirers of Poe. Conrad has never drawn a more fascinating portrait of evil and youth combined than his pen portrait of the Gipsy girl at the inn—an elemental, amoral will greedy for gewgaws.

"Within the Tides." By Joseph Conrad. Doubleday, 1922. 304 pp. \$1.50.

"Because of the Dollars" is another story of Davidson, the South-Sea trader. In command of a light-draught boat built in Glasgow, the *Sissie*, he steams into forlorn little island-ports to pick up the trade dollars that have been called in by the government. A human derelict of the archipelago, "Laughing Anne," saves Davidson from robbery and death. This woman is as remarkable a character in her way as "Lena" in "Victory." Her "soul had gone blind," but in her way she was decent, loving enough to adore her child, loyal enough to lay down her life for a friend.

These stories are the finest of their kind offered to-day; Conrad is the supreme story-teller of this generation.

"Life and Gabriella"² is Ellen Glasgow's first novel in nearly three years. It is an appealing story of a young Southern girl who took the ugly facts of a difficult, harassed life and courageously moulded them to shapes of beauty. Gabriella was born into an impoverished, run-to-seed family in Virginia. Her father died when she was a child; her sister made an unfortunate marriage, and it is left to Gabriella to overcome the family idea that ladies should not work, and rescue her mother from the grip of poverty. When love came to Gabriella, she planned a gracious love-life, but her husband, a man of primitive character, elopes with another woman and leaves Gabriella with two small children to support. How she went into business in New York City, educated her children, winning the respect of everyone, and finally the supreme gift of love,

"Life and Gabriella." By Ellen Glasgow. Doubleday, 1922. 322 pp. \$1.50.

completes this narrative of simple human facts. There is no straining after effect; the book tells the story of an artless, brave, sweet woman who was sturdy enough to conquer all difficulties and surmount all sorrows.

A remarkable book, "I Pose," by Stella Benson, is prefaced by the statement: "Sometimes I pose, but sometimes I pose as posing." It is a study in our conscious and unconscious attitudes

that disguise sincerity,—an ingenious, original, imaginative book full of metaphor and epigram. It is hardly a connected story, more like a literary moving picture with the script omitted, but amazingly clever and entertaining. The Gardener loves the Suffragette, but the Suffragette is not a real woman, only the shell of her particular pose. And her end is like the end of most posing. The bomb she has placed in a church explodes and makes an end of the little shell of militancy.

Bottle Fillers. By Edward Noble. Houghton, Mifflin. 414 pp. \$1.40.

A capital pictorial story of life at sea on a tramp steamer. The *London Globe* says: "It is real salt and spindrift; the sea as the sea is when a living is being wrung from it."

The Accolade. By Ethel Sedgewick. Small, Maynard. 442 pp. \$1.25.

A romantic, leisurely novel that presents a careful study of two kinds of egoism. The characters are those of another group of the Ingestre family who figured in previous novels "A Lady of Leisure" and "Duke Jones."

Aunt Jane. By Jennette Lee. Scribners. 329 pp. \$1.25.

An amusing story of an old-fashioned woman who managed a modern hospital on the principle

that all the patients, and even the haughty surgeons and doctors, were just "folks" and had to be treated accordingly. Aunt Jane was efficient; so admirably capable that even the head doctor fell in love with her.

Rose Cottingham. By Netta Syrett. Putnam's. 399 pp. \$1.35.

A novel that has all the glamour of youth and the sparkle of genius. A sympathetic study of the education and development of a young girl, and a picture of the social and literary activities of the late Victorian period.

Plashers Mead. By Compton Mackenzie. Harper. 374 pp. \$1.35.

A modern love story, a study in temperaments. The romance of a young artist and an elusive girl as "immaterial as the clouds."

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Anthracite; an Instance of Natural Resource Monopoly. By Scott Nearing. Philadelphia: Winston. 251 pp. \$1.

This is a timely book, in view of the proposed readjustment of the wage scale in the anthracite region during the present spring. The author maintains that the consumer of anthracite pays a monopoly price based on the principle of "all that the traffic will bear." Every increase in the cost of producing anthracite is immediately transferred to the consumer. The miners in the meantime are receiving lower wages, measured in terms of subsistence, than they received in 1903, and, according to Dr. Nearing, they get no share of the heavy monopoly toll exacted from the consumer. Dr. Nearing states the facts of the anthracite industry to show that the private monopoly of any natural resource must work out to the exclusive benefit of the monopolists.

The Authentic History of the United States Steel Corporation. By Arundel Cotter. Moody Magazine and Book Company. 286 pp. \$2.

An excellent popular account of the formation and progress of the world's greatest industrial enterprise. Every part of the story is interesting, from the merging of the Carnegie interests and the purchase of Tennessee Coal & Iron in

the panic of 1907, to the corporation's relations with its employees, and its compensation and relief plans. The author states that a large part of the facts narrated in this book were obtained from the sworn testimony in the Government's suit for the dissolution of the corporation.

English Railways. By Edward Cleveland-Stevens. Dutton. 332 pp. \$2.25.

A detailed historical account of the consolidation of English railways up to the year 1900. It deals with "amalgamation as affecting railway corporations in general, and as viewed by Parliament and the public, and controlled by Parliament in the interests of the public." This work makes accessible to American students of railroad problems important facts of English railroad history.

The Longshoremen. By Charles B. Barnes. New York: Survey Associates, Inc. 287 pp. 10c.

One of the useful publications of the Russell Sage Foundation is a study of that long-neglected class of labor on our water fronts, the longshoremen. Prior to this investigation, no reliable official data regarding longshoremen in the United States had been collected. Neither the dock department of the Port of New York, nor the federal government had any reliable statistics. To meet this obvious need Mr. Barnes concentrated his investigation on the Port of New York, and by

interviews, cross-examinations, and observation, succeeded in getting together the important facts bearing on the peculiar conditions of this obscure field of labor. His report reveals many conditions that are fraught with peril.

The House in Henry Street. By Lillian D. Wald. Holt. \$2.

More than twenty years ago, in the lower "East Side" of New York City, a work was started by a group of young women graduates of a nurses' training school, which developed into what became known to social workers as the Nurses' Settlement. Miss Lillian D. Wald, the head of this enterprise from the beginning, has told its story in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the whole record is now presented in book form. While the work, as described by Miss Wald, related itself primarily to the health conditions of the neighborhood, those who were responsible for it were led from one phase of social welfare to another, until the range of their interests has become as broad as that of any similar settlement. The workers naturally gave special attention to the needs of the immigrants from southeastern Europe who made up so large

State of the Union in the magnitude and generosity of her investments for dependent, delinquent, and defective children. In this study Dr. Slingerland records 210 institutions and 53 societies organized for child welfare work. The State has invested \$76,000,000 or ten dollars for every man, woman, and child in the commonwealth, in such institutions.

A Child Welfare Symposium. Edited by W. H. Slingerland. New York: Department of Child-Helping,—Sage Foundation. 138 pp. \$1.25.

Special papers on topics relating to child welfare, contributed by leading citizens and social workers and published as a supplement to the volume noticed above.

American Municipal Progress. By Charles Zueblin. Macmillan. 522 pp. Ill. \$2.

The volume is a revelation of what has been accomplished in the first fifteen years of the present century for the promotion of health, comfort, and cleanliness in American cities; the prevention of juvenile crime and delinquency; the improvement of the public schools; the establishment of parks and playgrounds, art museums, municipal theaters, social centers; the adoption of the commission form of government and the city manager; home rule for cities, and many other lines of progress. Mr. Zueblin truly says that those fifteen years represent a greater advance than the whole nineteenth century compassed.

City Planning. By Charles Mulford Robinson. Putnam. 344 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This work, which is based on a wide range of experience in cities throughout the world, has to do especially with the planning of streets and blocks. Mr. Robinson's discussions and suggestions are invaluable to all city officials and commissions entrusted with the development of street systems.

Community Civics. By Jessie Field and Scott Nearing. Macmillan. 270 pp. Ill.

This book is addressed specifically to boys and girls in country communities and in towns that are centers of rural interests. The aim of the author is to make clear to youthful readers the relation between school and life.

The National Issues of 1916. By Hon. Charles N. Fowler. Harper. 435 pp. \$1.50.

In this volume the Hon. Charles N. Fowler, of New Jersey, former member of Congress, who was for eight years chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, discusses: "An American Banking System," "An American Merchant Marine," "The Tariff Commission," and the issue of national preparedness.

Railway Monopoly and Rate Regulation. By Robert James McFall, Ph.D. Columbia University. Longmans, Green. 223 pp. \$2.

This writer undertakes to show how regulation may be applied to railroads in such a way that the public may get from them the greatest possible service,—an ideal that was never reached under unregulated competition.



ETCHES, DRAWN BY ABRAHAM PHILLIPS FOR "THE HOUSE IN HENRY STREET"

a part of the congested population in which their life and work centered. The social customs that these immigrants brought with them and their adaptation to American institutions are among the topics discussed by Miss Wald. The etchings and drawings, by Mr. Abraham Phillips, very fittingly and vividly illustrate the text.

Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania. By William H. Slingerland. New York: Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation. 352 pp. Ill. \$2.

As stated by Dr. Hastings H. Hart, director of the Department of Child Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, in an introduction to this volume, Pennsylvania is far in advance of any other

Sound Investing. By Paul Clay. Moody Magazine and Book Company. 371 pp. \$2.

A practical manual for the investor, directing the beginner how to proceed in the purchase of securities and suggesting, for the benefit of all who have to do with the placing of investments, certain common-sense methods of avoiding loss and increasing income.

Efficient Living. By Edward Earle Purinton. McBride. 353 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

Chapters on study, food, home, work, play, hygiene, money, and thought in relation to efficiency, with a concluding section devoted to solutions and suggestions for personal problems of efficiency.

A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution. By Willystine Goodsell. Macmillan. 588 pp. \$2.

In this volume the institution of the family is traced from patriarchal times to the present day. The historical survey forms a fitting background for the discussion of current theories of reform in the concluding chapter.

Social Adaptation. By Lucius Moody Bristol. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 356 pp. \$2.

Adaptation regarded as a theory of social progress is the subject of this monograph in which

the development of the doctrine is traced in the writings of sociologists, from Conte and Spencer, to Giddings, Ward, and Patten.

Debaters' Manual. Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. H. W. Wilson. 172 pp. \$1.

A compilation of materials useful to the student or individual wishing to know how to prepare a debate or how to organize a debating society. Excerpts have been made of articles from many sources dealing with questions of current interest.

Selected Articles on Unemployment. Compiled by Julia E. Johnson. H. W. Wilson. 242 pp. \$1.

Extracts from a large number of important magazine articles bearing on the question of unemployment and centering mainly around two propositions,—the establishment of public labor exchanges and the supplying of public work in normal channels are inadequate to absorb surplus labor.

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Compiled by Lamar T. Beman. H. W. Wilson. 168 pp. \$1.

Arguments on both sides of the question of prohibition of the liquor traffic as embodied in magazine articles appearing within recent years.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

The Russian Campaign, April to August, and the Evacuation of Warsaw. By Stanley Washburn. Scribner. 348 pp. Ill. \$2.

This book appears as the second volume of "Field Notes from the Russian Front," already noticed in these pages. Mr. Washburn, who has contributed some of his observations in the war zone to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, has been the correspondent with the Russian armies for the *London Times* since the beginning of the war. As an American who had already seen service as correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Government extended to Mr. Washburn special privileges. In the first part of the war he was the only English-speaking correspondent in Russia. The present volume, which follows the course of operations from April to August, 1915, gives special attention to the German gas attacks, the German drive in Galicia, and the evacuation of Warsaw.

The Spirit of France. By Owen Johnson. Little, Brown. 256 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

In this volume the brilliant young American novelist records his experiences and impressions in Paris, at Rheims, and Arras, and in visits to the trenches, where he was actually under fire. An interesting chapter of the book is the account of Mr. Johnson's interview with General Joffre, originally published in *Collier's*. Mr. Johnson succeeds in imparting something of his own vivid impression of the heroic and self-sacrificing spirit of the French people.

The Note-Book of a Neutral. By Joseph Patterson. Duffield. 95 pp. \$.50.

Reflections on the war by an American journalist who has accompanied both German and French officers in Belgium.

The World Decision. By Robert Herrick. 253 pp. \$1.25.

Robert Herrick, the novelist and student of literature, spent the greater part of the year 1915 in France and Italy. His description and interpretation of those events in the war of which he was a witness have a literary quality that is absent from the great mass of the material relating to the war that has gone into print.

The Heel of War. By George B. McClellan. Dillingham. 177 pp. \$1.

Mr. McClellan, who holds the chair of Economic History at Princeton, is the son of General George B. McClellan of the Civil War. He spent half of last year traveling through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. His familiarity with these countries in times of peace, and his acquaintance with many of the statesmen who shape the policies of the powers, gave Mr. McClellan an unusual equipment for this study of Europe in war time. In reporting what he saw, Mr. McClellan avows a warm affection for the peoples of France, Germany and Italy, and asks to be judged as a strictly neutral observer of events.

Justice in War Time. By the Hon. Bertrand Russell. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co. 243 pp. \$1.

The expressions of an English pacifist (grandson of the famous Lord John Russell), who believes that German success would be a misfortune, but that Great Britain is not above criticism as regards her foreign policy, and that after peace comes the nations should feel "that degree of mutual respect which will make co-operation possible."

The Drama of Three Hundred and Sixty-five Days: Scenes in the Great War. By Hall Caine. Lippincott. 176 pp. \$1.

The English novelist's review of the first year of the war, concluding on August 4, 1915.

The Aftermath of Battle: With the Red Cross in France. By Edward D. Toland. Macmillan. 175 pp. Ill. \$1.

The day's work of this young American in the French Hospital Service is possibly representative of the experiences of a considerable group of young men who went to France in the early days of the war and have remained there ever since, serving the Red Cross in whatever way was open to them. As Owen Wister says of Mr. Toland in the preface to this book, "He served the wounded Germans and Allies. He carried them upstairs and down, or in from the rain, he assisted at operations, he held basins, he gave ether, he built the kitchen fire, he pumped the water, he was chauffeur, forager, commissariat, he helped in what ways he could, as he was ordered, and also as his own intelligence prompted, in the not infrequent absence of orders."

The Book of the Homeless. Edited by Edith Wharton. Scribner. 155 pp. Ill. \$5.

This volume, which is sold for the benefit of the American Hotels for Refugees, and the Children of Flanders Rescue Committee, is made up of original articles in verse and prose, with illustrations produced from original paintings and drawings by distinguished artists. The introduction is furnished by Colonel Roosevelt, and among the contributors are: General Joffre, Maurice Maeterlinck, W. B. Yeats, Edmond Rostand, Emile Verhaeren, General Humbert, Eleonora Duse, Joseph Conrad, Edmund Gosse, Paul Bourget, Sarah Bernhardt, John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, Paul Hervieu, and Mrs. Humphry Ward. Besides Mrs. Wharton, the American contributors are: William Dean Howells, Edward S. Martin, Paul Elmer More, Josephine Preston Peabody, Agnes Repplier, Edith M. Thomas, and Barrett Wendell.

Over the Front in an Aeroplane. By Ralph Pulitzer. Harper. 159 pp. Ill. \$1.

The French military aviators have not made a practise of inviting civilians to accompany them on their flights, but an exception was made in behalf of Mr. Pulitzer, and he was permitted to fly in an army aeroplane from Paris to the fighting lines. His account of his unique experience is contained in this little book.

The Truth About Louvain. By René Chambray. Hodder & Stoughton. 95 pp. Ill. \$.25.

An English translation of statements taken from eyewitnesses concerning what happened at Louvain in the summer and autumn of 1914.

APPEALS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Fear God and Take Your Own Part. By U. S. A. (resigned), supplies an introduction to the volume. Theodore Roosevelt. Doran. 414 pp. \$1.50.

This book embodies Colonel Roosevelt's views on national policy to which he has recently given utterance in various forms. Our readers will find editorial comment on the book in this month's *Progress of the World*.

The Invasion of America. By Julius W. Muller. Dutton. 352 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

"Assuming that an enemy landed an army on the American coast, what could we actually do with our actual present resources, used to their fullest possible extent?" This book was written by Mr. Muller as an answer to this question. It deals with the various and complex elements of the problem, and presents in a vivid way the perils that our North Atlantic coast cities would be subjected to in the event of war with one of the European powers. General John A. Johnston,

The A-B-C of National Defense. By J. W. Muller. Dutton. 215 pp. Ill. \$1.

This little book, by the author of "The Invasion of America," undertakes to state in the briefest possible compass what the army and navy would have to do in war, why they would have to do it, and what they would need for successful performance.

Empire and Armament. By Jennings C. Wise. Putnam. 353 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This work by the late Professor of Political Science and International Law in the Virginia Military Institute, traces the development of American imperialism, and deduces from our national history the argument for national defense.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—INVESTMENTS DURING A BOOM PERIOD

A CERTAIN munition-making concern had in sight foreign contracts valued at \$30,000,000. To complete these contracts it was necessary to build a new plant at an estimated cost of \$1,000,000. To finance the proposition it sold \$3,000,000 of notes, against which it placed the \$30,000,000 of contracts. Its plant is not yet completed, but already \$1,900,000 has been expended on it. Every item entering into construction cost and equipment has advanced from ten to several hundred per cent. Not only this, but the cost of raw materials used in this company's particular product has gone up so rapidly that from day to day it has been impossible to make firm offers owing to the fluctuating market for materials. Other corporations engaged in making powder, shells, acids, etc., have all had the same experience. One corporation was formed with \$10,000,000 capital to manufacture rifles and on tentative proposals went ahead and set up a plant. It had figured that a certain class of lathes used in boring would be furnished at \$1500 apiece, but when the order for them came to be placed the actual cost was \$5000 each.

These facts are cited to illustrate the current difficulty in analyzing many classes of securities which in normal times could be quite closely rated. As it is now no one seems to have a very definite idea what residuum of profit there will remain after the abnormal costs of materials have been absorbed and also the high scale of wages, in which is included a constantly shortening day's work. A great deal of the trouble with the speculative market recently has been due to the disappointing returns published of companies whose stocks were advanced to unheard of levels last year on exaggerated ideas of what was to be earned on these securities from war contracts.

CONTROL OF SOURCES OF MATERIALS.—ITS IMPORTANCE

Recently a New York Stock Exchange house issued a letter to its clients in which it said:

It is becoming more and more evident, as the war progresses and increases the demand for

and prices of certain products, that those who produce these products will not reap the greatest benefit unless they also control the sources of materials and supplies that enter into these products. When the prices of commodities are rising rapidly for a considerable period of time, the first benefits go to the manufacturers or producers of those commodities while the later and greater benefits go to those who own the opportunities to production, viz., the mines, forests and land.

It was then pointed out how the profits on shells and cartridges had been curtailed by the high prices of steel, copper, zinc, tungsten, and quicksilver; those of automobile manufacturers by the rise in rubber and leather as well as in steel and in copper and of powder manufacturers by the heavy tribute exacted from producers of alcohol, sulphuric acid, picric acid and ethyl. Even the leather manufacturers, who have had their market abroad enormously expanded, are at the mercy of the makers of dyes, acids, tallow, etc. There have been daily advances in the prices of crude oil and gasoline in the past three months, until the present figure on the latter has reached a level that threatens to reduce automobile production.

Continuing the letter above quoted said:

Those who have the final word and who bag the biggest profits are those who own the ore, coal and oil lands; the lumber and rubber forests; the copper, zinc, lead and quicksilver mines; the sugar lands; and the grain, cotton and grazing land. Nor should we overlook the owners of building and water power sites who are always on hand when prosperity is with us.

A TIME WHEN SELLER DICTATES TO BUYER

The same thought has been expressed in another way and to this effect:

Never before in the history of the world, whether it be in lumber, copper, steel products, sugar, in fact, almost every commodity, has the buyer been at the mercy of the seller in so great a degree as that at present. The buyer must produce the money and the credit arrangement is made at the dictation of the seller. This is a condition that has never existed heretofore; and the condition is reflected in no one section, but all over the country. It means increased dividends for stockholders, increased working capital and larger surplus accounts.

The largest industrial transaction carried out last month was the purchase by the

newly formed Midvale Steel & Ordnance Manufacturing Company of the Cambria Steel Company; and the underlying reason for this was the need which the purchaser had of the large ore deposits of the latter in order to insure low producing costs and immunity from pressure or discrimination by competitors controlling other valuable iron-ore deposits. One conspicuous feature of the war-munition business in its infancy period in the United States has been the lack of coördination between the different industries controlling products of which some finished article is the composite. Herein lies the explanation of so much unsatisfactory result when the balance sheets of the year were made up.

"RAW-PRODUCT" SECURITIES

Most of the securities of companies dealing in raw products are closely held and represent moderate capitalizations with enormous earning power at the present time. The stock of one chemical concern, which few not identified with the trade had heard of until this year, is quoted at \$4400 a share. **Many others are held at from \$300 to \$500 and several of them above \$1000 a share.** On the other hand, the shares of the most profitable of the powder companies employing chemical products in the manufacture of their specialty are held at about \$350 a share and some less profitable ones much below \$100 a share. One of these stocks recently declined from about \$175 a share to \$60 a share for reasons described in the early paragraphs of this article.

It is not within the range of the average investor to secure what may be classified as the "raw-product" securities and if it were it is doubtful if such a policy is to be recommended. Certainly not for permanent investment, for just as the war has bid up valuations, so the end of the war will also bring its readjustments in the other direction. There is another reason and that is the difficulty in obtaining information regarding these more or less closed corporations. Few of them ever make reports to stockholders on which an accurate idea of earnings can be gauged. One has to depend on one's general conviction about the state of an industry and some knowledge of the probable profits given certain conditions and faith in the management, and that is all.

It is possible, however, to take some advantage of the current situation and exchange securities of laggard industries or transportation companies for those which

have the immediate call on the nation's prosperity. Great care should, however, be taken in the selection of such investments, with preference given to those obligations which are well fortified even in ordinary times. A year ago there was a great collapse in the securities of timber land and lumber companies, and this wreckage is still strewn over the investment field. To-day lumber is in better demand than in many years and prices are high. Consequently production will be stimulated, the market probably over-supplied again, with the resultant fall in prices. There is also at present speculation in rubber lands and in rubber securities based on legitimate demands and raw products are **not exorbitantly high.** One of the most remarkable developments has to do with cane sugar lands. Recently a New York syndicate of bankers has bought great tracts in Cuba and enriched the island with \$50,000,000 gold. Copper mines that had ceased to produce because production was not profitable at the old quotations of 15 to 18 cents for metal are starting up and making money with metal between 25 cents and 30 cents.

POWER-COMPANY MORTGAGES DESIRABLE

These are all evanescent conditions and should not compel the careful investor to place funds required for income in securities of currently exploited companies. On the other hand, mortgages on the lands which produce these commodities, good in all times, ought to be superfine investments now, and the mortgages of power companies which with a normal load can earn fixed charges two or three times over are certainly of greater value than ever with the present maximum load, due to the opening of so many mines and the 100 per cent. of capacity rate at which so many industries are being driven to supply domestic and foreign requirements. The labor situation among industries, exclusive of the hard and soft coal miners, is on a more stable basis than that of the railroads, which are facing a great strike this spring unless they meet the demands of their employees. There is not so much foreign liquidation to injure the market for industrials and public utility securities as there is constantly overhanging that for railroad securities. The former, then, are preferable at the moment, but should be selected with great care and always with the knowledge of what they earn normally and not in the excitement and false perspective of what they are earning in a period of somewhat accidental prosperity.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 707. MUNICIPAL VERSUS GOVERNMENT BONDS

I am a married man, and have a small amount of savings. I want to invest safely. What do you think about Government bonds? How much interest would they yield? I do not know a thing about bonds or investments, and for that reason would like to have you tell me just what you would do in my circumstances.

From the brief outline which you give of your circumstances, we believe if we were in your place we should place the little savings fund in a carefully selected municipal bond. We quite appreciate why, with your lack of experience in such matters, your thoughts should have turned to Government bonds, but that kind of investment, we are sure, will scarcely appeal to you when you stop to consider that the net income it would yield is way below 4 per cent. An investment in municipal bonds would give you a degree of safety high enough for all practical purposes and a considerably better yield of income.

In going into this kind of investment, it might be suggested that you select a bond that meets the requirements of the Government's Postal Savings System. There are a good many such issues that come in denominations small enough to meet the requirements of any investor. A good way for you to take the matter up for definite action would be to consult personally with a firm of responsible and experienced specialists in municipal securities.

No. 708. WHAT BORROWERS HAVE TO PAY ON FARM LOANS

I should like a question answered through the *Investment Bureau* as regard farm mortgages. It is this: How much interest do borrowers have to pay on mortgages that bear 5½ and 6 per cent?

It varies as between the different States, and even as between different localities in a given State. For example, we quote below a few figures taken from a report on an investigation made by the Office of Markets and Rural Organization of the United States Department of Agriculture. The figures are based on data obtained in 1915, but representing normal conditions such as prevailed before the outbreak of the European war.

State	Average Int. Rate	Average Annual Cham.	Interest Paid Cham.
Maine	6.1	0.1	6.2
Connecticut ...	5.7	Less than 0.1	5.7
New York	5.5	0.1	5.6
Ohio	5.9	0.2	6.1
Illinois	5.7	0.3	6.0
Wisconsin	5.7	0.1	5.8
Iowa	5.6	0.3	5.9
Missouri	6.2	0.6	6.8
Kansas	6.1	0.8	6.9
Georgia	7.6	1.1	8.7
Florida	9.0	0.6	9.6
Oklahoma	6.6	1.8	8.4
Texas	8.4	0.6	9.0
Wyoming	9.2	0.8	10.0
Utah	8.6	0.4	9.0
Washington ..	7.9	0.8	8.7
California	7.4	0.2	7.6

No. 709. THE FUTURE OF NEW HAVEN

Will you kindly advise what you think of New Haven, New Haven & Hartford bonds, and why, as a prospective investor. I am a married man, and have a small amount of savings. I want to invest safely. What do you think about Government bonds? How much interest would they yield? I do not know a thing about bonds or investments, and for that reason would like to have you tell me just what you would do in my circumstances.

We are inclined to agree with you that in many respects the railroads of the country have passed through the most trying of their difficulties, but we think there are a number of grave problems yet remaining to be solved before the stability of railroad investments as a class can be established as we should all like to see it established.

The New Haven's difficulties were, of course, quite largely of the making of a former improvident management, rather than the making of general conditions in the road's territory. The present management has apparently succeeded in solving in a satisfactory way a number of the problems which it inherited, but it still has several difficult ones with which to grapple. The future cannot be seen very clearly at the present time, but we are of the opinion that no dividends can be expected on the stock for a few years yet. We think that in time a very large part, at least, of the lost investment prestige of New Haven securities can be restored, but we should not care to venture a forecast as to how soon that may be.

No. 710. LOOK FOR ESTABLISHED EARNING POWER

I am surprised at the nature of an investment which I made a few years ago in Western Pacific 5's, which were represented to me at the time by an eminent outside expert as the best investment in the market today. The result, my friend, is a costly advance in price. You are probably familiar with the experience through which the holders of these bonds are passing. Personally, I do not wish to repeat the story, but I should like to make you realize what price you can take.

We know of but one sure precaution against a repetition of the kind of experience you are having with the Western Pacific 5's; namely, to make sure hereafter that the bonds you buy are *the obligations of companies with established earning power*. At the time the Western Pacific bonds were marketed, they were to all intents and purposes construction bonds. Interest was being then met, and continued for a long time to be met, out of "construction account." And after this account was closed, interest was paid largely out of the net earnings of the Denver & Rio Grande, which was obligated on the Western Pacific's 5's by a guarantee, since repudiated. There is always a hazard in buying bonds in such circumstances, whether or not interest or principal, or both, are protected by a guarantee.

No. 711. STREET-IMPROVEMENT BONDS

I am seeking knowledge as to the effect of street improvements for information regarding Western Securities, especially I am very interested in street improvement bonds. Are there any bonds issued for this purpose and how their value changes?

The class of bonds you have particular reference to, do not come within the category of direct municipal obligations. They are, instead, the personal obligations of the owners of the property abutting the improvements for which the bonds are issued. They are safeguarded in the final analysis by liens coming ahead of everything except general taxes on specific parcels of property within these limited districts, and in this sense the bonds partake very much of the nature of real-estate mortgages.

Taken as a whole, these bonds have a very good record for safety. We have heard of an occasional instance here and there where delay has occurred in the payment of interest and maturing instalment of principal.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

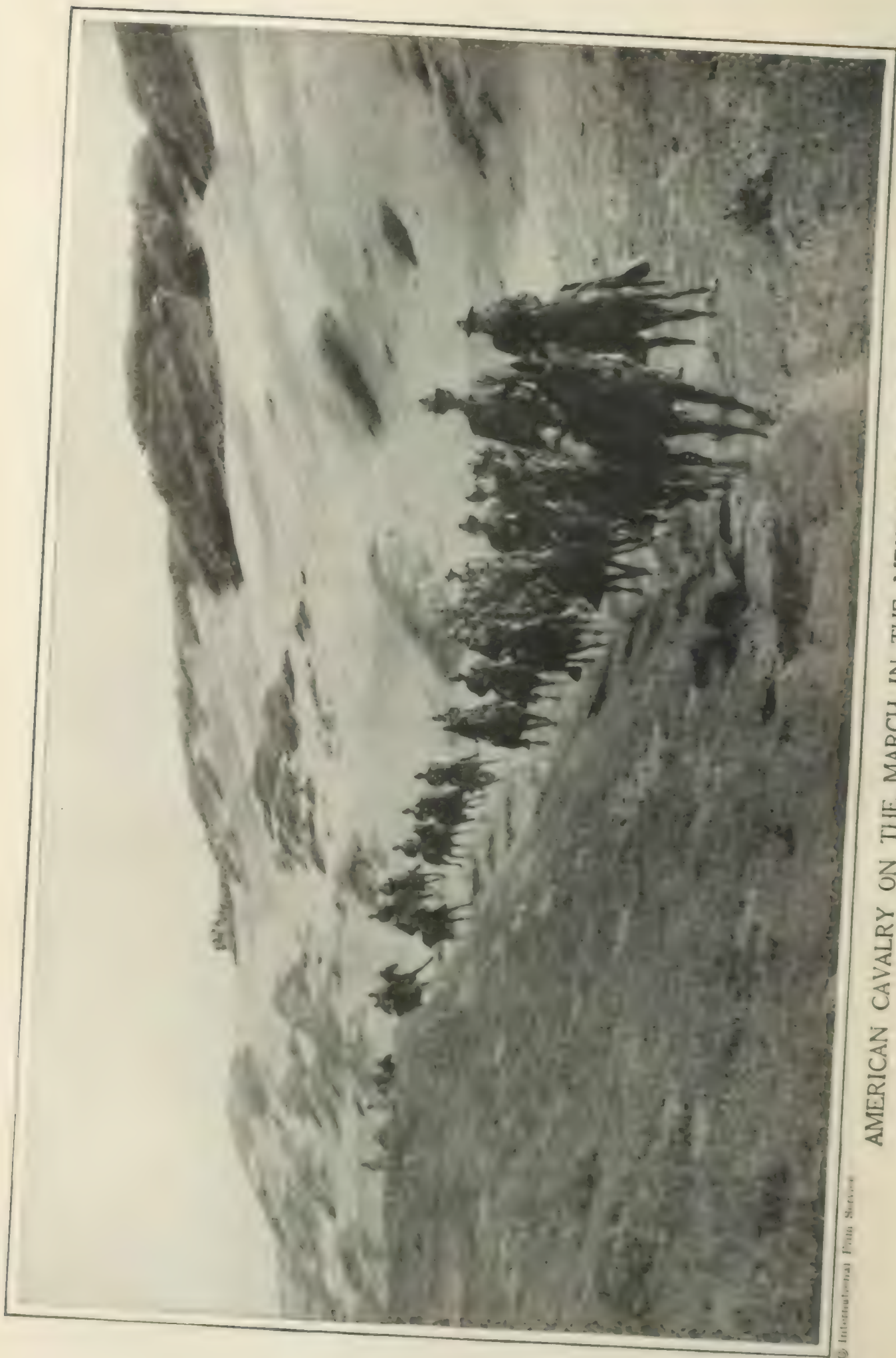
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AMERICAN CAVALRY ON THE MARCH IN THE MEXICAN BORDER REGION

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*A Month of
Sensations*

With the Mexican expedition following the submarine brain-storm in Congress, the sensational newspapers found more opportunity for hysterical headlines in the first half of March than at any time since the sinking of the *Lusitania*. As March began, they were chiefly agitated over relations with Germany on account of a new submarine policy, this excitement having been produced by reports that the Administration and Congress were in a controversy over the question of passengers on armed ships. The wave of popular emotion that had accompanied the alarmist propaganda tour for "preparedness" had harmlessly subsided. New sensations had been aroused by such events as Mr. Garrison's abrupt retirement from the cabinet, and Mr. Root's staggering philippic against the policies of the party now in power.

*Submarines
and
Armed Ships*

We had been told in cheerful bulletins that all lingering phases of the diplomatic controversy over the *Lusitania* had been settled. The announcement had been reassuring, and the country felt relieved. Associated with that announcement of good understanding with Germany was the dictum of the Administration to the Allies that their merchant ships ought not to carry defensive armament against submarines. Germany, assuming the attitude of response to the President's views as an umpire upon what seemed to him "fair play" in the U-boat game, declared that she would put into practice, after March 1, the principle that armed merchant ships have the character of public vessels or auxiliary cruisers, and are not to be warned before attack. Congress showed a strong disposition to accept—as practical common sense. If not as international law—the views that had been promulgated by our own Administration and that had thus been adopted for practical purposes by Germany.

Suddenly and swiftly, in a manner that nobody has yet been quite able to understand, the Administration and Congress were locking horns with one another with such intensity of emotion as is not witnessed at Washington more than one or twice in a lifetime.

*Villa Brings
a New
Thrill*

Congress had taken the Administration's view, only in a much milder form than had been officially promulgated. The Administration itself was represented as in a mood of heroism untouched by expediency. It was declared in some quarters to be ready for war with all the world if need be, in defense of the abstract right of an American to travel on the armed merchantmen of belligerents. Never were issues so jockeyed and so muddled as were those that finally came to a vote in the early days of March. Of all this we shall say more in subsequent pages—though chiefly for the benefit of readers of our bound volumes in future years. For, already, this intense struggle, in which the President was recorded as having won a decisive victory over his own Congress, was wholly forgotten within one short week. A new sensation had come along in its turn. In the early morning of March 9, a body of Mexican bandits, or irregular soldiers, led by Francisco Villa, crossed the line into New Mexico and made an attack upon the little town of Columbus. This town was one of more than forty points along the boundary line between the United States and Mexico which formed headquarters or centers for detachments of the 19,000 soldiers of our regular army distributed to protect the scattered border communities of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas from the danger of Mexican raids. The recognition of General Carranza as head of a *de facto* government, by the United States and the principal South American countries, had greatly strengthened him as against his enemies; and Villa's loss of prestige and power

as a military leader had rendered him the more desperate and dangerous as a bandit in northern Mexico, breathing out insane threats against Americans and committing depredations through a considerable region, chiefly in the great state of Chihuahua, south of El Paso.

"Watchful
Waiting"
at an End

Although the factional soldiery of Mexico had nominally gone over to Carranza in solid troops or regiments, the recognized *de facto* ruler had been lamentably unsuccessful in establishing order in the northern States. There had been some shocking murders of American mining men. Ranches and settlements had been looted. Villa's threats had been made in reckless disregard of consequences. He had started with his band of a few hundred men to attack Columbus, from a point so distant that nine or ten days of rapid, painful marching across the desert were required before he reached the boundary. That Villa was moving in that direction, with possible designs upon Columbus, was so well known that it was reported in New York and throughout the country two or three days before the attack on the morning of the 9th. For some reason, however, Columbus was not on guard. The soldiers who had been sent there for emergencies of this kind were taken by surprise. Seven troops of the Thirteenth Cavalry were stationed at that point. They soon drove the Mexicans away, and killed perhaps sixty of them, while nineteen or twenty Americans were killed, of whom half were soldiers and the others civilian residents of Columbus. American patience and endurance had reached the limit. There was no difference of opinion as to the duty of the United States to perform police work in the state of Chihuahua. Orders were immediately issued from Washington.

"Punitive"
Measures

Meanwhile, however, the troopers of the Thirteenth Cavalry, about 250 in number, had followed Villa's fugitive horde several miles south of the border, where a stand had been made and where most of the casualties of the day had occurred. Villa's men had afterwards continued their retreat, and were supposed to be scattering in rough hill country where pursuit would be difficult. On the day following the raid, there was issued from the White House at Washington the following statement:

An adequate force will be sent at once in pursuit of Villa, with the single object of capturing

him and putting a stop to his forays. This can and will be done in entirely friendly aid of the constituted authorities in Mexico, and with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of that republic.

There were widely varying forecasts of the nature and extent of the expedition which General Funston, as commander of the Southern Department, was instructed to organize and dispatch. The troops were scattered along hundreds of miles of boundary line as a border patrol. There was no considerable body of soldiers at any one point. The few regiments of our mobile army that were not in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona were distributed from the Atlantic to the Pacific at a number of army posts, in accordance with a policy long outgrown.

Gen. Funston's
Prudent
Estimates

So great were the elements of uncertainty involved in any kind of invasion of Mexico, however restricted its avowed purpose might be, that General Funston demanded what—for this country—would seem a large body of troops. He thought that 30,000 men ought to be available, or even 50,000, in case of certain contingencies. Not only had General Funston been for some time in command along the Rio Grande, but it must be remembered that he was also in command of our forces at Vera Cruz. He knows Mexico's present condition of general anarchy, and from his experience in the Philippines he knows what it means for American soldiers to put down



LET US COME BACK WITH WHAT WE GO AFTER
THIS TIME!

From the New York Sun

disorder in an uncivilized region of impoverished populations that have taken to brigandage, and that are fanatically hostile to invaders. General Funston realized that Carranza's authority might prove to be nominal, rather than real, and that Obregon or some other commander might supersede him at almost any time. Carranza has recently stated that he now has an active army of 100,000 equipped and experienced men. It is not easy to guess how many men have had fighting experience in Mexico during the past five years, but there must be at least a quarter of a million; and many rifles have been imported, with numerous machine guns and much ammunition. Obviously we have no army at present that could cope with the forces of a united Mexico. And it has been repeatedly said for several years past that Mexicans would become united if under any pretext American troops intervened or invaded the country. General Funston was obliged to have in mind, therefore, the danger that all Mexican factions would turn against his troops.

*Carranza
Consulted*

At Washington every possible effort was bent towards saving Mexican pride. The hope was expressed, on behalf of the Administration, that Carranza's own forces would capture Villa and restore order, so that we might promptly withdraw and avoid the embarrassment of dealing with the arch-bandit in case of his having fallen into our hands. Car-



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON

(Who commands the American forces along the Mexican border, though Brigadier-General Pershing heads the "punitive expedition")

ranza had given his formal consent to the sending of American troops against Villa's raiders, on the condition that Mexican troops in pursuit of outlaws might have a corresponding privilege of crossing the line into the United States. This privilege was promptly accorded in a statement that was intended to save Carranza's prestige with his own people. It seems to have been generally forgotten that only a few months ago we had given Carranza the remarkable privilege of transporting his troops by rail on our side of the boundary, in order that he might relieve Mexican border posts that Villa's men were attacking, and the more effectively prosecute the war against opposing factions. It was, indeed, favors of this kind shown by our Administration to Carranza, after it had decided to "recognize" him, that had so infuriated Villa and embittered him toward Americans. He had previously been much more friendly to the United States than Carranza had been, and at one time President Wilson had been regarded as favoring Villa "against the field."

*By the
Hatteras*

But when Carranza had become relatively strong, and we had, last October, accorded him his place as actual ruler, it will be remembered that we also authorized the shipment of arms



THE FIGHT OF 1914
From the Chicago Tribune

to Carranza and prohibited such shipment to Villa and all others, while also giving Carranza's men the right to operate by rail from our side of the line against their enemies. For a country that has adopted the policy of abstaining scrupulously from meddling in Mexican affairs, we have managed to accumulate an unprecedented amount of ill-will across the line. The Columbus raid of Villa's, therefore, was not the looting excursion of bandits, but rather the act of an infuriated body of Mexicans who intended to bring our country into conflict with their own. These men are chiefly of Indian blood, and their state of mind is not that of men of European ancestry, but much more like what American soldiers of the past had encountered in some of our numerous Indian wars. It is this bitterness of attitude towards the "Gringos," as they call the people of the United States, that constitutes the most difficult factor in the problem. Villa himself is a military leader of remarkable adroitness, and he has been surrounded by men who are well informed. Nobody knows better than these Mexican fighters just what our military situation is now and has been during recent years. Since Villa could have had no other object in striking at Columbus except to arouse the American people and precipitate an invasion of Mexico—at a moment when our army was small and scattered and could not be very quickly doubled in size—it was not to be expected that he was without further plans or designs. It was not then "brigandage," but war that Villa planned.

Force
Alone
Impressive

Thus it will be seen that our military men were right in taking the expedition seriously. Fighters like these Mexicans, who have been shedding blood for five years, are not thinking with awe about the latent power of the United States. They are impressed by actual military force, rather than by industrial resources. A very small expedition would have tempted attack not only by Villa's followers, but by Carranza's as well. On the other hand, the decision at Washington to trust the army, strengthen it, and let it proceed with respectable force was more likely to secure the coöperation of Carranza's men and to bring peace and order without much bloodshed. Under these circumstances the army was doing fairly

well to be ready, six days after the Columbus outrage, to send some six thousand troops, under General Pershing's command, southward into the Mexican wilderness. There was an attempt at a censorship of news regarding the plans of the expedition, with the result, as usual in such cases, that the Mexicans were informed through their ordinary sources of intelligence, while American newspaper readers had to be content with unofficial and inaccurate reports. It was merely idle, at the outset, to speculate upon the magnitude or the duration of our task in Northern Mexico.

Railroad
Transport

The advance of General Pershing's columns was more rapid than had been expected, and forced the difficult problem of transporting supplies for the expedition. It was hoped that permission could be obtained to utilize the Mexican railroads for this purpose; otherwise it would be folly for the American troops to push forward any considerable distance south of the point that they had reached after three days' marching (about 110 miles) from the boundary-line. The danger of loss and delay incident to the transporting of supplies by pack-train over hundreds of miles of desert might prove a more serious problem than the movement of the troops themselves. The Mexicans, on the other hand, accustomed to campaigning in a mountain country and carrying only a few days' provisions, might elude their pursuers indefinitely. It seemed imperative, therefore, that our army should use the railroad.



VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, THE RECOGNIZED HEAD OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT—FROM A RECENT SNAPSHOT



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THE NEW SECRETARY OF WAR, MR. NEWTON D. BAKER (AT THE RIGHT), IN CONFERENCE WITH MAJOR-GEN. HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY AND ACTING-SECRETARY FOLLOWING MR. GARRISON'S RESIGNATION

Expanding the Army

The authorized maximum of our standing army, under existing laws, has for some time been 100,000 men. It has not, however, been kept recruited up to that number. On March 14, five days after the Columbus raid, President Wilson and the cabinet decided to request Congress to authorize immediate recruiting to the extent of the maximum. The matter was stated to the House of Representatives by Mr. Hay, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and within four minutes the House had taken action, one New York Socialist being the only member to object. The resolution was unanimously passed by the Senate on the following day. The actual army roll then amounted to 80,033 men. It was necessary to add 19,947 to make the full number of 100,000. Figures given to the press showed 14,775 coast defense troops, with 568 officers, who could not properly be taken away from their present posts. Soldiers to the aggregate number of about

25,000 were in the Philippines, Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico, and Panama. There were left in the United States 34,510 mobile troops, commanded by 1923 officers. Including regiments that were at once ordered to the Mexican border, there were about 25,000 soldiers in that region. The recruiting of approximately 20,000 more men would virtually double the force available for use in a situation like that in Northern Mexico.

Another Secretary of War

These events on our southern border gave a definite turn to the subject of "preparedness," which had gone quite stale at Washington. Congress had been in session three and a half months without having acted upon the army and navy proposals presented by the President in his annual message at the beginning of December. It was decided to give these questions the right of way, and to secure the adoption of some plan that would put the nation in better shape for



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HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, APPOINTED SECRETARY OF WAR BY THE PRESIDENT ON MARCH 7

defense. As it happened, the President had appointed a Secretary of War just two days before the Columbus occurrence, the post having been vacant for a month. The new Secretary is Mr. Newton D. Baker, of Cleveland, Ohio, for a number of years City Solicitor and afterwards Mayor. Mr. Baker is greatly esteemed among his Ohio neighbors as a man of high vision and an apostle of social justice. He is a good lawyer and an eloquent speaker. He has been regarded as opposed to the views of those who believe that the conditions of the world require the United States to make exceptional preparation for defense against some possible foe. He frankly avowed an entire lack of acquaintance with the work of his new office, while also declaring his devotion to President Wilson and readiness to subscribe to any view or policy of the President. Mr. Baker is, beyond doubt, a man of exceptional talents and high character, who will quickly adapt himself, as did Mr. Stimson, of New York, to the requirements of his position. It is reasonable in such cases of new men in high office not only to hope for the successful conduct of public business, but to expect it. Mr. Baker will not fail.

Mr. Hay's
Army
Bill

After passing the resolution approving of the expansion of the present army organization to its maximum of 100,000, the military committee of the House, through its chairman, Mr. Hay, of Virginia, presented the result of its planning for national defense on the larger scale. The first provision of this bill was an increase of the regular army in time of peace to 140,000. A regular-army reserve of 60,000 men was contemplated. The State troops, or National Guard, numbering now about 125,000 men, were more liberally subsidized than heretofore by this measure, and were expected to build up a militia reserve by the plan of two years' active service, with four additional years of enrollment. Mr. Hay was able to figure out more than a million trained men already available, through adding up the estimated numbers of those who have within a certain period been discharged from the regular army and those who have had some experience in the State militia, or in the colleges and schools that give military training. This, of course, is much better than nothing at all; but these men do not constitute a factor for defense until they are duly enrolled as reserves, organized into definite units, and brought together under their officers at stated intervals. This will remain to be worked out.

Broader
Plans
Needed

A common-sense system, whether as complete and universal as in other countries or not, would give us a strictly national body of partly trained citizen reserves large enough to constitute a formidable army on short notice in time of need, while costing the Government very little in time of peace. We have published much information from time to time regarding the Swiss and their system of universal training for national service, but the subject is so important that we are presenting it again this month. Mr. Huidekoper, whose article on the Swiss and Australian systems will be found beginning on page 449, is one of the most authoritative of our writers and students in the field of military history. He is the author of a notable book, published a few weeks ago, entitled "The Military Unpreparedness of the United States." Mr. Huidekoper's critical narrative carries us through all of our wars, from the Revolution to the present day, and analyzes every phase of the problem of armed preparation. It ought to be read by many thousands of our young men who must soon, in their turn, assume

the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the United States through another generation, and should know our history.

Senate Proposals

The Senate Committee's bill, as reported by Mr. Chamberlain, of Oregon, called for a larger immediate increase of the regular army than the House bill. It authorized a peace force of 178,000 men, to be recruited up to 250,000 in time of war. Many detailed provisions in the bill are commendable as improvements over the existing situation. The fundamental difficulty with the work of both committees lay in their failure to make broad deductions from the experience of the other countries of the world. We are perpetuating—while somewhat increasing—the type of regular standing army that no other country but England had retained until now, and that Great Britain has this year abandoned forever. The other part of our defense scheme is made up of the equally obsolete form of militia under State control, improperly named the National Guard. The States should have their constabulary for their own purposes of quelling riots and keeping the peace. The nation should have its body of several million young citizens organized as a reserve force, and it should maintain a large body of highly trained officers, whose most important duty in times of peace would be the disciplining of successive classes of young men coming up for their brief periods of instruction.

"Mobilizing Industries"

But what we most need in this country for purposes of preparation against some great possible emergency is a supply of materials. Wars have become largely a matter of engineering and manufacture. We need the cooperation of our manufacturers and engineers, under the leadership of men trained in the modern industrial world. This is the kind of preparation that thirty thousand members of the great engineering societies of the country are proposing to help secure, under the auspices and with the aid of the Administration. It is expected that the Naval Consulting Board will be as closely related to the army as to the navy, and become a National Council for Defense. Mr. Howard Coffin, as a member of the Consulting Board and chairman of the committee having to do with industrial production and organization, has taken the lead in a plan for securing the cooperation of thousands of industrial plants without delay in time of need. The tech-

nical difficulties in the way of the quick production of rifles, cartridges, shells for artillery, or any one of hundreds of other necessary articles or parts of articles needed for armies and navies are not dreamed of by the ordinary citizen; but they have been learned by many of our engineers and manufacturers who have tried to fill contracts for the European governments.



MR. HOWARD COFFIN (ON THE RIGHT) AND MR. W. S. GIFFORD, PLANNING THE ENGINEERS' CAMPAIGN FOR "INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS"

Lessons of Current Experience

It is only now that some of the best of these concerns are beginning to make their first shipments, after having done their best for a year or a year and a half to become so completely equipped as to produce the necessary result. It is proposed by our engineers, under Mr. Coffin's lead, and by the leaders of certain national business and commercial organizations, to have our shops and factories carefully listed as to their capacities, and so prepared in time of peace that they could give the Government unlimited supplies in war time without the delays to which England and her allies have been subjected. We do not need large standing armies, but we need virile young men everywhere sufficiently trained to form a good citizen soldiery in war time. Nor do we need colossal supplies of munitions, heaped up in advance and probably never to be used. But we do need the demonstrated ability, in our machine-shops and manufactories, to produce on Government demand, without delay, exactly the articles of munition and equipment that are needed, and in quantities far beyond the capacity of any other country. The preparation of young men can come, for the most part, without public expense as a by-product of their education or of their training period. As for the materials,

if we are not to have more than a million rifles in reserve and ready for use, we should have at least a hundred different establishments so prepared by the fact that they are already making *some* rifles for the Government each year, that they could make large quantities on short order if demanded.

*Sinking
Naval Plans*

Army bills have had precedence over legislation for the navy. Meanwhile, however, the House Committee on Naval Affairs held hearings during February and March, soliciting the opinions and judgments of the chief officers of the navy. These gentlemen were unanimous in declaring that our navy should at once have larger and faster ships and many submarines, although they differed in matters of detail. There is a tendency to abandon the plan to construct huge submarines, and adopt a smaller type—which, however, will be considerably larger than those we now have. Admiral Fletcher declared that the Atlantic Fleet is in a satisfactory condition, and that the efficiency of the men meets every requirement, the marksmanship having improved materially within recent months. Rear-Admiral Blue, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, asserted that the personnel of the navy—both officers and men—is better than at any time in its history. Admiral Winslow severely criticized the entire method of instructing officers. He thinks the younger officers have not had sufficient experience at sea, and those in the higher grades lack training and practise in the tasks which would be theirs in case of war. Rear-Admiral Knight, President of the War College, believes that the fleet is only 50 per cent. efficient through shortage of men, battle cruisers, and scout ships. Rear-Admiral Benson, Chief of Operations (a post recently created), gave the committee an account of current work in the way of "preparedness." Mobilization and organization plans have been worked out, while strategical and supply plans, for quick action, are being evolved. It was expected by Chairman Padgett that his committee would be ready to report a bill early in April, presumably in harmony with the Administration's proposal of a five-year construction program involving an expenditure of \$500,000,000.

*"Armed Ships"
As an
Issue*

As we remarked in our opening paragraphs, one sensation succeeded another in March, in such a way as to make it hard for the reader of the daily press to look back and keep in

mind the sequence of occurrences with anything like an intelligent perspective. At the opening of the month we were made to feel that the whole world had paused in suspense awaiting the result of the controversy at Washington regarding the status of American travelers on armed merchant ships. Many strange things have happened in our public life during the past three years; but nothing ever happened, perhaps, in all the history of diplomatic, executive, and Congressional action that was more bewildering in its twists and turns than this controversy about submarines and merchantmen. It was said to have ended in great victory for the President by virtue of votes taken in both houses of Congress. The situation can only be understood by taking it up open-mindedly in the order of occurrences.

*"Lusitania"
Differences
Reconciled*

In the early days of February it was authoritatively stated at Washington that our Government had finally reached an agreement with Germany on all unsettled points having to do with the diplomatic controversy over the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This settlement had covered issues of compensation, and of acknowledgment that the deed was contrary to international law and in violation of the rights of neutrals. The principles of settlement, moreover, were regarded as involving express agreements that neutral passengers would be safeguarded in future when properly traveling on passenger ships. When these negotiations were understood to have been completed, Germany and Austria, on or about February 10, made a declaration regarding their understanding and intentions as respects the application of legal distinctions to their submarine practise after March 1. They declared their intention to respect absolutely the rights of neutral vessels. Furthermore, they agreed to practise the doctrine of "visit and search," with the related doctrine of due warning, before attacking merchant ships belonging to enemy countries—*provided such merchant ships were not armed for offensive purposes against German or Austrian submarines*. A number of questions, some of them legal and some of them practical, were at once raised, and a fresh controversy that began rather gently soon grew intense and emotional.

*"Offensive" and
"Defensive"
Arming*

The newspapers were told that the Administration was irritated because Germany had declared this attitude towards armed merchant ships



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THE NAVAL EXPERTS WHO CONSTITUTE SECRETARY DANIELS' ADVISORY BOARD AND WHO AIDED THE CONGRESS COMMITTEES LAST MONTH IN PERFECTING THE NAVAL BILL

(Front Row: Admiral Benson, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, Secretary Daniels, Surgeon-General Braisted, and Admiral Clegg. Back Row: Captain McKean, Captain Parsons, Admiral McGowan, Admiral Blue, Admiral Taylor, Captain Wurtzbaugh, and Admiral Strauss.)

without waiting to see if our own Government could not, by persuasion, obtain from England and her allies the admission that this German view was reasonable and fair. It was not contended at first that the German doctrine differed in the least from that which our own Administration regarded as correct. The Allies, however, were rather contemptuous and emphatic in the snubs they administered to the suggestion. They would not consider for a moment the relinquishment of the right to arm merchant ships. The main lines of the issue were almost forgotten in the next stage of the dispute, which had to do with the question whether the new practise of putting modern and powerful naval guns on merchant ships had a defensive or an offensive purpose. Germany declared that she had captured secret instructions given by the English Admiralty to the captains of armed merchant ships, showing conclusively that their guns were to be used offensively to sink submarines. The English at length produced one form of order they had given, which in part supported the German contention. It is to be said that the English liners coming

to the United States had not been carrying guns, although the Italian liners entering New York had recently been thus supplied with powerful modern artillery. Readers will remember that one of the points of controversy at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania* had to do with the question whether or not she carried guns with which to defend herself against submarines. Mr. Wilson's famous *Lusitania* note made its claims for "unarmed merchantmen." It will also be remembered that when the Italian vessels appeared, several months ago, with mounted guns, our Government took up seriously the question of compelling them to remove this armament, and finally granted clearance papers only on the express promise of the Italian authorities that guns should be used strictly for defensive purposes, although the distinction is not an easy one to understand.

*The
Technical
Right to Arm*

Landlubbers must bear in mind that the technical right of merchant ships to carry mounted guns is a matter that had almost completely disappeared from discussion in text books of international law, because the practice itself



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THE 3-INCH NAVAL GUN MOUNTED ON THE STERN OF THE ITALIAN LINER "VERONA"

(This is a type of the guns now used on merchant ships, though some in use are much larger. This rapid-fire gun will fire twenty-four shots a minute, and is effective at a distance of nearly five miles. Such guns are always handled by naval experts, and can easily sink a submarine at a distance of two or three miles, or as far as it could be seen)

had become virtually obsolete. In the old, lawless days when pirate ships roamed the seas, when irregular craft were engaged in the slave trade, and before steam had taken the place of sails, while privateers swarmed the seas in case of the outbreak of war, there were obvious reasons why the private merchant ship should carry a gun or two. She was not supposed to use them against regular men-of-war. When overtaken by a regularly armed ship belonging to the navy of a nation at war, she was expected to receive, for her passengers and crew, the rights and immunities that accompanied the process of capture. Within our period, however, piracy has been stamped out, privateering has been abolished, and the carrying of guns by privately owned and operated merchant ships had become obsolete because needless. Its sudden revival is due to the fact of a wholly new kind of naval warfare. For several generations the United States advocated and strove to secure the exemption from capture and attack of private property at sea. The world would gladly have accepted that enlightened and valuable doctrine if Great Britain's consent could have been obtained. Preying upon peaceful commerce at sea is a shameful thing, whether done by governments or under the black flag. The subma-

rine question would have adjusted itself with perfect ease if John Bull could ever have been made to accept the doctrine that merchant ships, not participating in war but engaged in ordinary and peaceful trade, may not be captured or sunk at sea. The submarine is a fit instrument to be used by a nation in self-defense, as against the warships of an attacking or invading enemy. But the submarine is a horrible monster when engaged in the odious business—that ought long ago to have been outlawed by agreement of all nations—of sinking unarmed merchant ships at sea. When this war is ended, all such questions must be settled on broad grounds of enlightened justice.

*Difficult
Distinctions*

Since, however, those who rule the sea will not give up the doctrine that all the peaceful ships and peaceful commerce of citizens who owe allegiance to a country that is at war may be driven from the seas by public vessels of war of all kinds, we come to a question of distinctions that cannot be wholly avoided by mere reference to the traditions of international law. Since privateering is forbidden, what constitutes a public armed ship on the one hand, and what constitutes a private merchant ship entitled to the privi-

leges of visitation, search, and warning on the other hand? In a sense, all English merchant ships have now become governmental, because their use is wholly controlled by the government and subjected to military restraints. Thus the big liners at the present time have been removed from the New York passenger service and are in use as transports for Canadian troops and as cargo ships for vast quantities of war munitions. These vessels are engaged in the war as truly as any submarine or dreadnaught could possibly be. The traditional international rules safeguarding merchantmen do not contemplate ships that are actually serving, directly or indirectly, the military purposes of a government at war. The best students of the subject in all phases are thoroughly aware that there are no rules or traditions of international law that meet the conditions actually existing on the sea at the present time.

America's Formal Position

What, then, is now or has recently been the actual position of our own President and Secretary of State upon these important questions? The answer is not in doubt. It is to be read in one of the clearest and best-poised official notes that our Government has until this time prepared, in its series of diplomatic utterances since the beginning of the war. It was, in fact, this statement of our Government that preceded the announcement of the German policy, and that influenced every phase of the subsequent controversy. On January 18 our Administration's position was presented formally to England and her allies by the Department of State. The object avowed was to protect neutrals and non-combatants from the dangers of submarine warfare. The right to use submarines against an enemy's commerce was defended, "since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas." Having set forth the established principles and rules, Mr. Lansing showed how naval warfare and maritime conditions have been changed since 1914 by the use of submarines; and he is brought to the conclusion:

"Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines, and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament."

Our Drastic Proposals

Secretary Lansing proceeded to show that "if a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas . . . it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel." He comes to the conclusion, therefore, that it would be a reasonable and just arrangement to hold submarines strictly to the rules requiring the well-known preliminaries, while holding, on the other hand, that "merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever." Though asking the British and Allied governments to accept these views, which he believes "will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents in the present war," the note does not by any means admit that we shall be governed in our own conduct by the response of Great Britain. On the contrary, Mr. Lansing goes so far as to conclude the note with the following paragraph, which, though couched in diplomatic language, would seem to convey to foreign governments the impression of a policy firmly decided upon, and to be given early effect:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Practical Meanings

It is well for the layman to understand just what these last words imply. Since it is the most decisive and important expression made in any note to the belligerent governments at any time since the outbreak of the war (with the possible exception of the note of February 10, 1915, threatening to hold Germany to "strict accountability")—it is surprising that it has not been more widely discussed. This seems to be due to the fact that the note was not given to the American press at the time it was sent to Great Britain and her allies. It was, however, made public in Europe, and Germany was supposedly familiar with its sentiments and its expression. Our Government, then, as long ago as January 18, declared officially to the belligerent powers that it was seriously proposing to treat armed merchant ships as aux-

iliary cruisers. This means that an English, Italian, or French liner or freighter coming into any American port with a mounted gun would be regarded as a warship. It would not be allowed to discharge a cargo or to take on a cargo, and it would have to leave port within twenty-four hours. It would not be allowed to discharge any passengers, nor would it be allowed to take any passengers on board. Thus the thing that our Government had officially declared to the world was reasonable and right, and that it was "seriously" proposing to do, would have acted in the most peremptory way to keep all Americans off armed belligerent merchant ships.

So much for facts that are as open and clear as sunshine at noon. After this come the things that must puzzle the historian if he ever tries to find any thread of consistency running through them. It was ten days later that responsible newspapers here at home were given certain intimations as to the character of the note (see the *New York Times* of January 28), and were told by the State Department that Count von Bernstorff and the Austrian representative, Baron Zwiédinek, had been duly informed and consulted regarding the document that had been forwarded to the foreign offices of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, and Belgium. It was several weeks after we had taken this strong and unqualified position as to what was right and reasonable in the relations between submarine warfare and the arming of merchant ships, that the State Department gave to the press the news that Secretary Lansing and Count von Bernstorff had agreed upon the last point of difference in the negotiations concerning the *Lusitania*. Our views, therefore, regarding armed merchant ships were fully known to the German Government when this agreement was worked out. It was on February 9 that it was announced that Mr. Lansing and Count von Bernstorff had agreed upon the last details, subject only to the acceptance at Berlin of the change of a single word. And this acceptance at Berlin was announced on February 15.

Germany's
Announcement

Meanwhile, on February 10, Germany and Austria had declared that beginning with March 1 they would treat the armed merchant ships of their enemies exactly in the manner that the American Government had

officially declared to be reasonable and just, in its memorandum cabled to all of the Allied governments on January 18. The correspondent of the *New York Times* informed us that our Government was notified of Germany's intentions on February 9, in the very same conference during which the *Lusitania* agreement was made. In short, we made the *Lusitania* agreement more than three weeks after we had notified the world of our views about armed merchant ships, apparently knowing that Germany had decided to conform her practice to those principles which we had expressly laid down as reasonable and just for her to act upon. The most careful and best-informed correspondents in Washington, writing independently of each other, informed us on February 10 that the Administration was in accord with the German view. The *Times* declared that "enough was learned to-day to warrant the statement that . . . the United States Government will deny entry to armed merchant ships except under the conditions which apply to warships, and will issue a formal warning to Americans that their lives will be imperilled if they travel on armed enemy merchant ships." The *Sun* declared that "the State Department is seriously considering . . . issuing a general notice to American travelers to keep off armed liners." The *New York World*, which is strongly pro-Ally but which is also recognized as the chief New York organ of the Administration, expressed its inability to see any reason why "Americans should risk life and property on so-called merchantmen which in fact are ships of war." There was great difference among leading American newspapers as to the wisdom of enforcing the Lansing views; but there seems to have been no doubt at all as to the attitude and the intentions of the Administration at that time.

Our Setten
Change
of Attitude

The front page of the newspapers, however, at that moment was seized by other topics. It was on that very date (February 10) that Secretary Garrison withdrew from the cabinet under highly sensational circumstances. The question of military preparedness had taken the President's attention, and he had on January 28 gone West on his speaking tour, returning to Washington on February 4. It was on February 12 that the full text of the Lansing note on the disarmament of merchant ships was cabled from Europe to the *Chicago Herald* and published simultaneously in the *New York Times*. It did not

seem, however, to have been widely read and understood, although the *Times* headlines declared that the note "tells the Powers that we probably will treat all armed vessels as warships." On February 15 came ex-Secretary Root's speech assailing the diplomacy of the Administration, particularly in its failure to hold Germany to account. On the morning of the 16th there were three main headlines on the front page of the *New York Times*. The three were as follows: "Root Denounces Wilson's Policy Toward the War," "Berlin Meets Our *Lusitania* Terms," "America to Hold that Liners May Arm for Defense." It seems that a statement was given to the press after the Cabinet meeting of Tuesday, February 15, which involved a remarkable change of our Government's official position.

*The
New Doctrines
Outlined*

The first clause of this new statement was that "the Government admits that merchant vessels have an international legal right to arm for the sole purpose of defense." The second clause in the new statement asserts that "the Government is seriously impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel should not carry armament of any sort." In the third clause, we declare that the present rule allowing "merchant vessels to arm only for defense ought to be changed; nevertheless, the Government does not feel that it can change or disregard this rule during the progress of the war without the assent of the contending belligerents." In the fourth clause, our proposal of January 18 was referred to as a plan for "a gentlemen's agreement among the warring powers for the removal of armament of any sort from merchant ships." The fifth and sixth clauses referred to the submission of proposals to the belligerent powers. The seventh clause declares flatly that "the Government will not blaze the way with any announcement to hold that belligerent merchantmen carrying guns of any sort be treated as auxiliary cruisers." The eighth clause says that "the Government will rely on existing international law, and stand by the right of belligerent merchant ships to arm only for defense." The ninth clause says that our Government may decide to insist that a merchantman "is not armed for defense when its armament is superior in force to the armament of a submarine." (Mr. Lansing, in his note of January 18, had said: "Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the sub-

marine." And he had said further: "Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel, would seem to have the character of an offensive armament."). The tenth clause says that "Americans will not be warned to refrain from traveling on merchantmen armed with guns solely for purposes of defense." The eleventh clause says that if Americans should lose their lives in an attack without warning, our Government would require evidence not only as to the size and nature of the merchantman's armament but as to the position and use of the guns. The twelfth clause says that we have made no protest against the German and Austrian announcement, but that we may possibly inquire how Germany and Austria propose to distinguish between armed and unarmed ships, and so forth.

*Further
Changes of
Attitude*

These statements involved much shifting of ground from the position taken in January. It was stated that the memorandum was given out because on the following Friday, as had been announced, Senators Sterling and Lodge were to speak in the Senate against the new position of the Central Powers. On the following day (February 16) Secretary Lansing gave out a formal statement to the effect that the *Lusitania* case was held up, and its settlement must depend upon how German submarine warfare would be conducted in the future. Apparently our Government had shifted its position somewhat more on each successive day. The Administration had made a serious mistake, in our judgment, in refusing to stand by its own settlement of the *Lusitania* question, in view of all the formal and official facts of its own shaping. The only possible inference is that our Government had for good reasons changed its mind as to a working policy, in the face of essential facts. We had taken the firm ground that merchant ships ought not to be armed at all. We had now begun to take the ground that we must inquire whether they are armed for offense or for defense. We had left it reasonably to be inferred that Americans ought to be warned not to travel on belligerent merchantmen, if we considered them sufficiently armed for purposes of offense. No easy solution was in sight.

*Again, the
German
Attitude*

But meanwhile we had told Germany that we would not accept the settlement of the *Lusitania* case without further assurances regarding the future. By this time Congress began to be

aroused. Senator Sterling had made a speech on the submarine question, and resolutions were being prepared. On the 21st the leaders of the committees having to do with foreign affairs, Senator Stone and Representative Flood, accompanied by Senator Kern, were in consultation with the President. Mr. Wilson insisted that Congress should let diplomatic affairs alone, and particularly that it should not vote upon a resolution warning Americans to keep off armed ships. To sum up a matter of impressions: Some Congressmen derived the mistaken view that President Wilson was on the point of precipitating a break with Germany, while in fact the State Department was ready to prolong friendly diplomatic discussion with Count von Bernstorff. By degrees, and before it had all been realized, the Administration had apparently been placed in the position of the most uncompromising champion of the doctrine that merchant ships had a right to arm, and that we must at all hazards protect the right of any casual American to travel anywhere on the armed ships of belligerents.

*Congress
Excited*

Congress, meanwhile, found itself taking the attitude toward the whole subject that the President and Secretary of State had assumed in the original memorandum they had given to the Allied governments in January, but had since modified. Congress, however, did not go nearly so far as the President had previously gone. Congress merely did not wish to be drawn into needless trouble with Germany. It did not propose to call armed merchantmen "auxiliary cruisers," as the President himself had proposed. It merely desired to support the President, by adopting a resolution against the granting of passports to travelers, or in some other way emphasizing the danger to Americans of being on board belligerent armed ships while the principles were still under diplomatic discussion. No one proposed that Americans should give up any of their abstract rights as neutrals. At first President Wilson used all his influence to prevent resolutions from coming to a vote or being discussed. On February 29, however, the President suddenly asked the acting chairman of the House Committee on Rules to secure "an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen." The President had on February 24 written a letter to Senator Stone, which had made not the slightest reference to the note to the Allies, and which declared unswerving devotion to doctrines



Photographs by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.
COUNT J. H. VON BERNSTORFF, GERMAN AMBASSADOR, AND BARON ZWIÉDINER, CHIEF OF ATTACHES OF THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY, AFTER CALLING AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

that Mr. Lansing's note had not emphasized. Most of the Democratic leaders, in both houses of Congress, and a majority at least of the members of the President's own party, were in favor of warning Americans and of holding to the earlier Lansing doctrines.

*Executive
Action*

Action was deferred, however, until the President, as we have remarked, suddenly changed his view and demanded a vote from Congress upon a matter which he had previously said was exclusively the executive department's business. The vote in the Senate was upon a preamble and resolution framed by Senator Gore. By a trick of substitution, the resolution in final form was as follows:

Resolved, That the sinking by a German submarine, without notice or warning, of an armed merchant vessel of her public enemy, resulting in the death of a citizen of the United States, would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war between the United States and the German Empire.

The resolution, however, did not come to a vote at all upon its merits, because it was tabled by a vote of 68 to 14. The President had demanded a clear vote, with full discussion, on the question of travelers on armed ships. His own managers in the Senate did everything in their power to prevent that question from being voted upon, adopting the parliamentary device of tabling any form of resolution. The result was evasive in effect, and the action unsatisfactory both to the Senate and to the Administration. In the House, the preamble and resolution were much more



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LEFT TO RIGHT: CONGRESSMAN HENRY D. FLOOD, SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK, AND MAJORITY LEADER CLAUDE KITCHIN LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE AFTER A CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT ON HIS SUBMARINE POLICY

elaborate as drawn by Mr. McLemore, of Texas. The vote in the House was decidedly more intelligible, though not direct. It took place on March 7. The leaders, acting for the Administration, were again opposed to securing a vote upon the measure itself. The vote came upon the question whether the resolutions would be taken up to be acted upon, or whether they would be laid upon the table. They were laid upon the table by a vote of 276 to 142. The House was in overwhelming sympathy with the doctrines and purposes of the McLemore resolution. The public was correctly informed, however, that the vote had sustained the President in his right to deal with diplomatic issues.

Meanwhile, the submarine question remains just where it was before. The Allies seem to be rapidly arming their merchant ships. All such armament is, of course, for action against submarines, and there is not a human being who can make a clear distinction between "offensive" and "defensive" use of such armaments. We are unable to see any hope of compromise between the position taken by the Allies, and the position first

taken by our Government and then adopted, as it with encouragement, by Germany. Certain readers wish to know our own editorial opinions. First, then, we cannot imagine the Allies, at the present stage, giving up the right to arm merchant ships against submarines. Second, we think that many of the armed merchantmen should be regarded as "in Government service" and should refuse to take neutral passengers. Third, we do not think that in view of all the facts our Government should hold Germany accountable for lives lost in the case of a merchant ship that has opened war upon a submarine, without taking evidence. Although the need has been obvious since the outbreak of the war, it is not too late yet for us to call the neutral nations together, and attempt to find a common policy as regards the principles which our Government tried to formulate justly in January, and modified as to practice in the Ides of March. Holland and Sweden have these questions to deal with; and Argentina, Chile, and Brazil are as much affected as our own country. It is not their strength that we need to support us, but it is their views as steady opinions and confirming our positions.

Our War Articles

As we have explained elsewhere in some remarks about our regular contributor on the current movements in the great war, Mr. Simonds is in Europe, to return, however, in the near future. We are fortunate, in his absence, in having so accomplished a student of world affairs as Dr. Talcott Williams to write upon the great battle of Verdun. In the extent of ammunition used, and in many other respects, this intense struggle between Germany and France, centering about the greatest of France's frontier fortresses, surpasses any other battle recorded in all history. As our pages closed for the press it was quite too early to estimate the bearing of this phase of the war upon the final outcome. That the Germans expected to accomplish more than they have is evident. The Allies seem to have gained in spirits and determination. A British writer, now at Montreal, Mr. James B. Macdonald, gives our readers an exceptionally valuable account of the military situation in Asia Minor. He writes of the Russian movements following the capture of Erzerum, and also of the British expedition in Mesopotamia. Mr. Stanley Washburn, at home on a furlough, writes for us a brilliant account of Russia's part in the war. Decisive things may happen within a few months.

Personal Changes

There have been many personal changes in military and political leadership; but this has always been the case when great countries are at war. In Germany, Admiral von Tirpitz has retired and has been succeeded in the direction of naval affairs by Admiral von Capelle, who has been one of the Admiralty's chief administrators. The newspapers have attempted to explain this change as due to Admiral von Tirpitz's insistence upon an extremely aggressive submarine policy. But we are not in possession of facts that wholly justify any such conclusion. We have heard little lately of the great hero, Hindenberg, while the German Crown Prince Frederick William has been given the conspicuous place of leadership in the fighting around Verdun. In France General Gallieni has been retired from his post as Minister of War, and has been succeeded by General Charles Roques, as a member of the Briand cabinet. Gen. Roques had created the French military aviation service. It was reported from Turkey that the intrepid War Minister and leader, Enver Pasha, had been assassinated; but he had merely been at the front to inspect the troops, and is again in his place. There

seems to be a growing spirit of unity in England, although there has been some friction due to the calling of married men to the colors in the enforcement of the conscription law. A new cabinet position was been created—that of War Trade Minister, in charge of the blockade and other Orders in Council—and given to Lord Robert Cecil.

Portugal's Note at War

As a matter of formal news, though not of vital consequence, the entrance of Portugal as one of the nations at war must not be disregarded. Portugal has all along been considered as virtually involved on the side of Great Britain. A certain amount of Portuguese aid and countenance had been given by Portugal against the Germans in Africa, where Portuguese possessions are secure only by virtue of English protection. The war was declared by Germany rather than by Portugal. The Portuguese had decided to seize and make use of sixty-five German ships that lay interned in their harbors, promising to make ultimate compensation. Sir Edward Grey held that this was not an act of war, and was permissible. Germany, quite rightly, however, took the view that the step was hostile in fact and intent, and promptly declared war. There was a current report that the Brazilians, who are also of Portuguese blood and speech, had seized forty-two interned German ships because of a desperate need of means of ocean transportation. But the report lacked confirmation as these pages were written on March 20.

Other War Notes

It is to be remarked that the seizure of German ships interned in Italian ports, in February, had not resulted in a declaration of war. It has long been expected that Italy would not continue to fight Germany's allies while keeping up the pretense of being at peace with Germany. Rumania has been mobilizing to the utmost of her capacity, but seems to be merely waiting for her chance to grab desired territory according as the fortunes of war may afford her a final opportunity. She is expecting an Allied drive against Bulgaria from the Salonika base. If Russia should be strong enough to make it seem worth while, Rumania may assist and take as her reward the long-coveted Transylvania. Holland was intensely excited over the sinking of two important ships, especially her South American liner, the *Tubantia*. It is incredible that Germany, relying as she does upon Dutch imports, should have purposely injured a Dutch merchantman. Sweden and Norway,



FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT VON HAESELER

The great German strategist who has been chief of staff of the German army since the Crown Prince Frederick Wilhelm has been in command of the German army.



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FRANCE'S HERO OF VERDUN

(General Petain, on the right, is the French general in immediate command of the forces that have defended Verdun. Next to him is General Baumgarten)



FRANCE'S NEW PRESIDENT

There was a great deal of discussion in France over the question of Poincaré's election. He was elected in 1913, and has since then been one of the leading administrators of the government.



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THE NEW FRENCH MINISTER OF WAR

Georges Clemenceau, known as the "Tiger" and the "Old Man of the French Republic," was the first of the French cabinet, comprising General Clemenceau, who had served for five months.

from different standpoints, have also been more than ever disturbed by maritime interferences. Greece displeased Italy last month by annexing a part of Albania.

*A Runaway
Steel
Market*

Once more Mr. Carnegie's saying that steel is always either prince or pauper is being proved, and this time in more spectacular fashion than ever before. Prices of steel products were on the first of January, 1916, higher than they had been for fifteen years; by the middle of March they were higher still by about eight dollars per gross ton, reaching a level never before recorded. The underlying cause for this spectacular change from the depression of little more than a year ago is our current exports of nearly 400,000 tons of iron and steel each month. The English and German manufacturers are using their material and factories to supply the war demand. Quickened by these exports to Europe, the American home market began to clamor for steel, and now it is scarcely a question of price, but rather a question of where the material can be obtained at all. In 1915, the output of iron in the United States was 29,900,000 tons, within a million tons of the record year of 1913. In March, iron was being produced at the rate of more than 37,000,000 tons per year.

*New Steel
Makers
Springing Up*

The great new demand and the unheard-of prices for steel and iron have made prosperous, overnight, concerns that have never before paid dividends, even those that were actually insolvent; and new combinations of steel-makers are announced each month. One Southern concern, which had never distributed a return to its stockholders and which had been in the hands of receivers three times, is now reported to be earning profits at the rate of 50 per cent. a year for its common stock. The Bethlehem Company, which little more than a year ago seemed five or ten years away from any dividends on the common stock, is already paying its stockholders 30 per cent. a year, and is said to be earning at the rate of 300 per cent. Its stock recently sold for 600; eighteen months ago it was selling around 34. Mr. Schwab's ambition for this Arabian Nights factory took a new step last month in the acquisition of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, which the Bethlehem Corporation bought at a price of approximately \$32,000,000, coming, through the consolidation, into a position in iron capacity second only to

the United States Steel Corporation. The Bethlehem plants are now able to turn out between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 tons of pig iron annually. The purchase from the Pennsylvania Railroad gives the Bethlehem Corporation a plant on the seaboard at Sparrows Point, near Baltimore, to aid in the development of the export trade; valuable also are its coal deposits and ore properties in America, Cuba, and Chili. A second consolidation of large dimensions, announced in February, came from the purchase by the newly organized Midvale Corporation of the Cambria Steel Company at a price of more than \$25,000,000, the purchasing fund being obtained from sales of the Midvale's own capital stock.

*Wild Times
In Copper*

Cool-headed observers do not show unqualified enthusiasm for the furious advance in prices and production of steel, iron, copper—nearly all the metals in fact—and in a majority of the commodities used by our manufacturers. "Runaway" markets are notoriously dangerous. It is obvious that at some point merchants and manufacturers purchasing at these prices will find their costs increasing faster than they can raise prices to their own consumers. A climax, followed by readjustment and depression, is too apt to result from such wildfire prosperity; but up to the present time no appreciable pause has come in the price movement and production figures of copper, zinc, lead, or in steel and iron. Copper is about 12 cents a pound more than it was a year ago. When it is considered that a majority of the important producers can make a living profit with the metal selling at only 13 cents a pound, one can anticipate the huge earnings of the mines in the present situation, with munition plants abroad using copper faster than it can be imported, stocks and visible supplies declining everywhere, and the entire product of great companies sold for months ahead.

*A Shortage
In Paper*

A commodity even so indirectly related to the demands of war as paper is showing the prevailing tendencies to such a degree as seriously to embarrass publishers. The higher price of paper stock and the difficulty of obtaining it at all in England was a chief factor in the discontinuance in March of the London daily *Standard*, after a career of sixty years, for a considerable portion of which it was the most important organ of the middle classes in England. In America the demand

for paper has been increasing for six months as a result of general business activity. At the same time, supplies used in its manufacture have been decreased by war conditions, and in some cases have almost been shut off. The supply of old rags is affected by the cutting off of the importations from the European peasantry and by the demand for the making of guncotton. The chemicals used in bleaching the paper produced by sulphuric acid and alum are being devoured by the manufacturers of explosives, while importations of jute have fallen off until the price is doubled. An embargo has been placed on shipments of wood pulp from Norway and Sweden, while Canada stopped access to her vast resources some time ago. The newspaper publisher is, indeed, hard hit by war conditions in many other items of supplies besides the basic one of paper stock. Practically everything going into the manufacture of a daily newspaper has increased in price from 10 to 50 per cent.—inks, owing to the advance in the cost of acids and dyes, from 300 to 3000 per cent.; type, owing to the higher cost of lead, tin and antimony—even the rubber and felt blankets wrapped around the press rollers add their quota to the increased "cost-of-living" of the metropolitan daily.

*A Sample of
War-Time
Profits*

If business and industry in general find danger or present embarrassment in the war-time fury of prices, the makers of munitions are rolling up profits so fast that they scarcely notice increases in manufacturing cost that would a year or two ago have seemed prohibitive. An example appears in the recently published report of the operations of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the great powder manufacturers, for the fiscal year 1915. Net earnings for this war year were nearly \$58,000,000 as against a showing of only \$5,600,000 in 1914—an increase of more than 900 per cent. and an earning rate of 94.3 per cent. annually on the common stock. In October, 1914, the company employed 3300 men; on January 1, 1916, 62,168 men. It is interesting to note in the remarks of the president to the stockholders of this typical munitions factory, that its managers are already, even in the thick of these unheard-of profits, considering what will happen when there is a sudden drop in the abnormal military business. He says that when that comes the company cannot use all the large plants recently built and that, with this in mind, it is advertising such investments by heavy charges

against the profits of the temporary business and, at the same time, using every effort to develop more permanent commercial businesses, such as the manufacture of celluloid.

*A Trust Put
on Good
Behavior*

An interesting opinion is that handed down in the last week of February by Judge Rose in the U. S. District Court, in which he refused to order the dissolution of the American Can Company, but retained the bill filed against it by the Government. The Court thus kept the case open, in a sense, with the explicit purpose to give the Government every facility for attacking the corporation in case it should, in its future current transactions, transcend the law. Judge Rose has expressed himself as reluctant "to destroy so fine an industrial machine as the records show the defendant to be." Still, it was held that the corporation had its origin in acts unlawful under the Sherman legislation and acquired a power which might be harmful, although "it for some time past has used that power on the whole rather for weal than for woe." Farther on in this decree, which throughout shows a striking quality of good sense and fairness, the Court expressed the hope that Congress will substitute "some other method than dissolution for dealing with problems which arise when a single corporation absorbs a large part of the country's productive capacity in any one line."

*Taking
England's Place
in Argentina*

The announcement in March that New York bankers had made a new loan of \$15,000,000 to the Argentine Republic, bringing their total advances since the war began to \$79,000,000, calls attention to the work the United States is now doing in South America that was done by Great Britain prior to the war. Following the loans to Argentina, we find the exports from the United States to that country increased from \$27,000,000 in 1914 to \$53,000,000 last year. Imports from Argentina were \$56,000,000 in 1914 and \$95,000,000 last year. It is to be noted that, whereas normally our exports to the South American republic are double our imports, the balance of trade is now heavily against us, the difference being settled by the advances of gold mentioned above. What we want finally, of course, is to sell our manufactured articles to the people of Argentina. The advance of gold loans is felt to be the first step toward this, as it is the rule in international trade that countries get the habit of buying where they borrow.



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VILLAGE OF ORNES (IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE) EVACUATED BY THE FRENCH

(Ornes is a small village south of Arrannes, on the railroad which crosses the Woëvre Plain, running north and southeast of Verdun, to which a branch extends)



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A FIRST-LINE FRENCH TRENCH TOWARDS MAILCOURT

(Mailcourt is northwest of Verdun, on the line from which the Germans began their advance)



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A LISTENING-POST ON THE HEIGHTS OF THE MEUSE

(This looks out to the north, where the German and French lines are marked by battle across the plain)

THE BATTLEGROUND AT VERDUN

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From February 19 to March 20, 1916)

The Last Part of February

February 19.—On the Yser Canal in Belgium, north of Ypres, the Germans capture by storm 400 yards of British trenches.

February 20.—The German Zeppelin airship LZ 77, of modern type, is destroyed by a French automobile gun crew near Revigny.

February 21.—The Germans launch at Verdun their greatest offensive on the French front since the early weeks of the war; the French declare that 300,000 German troops are engaged, under the command of the Crown Prince.

In the Artois district, the Germans capture by assault French trenches in the Forest of Givenchy, over a front of 875 yards.

The British House of Commons votes war credits amounting to \$2,100,000,000, the largest sum ever granted; total war credits to date amount to \$10,410,000,000.

February 22.—The Russian Duma (prorogued on September 16) is opened with the Czar attending, informally, for the first time in its history.

The French Chamber of Deputies passes a bill levying a tax on businesses whose profits have increased by reason of the war.

February 23.—In the House of Commons, the British Premier reiterates his declaration of November 9, 1914, that before peace can come Belgium—and now Serbia—must recover more than they have sacrificed, France must be adequately secured against aggression, and the military domination of Prussia must be destroyed.

The British Secretary for the Colonies states that 730,000 square miles of German territory in Africa have been captured, out of a total of 931,500.

The post of War Trade Minister is created in Great Britain and Lord Robert Cecil is appointed to the office.

The Portuguese Government seizes 36 German and Austrian merchant ships interned at Lisbon.

February 25.—Continued German assaults on the French fortified position at Verdun have resulted in an advance of from 2 to 4 miles over a front of 20 miles; Fort de Douaumont, within five miles of the city, is captured by the Germans but later won back by the French.

The Persian city of Kernanshah is captured by Russian armies moving westward, from Turkish and Kurdish forces.

The German Government announces new taxation measures, including imposts on war profits and increases in the rates on tobacco, in stamp taxes, and postal, telephone, and telegraph tolls.

February 26.—Austrian armies moving southward through Albania enter Durazzo, evacuated by the Italians.

General Kurapatkin, of Japanese war fame, is appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian armies on the northern front.

The Russian War office announces that 13,000 Turkish prisoners were taken at Erzerum.

The extent of participation of American plants in the manufacture of munitions for the Entente

Powers is indicated by the report of the DuPont powder works, showing that the number of employees increased from 5300 to 62,168.

February 27.—The French auxiliary cruiser *Provence* (formerly a transatlantic liner) is sunk while carrying troops in the Mediterranean, presumably by a submarine; 3100 lives are lost.

The British steamship *Maloja*, en route to India, strikes a mine near Dover and sinks within half an hour; more than 150 passengers and crew are lost.

February 28.—The French succeed in checking the German advance on Verdun, and the attack shifts to the east and southeast.

In the Champagne district, 35 miles west of Verdun, a German surprise attack carries a mile of French trenches near Souain.

February 29.—A German official report declares that 16,800 French prisoners have been taken at Verdun.

In the attack on Verdun from the east, the Germans make important gains and occupy several villages.

The Italian Government requisitions 34 German steamers interned in Italian ports, although not at war with Germany.

A meeting of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce, at London, expresses its conviction that the British nation must produce its requirements from its own soil and factories, and must revise the tariff system so as to grant preferential rates between all British countries and reciprocal rates to the nation's allies.

The First Week of March

March 1.—The Austro-German classification of armed enemy merchantmen as warships becomes effective.

The budget introduced in the Russian Duma forecasts war expenditures of \$15,000,000 a day; Finance Minister Bark states that the ban on vodka reduced the revenue from that source from \$345,000,000 in 1914 to \$4,500,000 in 1915; farm lands under cultivation decreased 7,000,000 acres.

March 2.—It is estimated in Germany that the gains at Verdun total 105 square miles.

After three days of comparative inaction, the Germans resume their assaults on Verdun, gaining ground in the north at Douaumont.

The Russians carry by a bayonet charge the fortified city of Bitlis, Armenia, 110 miles south of Erzerum.

The British Government makes public instructions given armed merchantmen (in October, 1915), which state that armament is supplied solely for resisting attack by an armed enemy vessel, not which also state that fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent hostile submarines and aircraft from closing in.

March 5.—The German Naval Staff announces that the *Möve* has arrived at a home port (presumably Wilhelmshaven), after destroying fifteen Allied merchant ships.

Three German Zeppelin airships make a night raid over eight counties on the east coast of Eng-

land, dropping bombs and killing three men, four women, and five children.

Col. Edward M. House, President Wilson's "unofficial personal representative," returns to the United States after a ten weeks' visit to England, France, and Germany.

March 6.—The German offensive at Verdun enters a third phase, an attack from the northwest, on the western bank of the Meuse; the village of Forges is captured.

The British relief expedition in Mesopotamia, under General Aylmer, reaches Essinn, on the Tigris, within seven miles of Kut-el-Amara, where General Townshend's force is surrounded.

March 7.—The Germans gain the village of Fresnes, southeast of Verdun.

It is officially announced that the British Navy has been increased by 1,000,000 tons since the beginning of the war.

The Second Week of March

March 8.—Germany declares war on Portugal, because of the seizure of German merchant ships in Portuguese harbors, as the climax of a long series of breaches of neutrality.

March 9.—The Norwegian bark *Silius* is sunk near Havre; it is asserted that the vessel was torpedoed, without warning.

March 10.—The German attack on Verdun centers around the fort and town of Vaux.

In the Aisne region, northwest of Rheims, the Germans puncture the French line to a depth of two-thirds of a mile.

The British War Office states that the relief expedition in Mesopotamia has been obliged to retire eight miles to the Tigris, for water.

A British torpedo boat and a destroyer are sunk by mines off the east coast of England.

March 12.—The twentieth day of the German assaults on Verdun passes without infantry attack; Germany declares that 26,472 French prisoners have been taken.

March 14.—The Italian armies attack along the whole Isonzo front, making gains on the Corso plateau.

The Third Week of March

March 15.—Grand Admiral von Tirpitz resigns as German Minister of Marine; he was the creator of Germany's navy and also responsible for the submarine warfare; he is succeeded by Admiral von Capelle.

The Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia*, bound for South America, is sunk by a mine or torpedo off the coast of Holland.

March 16.—The Germans renew their violent assaults on Verdun, the French report stating that at Dead Man's Hill they came on like waves, but were unable to gain a footing.

General Gallieni resigns from the Ministry of War in France, having served five months; he is succeeded by General Roques.

March 17.—The State Department at Washington makes public a note from Germany quoting alleged secret orders to armed British merchant ships, that pursuing submarines should be fired upon even though a definite hostile act may not have been committed.

A member of the French Senate asserts that 800,000 French children have been rendered fatherless by the war.

March 18.—In an engagement between an invading French aeroplane squadron and a German squadron, in Upper Alsace, four French and three German machines are destroyed.

The French destroyer *Renaudin* is sunk by a submarine in the Adriatic Sea.

The Dutch liner *Palembang* is sunk by a mine or torpedo in the North Sea.

March 19.—Four German seaplanes drop bombs on the southeast coast of England, killing nine persons; one of the machines is brought down by a British aviator.

March 20.—In the attack on Verdun, the Germans assault with great violence in Malancour Wood, after an intense bombardment with heavy guns.

Sixty-five British, French and Belgian flying machines attack German aircraft stations at Zeebrugge, on the Belgian coast.

An attempt is made to assassinate Premier Radoslavov of Bulgaria, in Sofia.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

From February 18 to March 20, 1916

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and Mr. Sterling (Rep., S. D.) condemn the proposal to acquiesce in Germany's declared intention to attack armed merchantmen of enemy countries; the treaty with Nicaragua is ratified by vote of 55 to 18.

February 23.—In the House, Democratic opposition to the President's attitude toward the German submarine policy threatens to overthrow his control; it is stated that practically every Democratic member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs opposes the President and favors warning Americans not to take passage on armed merchantmen of belligerent countries.

February 24.—The President writes Chairman

Stone, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that he "cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens" as affected by Germany's new proposal to war on armed merchant ships.

February 25.—The Senate confirms the nomination of Henry P. Fletcher to be Ambassador to Mexico. . . . In the House, the revolt against the President subsides, after conferences of leaders in both branches with the President.

February 28.—The Senate ratifies without division or amendment the treaty with Haiti. . . . The House passes the Post-office bill (\$321,000,000), the first of the appropriation measures, after limiting parcel-post packages to fifty pounds.

February 29.—The President writes to Acting Chairman Pou, of the House Committee on Rules,

urging a vote on the resolutions relating to travel on armed merchantmen; the Administration leaders had previously endeavored to avoid a vote.

March 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Gore (Dem., Okla.) declares that President Wilson has stated in private conversation with Senators and Representatives that if Germany persists in her present position war will probably follow, which will not of necessity be an evil to the United States as the war might then be brought to a conclusion by midsummer; the President authorizes an unqualified denial.

March 3.—The Senate, by vote of 68 to 14, tables the resolution of Mr. Gore (Dem., Okla.) originally warning Americans not to travel on armed belligerent vessels but altered by Mr. Gore himself to declare that if an American citizen loses his life on an armed merchant ship attacked without warning by a German submarine it would constitute a cause of war; Mr. Gore votes against his own resolution.

March 4.—In the Senate, a bill providing for an enlarged army is introduced by the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs; it authorizes a regular army of 178,000 and aims to create an organization of volunteer forces in each Congressional district, under federal control, and to federalize the militia in the various States.

March 6.—The Senate confirms the nominations of David R. Francis, of Missouri, as Ambassador to Russia, and Joseph H. Shea, of Indiana, as Ambassador to Chile. . . . In the House, a bill increasing the regular army and expanding the militia system is introduced by Chairman Hay, of the Committee on Military Affairs; it is proposed to establish a peace strength of 140,000.

March 7.—The Senate receives and confirms the nomination of Newton D. Baker to be Secretary of War. . . . The House, by vote of 276 to 142, tables the resolution of Mr. McLemore (Dem., Tex.) warning American travelers to avoid armed merchant ships of belligerents.

March 14.—The House, with the one Socialist member opposing, adopts an emergency resolution designed to raise the regular army to its full strength of 190,000 by recruiting 20,000 new men.

March 15.—The Senate unanimously adopts the resolution increasing the regular army.

March 16.—The House, by vote of 346 to 14, repeals the provision of the Underwood Tariff law that sugar should be imported free of duty after May 1, 1916.

March 17.—The Senate adopts a resolution offered by Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.), approving of the use of the army to punish the Mexican raiders and assuring Mexico that the expedition's single purpose is to arrest and punish; the bill reorganizing the army is reported from the Committee on Military Affairs by Chairman Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.).

March 18.—The Senate Committee on Military Affairs reports the Army Reorganization measure, which would establish a peace strength of 194,000.

In the House debate on the Army Reorganization bill, Mr. Hay (Dem., Va.) asserts that the measure embodies the President's views.

March 19.—The House rejects an amendment which proposed a regular army of 230,000, instead of the 190,000 as provided in the Army Reorganization bill.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 19.—The South Carolina legislature passes a bill prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen in factories, mines, or textile establishments.

February 23.—The American Can Company is declared by the United States District Court at Baltimore to be a legal combination, and the Government's plea for dissolution is refused.

March 7.—The President nominates Newton D. Baker, former Mayor of Cleveland, to be Secretary of War (to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Lindley M. Garrison on February 10th). . . . The first Presidential preference primary is held, in Indiana, President Wilson (Dem.) and former Vice-President Fairbanks (Rep.) being endorsed without opposition; in the Senatorial contest, Harry S. New (Rep.), John W. Kern (Dem.), and James E. Watson (Prog.) are nominated. . . . The voters of Vermont reject a Statewide prohibition amendment by a large majority, and ratify a Presidential primary measure.

March 11.—Allan L. Benson, of New York, is chosen as the candidate of the Socialist party for President, in a primary conducted by mail.

March 14.—In the Minnesota primaries, Senator Cummins, of Iowa, wins the Republican endorsement for the Presidential nomination in a three-cornered contest.

March 20.—Thomas Taggart is appointed United States Senator by the Governor of Indiana, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Shively.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION IN MEXICO

March 9.—A band of 1500 Mexican brigands under Gen. Francisco Villa crosses the border and attacks the town of Columbus, N. M., and the camp of the Thirteenth United States Cavalry, killing nine civilians and eight troopers; Major Tompkins and sixty troopers pursue the raiders fifteen miles into Mexico; more than 100 Mexicans are killed.

March 10.—President Wilson and his cabinet decide to send an adequate force into Mexico to punish General Villa.

March 13.—The United States agrees to allow the forces of General Carranza to enter American territory, when necessary, in pursuit of bandits, in return for the unopposed entrance of American troops into Mexico in pursuit of Villa.

March 15.—A military expedition to punish Villa enters Mexico; infantry, cavalry, and artillery (reported to be 6000 in number) cross the Arizona border in two columns, moving southward from Columbus and Hachita, under command of Brigadier-General John J. Pershing and Colonel Dodd.

March 17.—The "flying column" of cavalry under Colonel Dodd reaches Casas Grandes, having penetrated sixty miles into Mexico in two days.

March 18.—Wireless reports from the American army in Mexico state that General Pershing is personally leading a flying column, and that Villa is believed to have reached the mountainous Guerrero district of Chihuahua, near Babicora.

March 20.—The American forces in Mexico are reported to be moving southward, fanlike, in three columns.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 29.—It is reported from Mexico City that Felix Diaz (a nephew of the former President) has entered Mexico from Guatemala, to join the revolt in Oaxaca against Carranza.

March 13.—The voters of Manitoba Province, Canada, adopt prohibition.

March 15.—The province of Kwang-si, China, joins in the revolt against the Yuan Shih-kai government.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 18.—The United States Senate ratifies the treaty with Nicaragua, under which the United States secures two naval bases and the right to construct a canal across Nicaragua, in return for the payment of \$3,000,000.

February 22.—In a review of Russia's international affairs, Foreign Minister Sazonov declares in the Duma that Russia will put forth all efforts to bring about a commercial rapprochement with the United States.

February 28.—The United States Senate ratifies the treaty establishing a financial and police protectorate over Haiti, designed to stabilize government and discourage insurrections.

March 4.—The Liberal and Conservative parties in Panama request the United States to supervise the Presidential election in July.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 21.—Representatives of anthracite coal operators and miners confer at New York City in an endeavor to settle without a strike the controversy over wages and hours.

February 22.—A rear-end collision on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, near Milford, Conn., results in the death of ten persons.

March 5.—The Spanish passenger steamer *Principe de Asturias* founders on a rock off Santos, Brazil, with a loss of 450 lives.

March 8.—Representatives of bituminous coal miners and operators, after four weeks of discussion, reach an agreement upon wages and hours of labor of 400,000 men; wages will be increased from 5 to 13 per cent.

March 11.—W. C. Robinson, holder of American long-distance flying records, is killed by a fall from a height of 13,000 feet, at Grinnell, Ia.

March 16.—A report of the committee of scientists who visited the Canal Zone declares that navigation through the Canal is not likely to be seriously interrupted again, and makes specific recommendations for arresting slides.

OBITUARY

February 19.—Bishop John W. Shanahan, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Harrisburg, 69.

February 20.—K. F. Arnoldson, a Swedish winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, 71. . . . Ludwig Braun, the Bavarian battle painter, 80.

February 22.—Brig.-Gen. Henry Clay Cook, U.S.A., retired, a famous Indian fighter, 79. . . . Karl Begas, a noted German sculptor, 70.

February 24.—Admiral Hugo von Pohl, until recently commander of the German fleet, 60.

February 25.—Joaquin D. Casaus, former Ambassador from Mexico to the United States. . . . David T. Watson, of Pittsburgh, special counsel for the government in international cases, 72. . . .

William Edward Norton, a well-known marine artist of New York, 73.

February 27.—Rev. Thomas Coke Carter, bishop of the United Brethren Church, 65. . . . Bradford P. Raymond, former president of Wesleyan University, 69.

February 28.—Henry James, the famous novelist, 72.

March 1.—William E. Werner, associate judge of the Court of Appeals in New York State, 61.

March 2.—Elizabeth, Dowager Queen of Rumania, and a widely known writer under the pen name of "Carmen Sylva," 72. . . . George W. Palmer, a former Representative in Congress from New York, 98.

March 3.—Jean Mounet-Sully, the celebrated French tragedian, 75.

March 4.—Brig.-Gen. William Sooy Smith, a noted civil engineer and staff officer in the Civil War, 86. . . . Brig.-Gen. Charles H. Noble, U. S. A., retired, 73. . . . Prof. William Angus Knight, the eminent English teacher of moral philosophy and authority on English literature, 80. . . . Rev. Robert W. Haire, of South Dakota, a pioneer advocate of the initiative and referendum, 70.

March 6.—Richard A. McCurdy, former president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, 81.

March 7.—Rear Adm. Asa Walker, U. S. N., retired, one of the commanding officers at the battle of Manila, 71. . . . Charles F. X. Alexander Chauveau, a distinguished Canadian banker and jurist, 69.

March 8.—John McLean Nash, treasurer of Columbia University for more than thirty years, 67. . . . Fred T. Jane, the English writer on naval subjects, 45. . . . Dr. William L. Rodman, president of the American Medical Association and prominent Philadelphia surgeon, 58.

March 9.—William G. Brown, Representative in Congress from West Virginia, 60. . . . Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, sculptor of the Shakespeare monument at Stratford, 81.

March 10.—George Henry Emmott, dean of the faculty of law at University of Liverpool, 60.

March 11.—Henry Gassaway Davis, former United States Senator from West Virginia and Democratic nominee for Vice-President, 92.

March 12.—Theodore Voorhees, president of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, 69. . . . Samuel T. Maddox, justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 63. . . . Chief Thundercloud, the famous Blackfoot Indian, 59.

March 13.—Seymour Eaton, a widely known Philadelphia author and journalist, and creator of numerous library systems, 57. . . . Anson D. Morse, professor emeritus of history at Amherst College, 70.

March 15.—Capt. Hiram S. Chamberlain, a prominent Tennessee business man, 81.

March 17.—Mrs. Julia Frankau ("Frank Danby"), the English author, 51. . . . Gilbert Ballet, the famous French neurologist.

March 18.—Henry Wolf, a noted wood engraver, 63. . . . Frederick Norton Finney, former president of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad, 85.

March 19.—Cardinal Girolamo Maria Gotti, 82.

NEW FOREIGN CARTOONS



CHINA WILL NOW BEGIN TO ADOPT EUROPEAN CULTURE

YUAN SHI-KAI: "The more I look westward, the more thoroughly I am convinced that the fundamental principle of all culture is right."

From *Nebelspalter* (Zürich)



ANY MORE MORE?

"I am well and good, and shall be in the American market for some time."

The cartoon is a reference to the Chinese market with various items from the United States.

From *Die Welt* (Berlin)



THE WINDMILL

"What a great machine! The great American windmill is a great machine!"

The cartoon is a reference to the American market with various items from the United States.

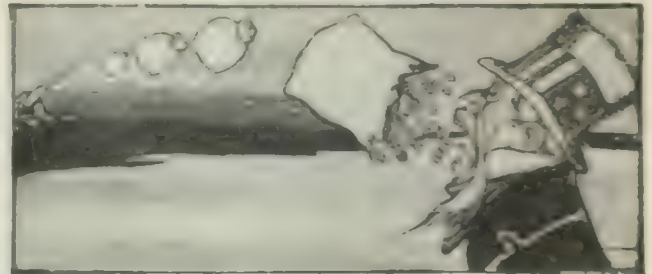
From *Die Welt* (Berlin)



AT WASHINGTON

The seance between President Wilson and Ambassador Bernstorff (over the German submarine question) continues.

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



GERMANY AND HER PROBLEMS

How shall she settle with the Allies?
What shall they buy?
How will Uncle Sam?
He pretends to sell.

From *Il Pensiero* (Turin)



UNCLE SAM AND MRS. GERMANY

THE FASHIONABLE: "What day he sends money to me?"
THE FASHIONABLE: "Yes, that is what makes the high price of paper!"

From *L'Esquella de la Tortosa* (Barcelona)



AMERICA'S GIFT TO EUROPE

(American and European are being loaded over to sending money, indicating that even in Europe the money is not known.)

From *Harper* (London)



UNCLE SAM'S "NOTE" ACT IS PLAYED OUT

The poor man is always trying to get the Note. The poor man is always trying to get the Note. The poor man is always trying to get the Note.

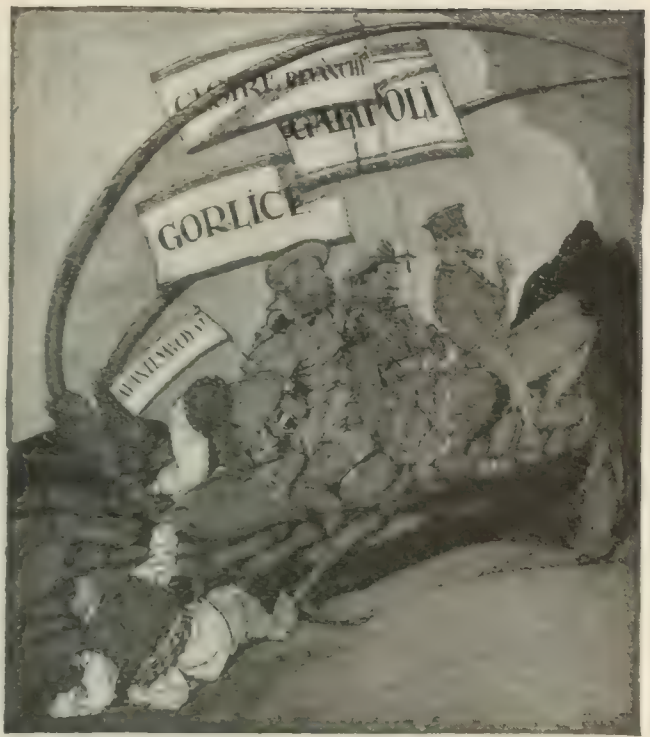
From *Il Pensiero* (Turin)



THE GERMAN LOANS

"If you take two marks, and put them in turn into three pockets that makes six marks in all three pockets!"
—Hilferich.

The three peasants, who represent the first, the second, and the third German loan, say "Alas, Hilferich, that does not help us," (pointing to the German minister's name). From *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam)



THE ALLIES' BACKWARD OFFENSIVE

"They are already falling off one after another. What will happen when the beast begins to trot?"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zürich)



THE CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT

(The Second are on the move again, pursued by the New Zealanders, who are represented by the ancient New Zealand bird, the moa.)

From the *Herold* (Auckland, New Zealand)

SALONICA IS A HARD BONE FOR THE TEUTONS
TO SWALLOW

From *Valm* (Moscow)



THE BRITISH LION

The lion and the moa. The lion is the British lion, and the moa is the New Zealand moa. The lion is the British lion, and the moa is the New Zealand moa.



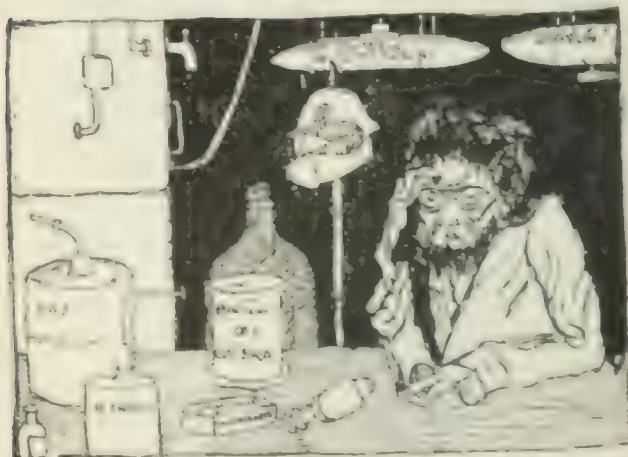
BACK SCRATCHING

THE BULGARIAN TOAD (scratching to beasts): You have proved yourself the King of Beasts.
THE GERMAN HOG (to the black toad): And your last leap was wonderful! One more, and—
you'll be there! (From *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland))



THE RUMANIAN POSITION

RUMANIA (to the Russian representative, who offers Odessa and Bessarabia): "Your goods are certainly fine; but in the first place, we are neutral, and, second we must see what the other side has to offer."
(From *Nachrichten* (Zürich))



GERMANY'S SCIENTIFIC WARFARE

THE GERMAN SCIENTIFIC (to the British representative, who offers the British Empire): "Your goods are certainly fine; but in the first place, we are neutral, and, second we must see what the other side has to offer."
(From *La Presse* (Milan))



THE BALKAN TANGLE

HELLENA: "Now, then, let me see how you unravel this."
BRITANNIA AND FRANCE: "Well, you shall see!"
(From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India))

The Balkan situation remains something of a tangle, especially with Rumania still "on the fence." But *Hindi Punch* expresses confidence in the ability of France and England to unravel the complication.



"THE LOCK OF EIDENHALL"

The bottle held by King George is inscribed "Oriental Despatch," and the reference is to the legend in the poem: "If this glass shall fall, forward to the lock of Eidenhall" is the words. British culture in the East will be a serious blow to the Empire.

From *Lustige Blätter* (C) (Berlin)

MEXICAN BORDER PICTURES

As Taken by the American Press Photographers

I. VILLA AND HIS BAND



VILLA (SECOND FIGURE FROM THE RIGHT) AND HIS MEN INSPECTING A NEW LOT OF RIFLES



VILLA'S BAND IN ONE OF THEIR VILLAGE STRONGHOLDS

II. SCENES AT COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO, AFTER THE VILLA RAID



VIEW OF THE TOWN THE MORNING AFTER THE VILLA RAID ON MARCH 9

THE little town of Columbus, New Mexico, on the Mexican border, was suddenly attacked before daylight on March 9 by Villa, the Mexican bandit, with about 1,500 men. They burned houses, killed eight Americans, and took much loot. Troops of the Thirteenth Cavalry drove the bandits off and pursued them into Mexico, killing many before turning back. The following Wednesday (March 15) an expedition of some six thousand Americans under General Pershing entered Mexico to capture Villa.



TRYING TO IDENTIFY ONE OF VILLA'S MEN FOUND DEAD AFTER THE FIGHT



THE STORE AND POST-OFFICE THAT WAS LOOTED AND WHOSE PROPRIETOR WAS KILLED



INFANTRY CHARGING THE TOWN



A SQUAD ON GUARD

III. THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION AGAINST VILLA



ARTILLERY TROOPS, AS THEY CROSSED THE BORDER INTO MEXICO



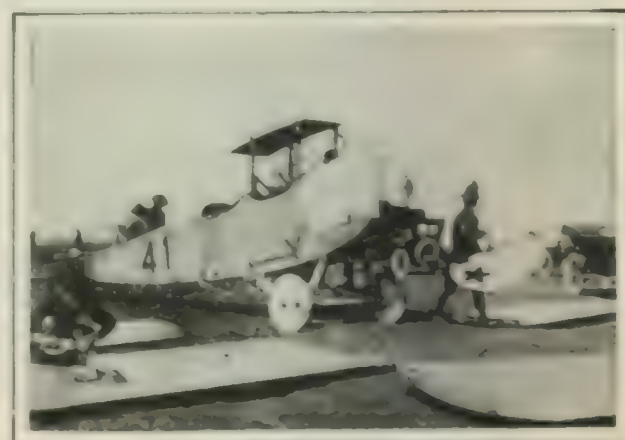
TROOPERS AND SUPPLY WAGONS ON THE ROAD



A MACHINE-GUN OUTFIT



FIELD WIRELESS EQUIPMENT BY WHICH GENERAL
PERSHING KEEPS UP COMMUNICATION WITH
THE UNITED STATES



UNPACKING THE AEROPLANES FOR SERVICE IN
MEXICO (A SQUADRON OF FIGHT MACHINES
WILL BE USED)



Photograph by E. J. Young, St. Louis.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, U. S. A., IN COMMAND
OF THE EXPEDITION FOR THE CAPTURE OF FRANCISCO
VILLA IN MEXICO

PERSHING ON THE TRAIL

AS long ago as 1887 General Miles, one of that group of Indian fighters and plainsmen whose valor gave distinction, if not glory, to our little army in the years succeeding the Civil War, thought it worth while to commend officially a young lieutenant of the Sixth Cavalry for "marching his troop, with pack train, over rough country, 140 miles in forty-six hours, bringing in every animal and man in good condition."

The young officer—he was a second lieutenant, only one year out of West Point—was John J. Pershing, a native of Missouri, who had come out the year before, just in time to join the operations that resulted in the rounding up of Geronimo, the famous Apache chief whose depredations and treachery had engaged the attention of Generals Crook and Miles for a period of two years

and had severely strained the resources of the entire United States Army as it was at that time organized.

It will be recalled that the wily Indian who defied the United States Government so successfully for so long a period had to be pursued into Mexico over some of the same ground now being traversed by the American expeditionary force in search of Villa, before he could be captured. A similarity at once suggests itself between the operations of 1916 in that forbidding land and those of 1885-87. In each instance the renegades were supplied with arms and munitions of American make, were thoroughly familiar with the mountainous country in which they took refuge, were ready to stop at no act of cold-blooded atrocity to accomplish their immediate purpose, and were animated by consuming ha-

tred of their pursuers, tinged possibly by a strain of contempt.

TWO "PUNITIVE" EXPEDITIONS

We introduce this comparison merely by way of showing the eminent fitness of having the present difficult undertaking of our army entrusted to the hands of one who knew intimately the difficulties, pitfalls, and dangers innumerable that surrounded the expedition of thirty years ago. Said the veteran scout, James H. Cook, who went with the Eighth Cavalry into Mexico in 1885, speaking of the advance of Pershing's columns into Mexico last month: "The only thing that makes the expedition look hopeful to me is my faith in the men who command it." (Mr. Cook was also referring here to Lieutenant Cabell, now Chief of Staff to General Pershing; he, too, was on the Geronimo expedition.)

On March 15, 1916, General Pershing, at the head of a cavalry column far more imposing than that which he had commanded, as a lieutenant, twenty-nine years before, rode across the international boundary into Mexico and within forty-two marching hours, despite the lack of water and the roughness of the country, covered 110 miles. For so large a body of mounted men, this average advance of thirty-three miles a day compares not unfavorably with the record made by the same officer in 1887. The vim and dash that then won praise for the young subaltern now command, in the seasoned general, the whole country's admiration.

APPRENTICESHIP AS INDIAN FIGHTER

General Pershing spent ten years in the Southwest, and that period of service, even if he had had no further training as a soldier, gave him precisely the equipment and seasoning required for the work that has now been committed to him. That decade of soldiering included, in addition to the pacification of the Apaches, the adjustment of difficulties between the whites and hostile Zunis in Arizona, and participation in the last Indian campaign that our army has been called upon to make—that against the Sioux in 1890-91. All in all, when Pershing was ordered east in 1896, he had seen about every form of active service that was possible at that period for any officer of our army. Furthermore, he had learned the nature of that whole region described so admirably in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Adams, and, by coming to close quarters with our Indian problem in some of its most acute aspects, he

had found out how to cope with the hostile movements of a savage enemy in his own habitat. All this experience was in later years to bear fruit in a distant part of the world, where our Government and our army unexpectedly came into new and strange responsibilities and duties.

The brief Santiago campaign in the war with Spain meant little to Pershing save that it gave him his chance as an officer in the Tenth Cavalry (colored troops) to display a coolness and bravery under fire which his colonel, a veteran of the Civil War, said he had never seen equaled. He was promoted for gallantry at the battle of El Caney.

Like Lawton and others of our army officers who had served an apprenticeship at Indian fighting in the Southwest, Pershing was sent to the Philippines to help reduce the insurgent native population to a state of order. The magnitude of this task has never been appreciated in the United States. The military censorship, rigorously applied for several years, stood in the way of any accurate knowledge in this country of what was being done by our officers in the Philippines. Much of this work, it is now known, was most onerous and exacting. To several officers whose names were rarely mentioned in American newspapers were entrusted duties such as have earned for British commanders in like circumstances enduring fame.

SUBDUING THE MOROS

One of the most difficult of all the tasks required of our army in the Philippines was the subjugation of the hostile Moros in the island of Mindanao. The performance of this unpleasant duty fell to Captain Pershing. The raids of the warlike Moro tribes on the coast towns of the island were checked by Pershing's brilliant victory in the fight at Bayan, but the Sultan of Bacolod remained obdurate, and the various strongholds of this tribe had to be demolished before obedience could be secured. After forty of these forts had been destroyed, with a loss of only two American lives, the subjection of Mindanao was completed and Pershing became the military governor.

A MOHAMMEDAN TRIBUTE

Strange as it may seem, the American commander's resolute performance of his duty, his strict fulfillment of every pledge, and his carrying out of every threat, won for him the affection of these rude people whom for three hundred years the Spaniards had failed to conquer or to rule. They formally

elected Captain Pershing a Datto of the tribe, conferring on him the power of life and death, so that he is to-day perhaps the only American army officer entitled to serve as a Mohammedan judge.

PROMOTED BY ROOSEVELT

From time to time Pershing was called upon to put down minor uprisings among the Moros, the last occasion of this kind being only three years ago. In each instance, however, the loss of American lives has been slight, and Pershing's mastery of the situation has been recognized by all familiar with the facts.

In 1906 President Roosevelt promoted

Pershing from Captain to Brigadier-General over 862 other officers. Although this is said to be a record "jump" in the history of army promotions, it may well be regarded as having been not only merited but actually earned by General Pershing's brilliant and complete success in the accomplishment of most difficult and arduous work in the routine of his profession. At the age of fifty-six, after thirty years of service in the army (most of those years actually in the field), it may be said that no American officer is better entitled to high command and none more worthy of the nation's confidence as regards the special duty to which he has been assigned, than John J. Pershing. W. B. S.

NORTHERN MEXICO

THE SCENE OF OUR ARMY'S HUNT FOR VILLA

BY CYRUS C. ADAMS

IF we were to cross our southern frontier at Columbus, the point where Villa dashed into New Mexico on his murderous foray, we would not be surprised to see that the two republics thereabouts, far north and far south of the boundary line, are geographically identical. Both are parts of the Sierra Madre plateau, as it is called. Both stand over 3000 feet above the sea, both are surrounded by lines of hills trending north or northwest, and both have the same natural vegetation. We call this predominant formation a plateau, but the Mexicans call it a *mesa*, or "table." One country simply merges, by political agreement, into the other.

At El Paso, however, a little farther east, is a broad, natural demarcation of the two countries—the deep, wide trench which the Rio Grande dug for itself; and if we clamber up the steep, south slope of this trough, to the Mexican plateau, we shall find ourselves floundering in a waste of deep sand from which, however, we shall soon emerge upon the hard, stony, undulating surface of the plateau.

In briefly sketching some features of this northern part of Mexico where the present campaign will write a new chapter in history, it may be said at once that there is no such thing as a correct map of its surface forms and rivers; and particularly in the central and western parts of the country, most

of all among the mountains, many thousands of square miles are still white on the maps because they are so little known. This is to the advantage of Villa, who carries all the geography he needs in his head, while we have not all the Mexican geography we need even on paper.

During most of the month of March, Villa was reported, from time to time, to be at one or another of the plateau towns, at Galeana, for example, about 160 miles south of Columbus, or at Casas Grandes, about 110 miles from that frontier town, both settlements standing on the same river, the Rio de Santa Maria. Our troops, soon after the invasion, appeared to be advancing towards these towns; and there are quite a number of hamlets scattered along the rivers of this unique and interesting region.

ENCLOSED RIVER BASINS

Very little rain falls on this wide part of the plateau, but the rivers give vivid green to their banks and many a hamlet is supported by the irrigation of the riverine lands. These rivers have their sources among minor mountain ranges extending roughly parallel to one another and in a general north-south direction. The mountains are not very high, rising only 2000 to 3000 feet above the general level; but standing on the high plateau with their summits at least 7000 or 8000 feet above the sea, they are able to condense

a great deal of water vapor; and the brooks, cascading their way down the slopes, create the useful little rivers that make ribbons of verdure far north and south. They are miniature Niles in the bleak gray and yellow wastes of northern Mexico. All these rivers are what are designated as "enclosed basins"; that is, they empty into lakes which have no outlet to the sea and which, of course, are saline.

THE MORMONS AT CASAS GRANDES

Some of the towns along the streams are very interesting. Casas Grandes, for example, is the home of a large Mormon colony which, with the permission of the Mexican Government, left our country to start life again on the Mexican plateau. It was this colony of peaceful and harmless folk that Villa, it is said, intended to destroy simply because they had come from the United States. Brutal as he is, he perhaps never had such a thought. At any rate, no evil has befallen them thus far. The present settlement is partly surrounded by the ruins of an ancient people in which many archeological finds of value have been made.

MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN

Towards this region of enclosed river basins our troops have appeared to be moving, with Villa still lingering there. If he has any chance at all to save his life it is in the West, and then only after he reaches the tangle of mountains which fill the eastern half of Sonora. Many persons have supposed that the fugitive need travel for a hiding place only a short distance west of this river region; but there are reasons why he might find no security there, and they relate to the nature of the country and the disposition of the inhabitants.

We see on many maps of the region west of the Santa Maria River, what appear to be a number of mountain ranges extending north and south. Some of them are elevations standing considerably above the general level, but they are not mountains; and some large areas in this poorly mapped territory where mountains are thickly sprinkled on many maps, are really portions of the central plateau where farm crops are raised and cattle are counted by the tens of thousands. This happens to be the case with a large region to the west of that part of the plateau where Villa was reported to be in the middle of March. Between the rivers of the enclosed basins and the great jumble of mountains that largely fill up the western

part of northern Mexico are comparatively level expanses which are being put to economic uses and, in less troublous times, are numbered among the important centers of productive enterprises.

FERTILE LANDED ESTATES

The basin of the Rio San Miguel, the most westerly of the enclosed basins, is normally the center of much productivity. In this valley are some of the largest haciendas of Mexico. Here stands a considerable part of the landed property of General Terrazas. We know nothing of his fortunes in recent troublous years; but before them, it was said that one might travel for more than 200 miles in the State of Chihuahua without setting foot outside this man's lands. His herds and horses were grazing on a thousand hills and he did not know himself how many head of live-stock he owned. This is one of the best corn-growing regions in the republic. An American named Green has concessions comprising some 4000 square miles, lying a little further west, fringing the Sierra Madre, and including areas of Chihuahua that are richest in agricultural and mineral resources.

THE SIERRA MADRES

These are only striking illustrations of the fact that a great deal of enterprise in various lines is carried on, under normal conditions, in a large region between Villa's latest reported retreat and the western mountains where there might be some difficulty in apprehending him; and it is possible that, instead of seeking a refuge in some part of the central plateau where the industries of civilization are making considerable progress, he may prefer at once to push on to the nearly pathless Sierra Madres. This would mean a journey of some duration if he were to reach the middle or the seaward ranges of this system which embraces several nearly parallel lines of mountains all called the Sierra Madres.

All the border ranges of northern Mexico which hem in the central plateau present striking contrasts between their opposite sides. The inland faces of these mountains slope rather gradually down to the plateau, while the seaward slopes are almost precipitous and are furrowed with deep crevasses and gorges. Erosion is most intense on the western side of the Sierra Madres. As a rule, it is almost impossible to build wagon roads on this Pacific slope. The roads are atrociously bad even on the plateaus; wagons



THE REGION ENTERED BY GENERAL PERSHING LAST MONTH IN PURSUIT OF VILLA AND HIS BAND

are mired on the open prairies or in the bridgeless streams. Transportation is an especially serious matter in the mountain regions. The existing solution of the problem is the use of pack trains of burros and mules. Hundreds of these trains carry supplies west and return light for additional loads such as iron water-pipe and parts of machinery.

The finest forests are those of the so-called long-leaved pine growing at elevations of over 7000 feet above the sea. These forests are at least 1000 to 1500 miles nearer the great mines of Arizona and New Mexico than the forests of Washington and Louisiana from which they now receive their wood

supplies. The inaccessibility of the Mexican plateau, owing to inferior transportation, has made it impossible to secure the Mexican supply.

An insufficient quantity of water is the great lack of northern Mexico. Very few streams are navigable even by small boats. We can scarcely call the Rio Grande a Mexican river, for it rises in our own country and Mexico makes very small contribution to its volume. Most of the streams are scarcely more than mountain torrents. The Rio Grande becomes an imposing river before it touches Mexico, though it gives little promise of what it grows to be where most tourists see it in our far West.



VILLA'S FOLLOWERS WITH THEIR RIFLES ON ROCKY GROUND



IT IS A CAVALRY UNIT IN PURSUIT OF VILLA AND HIS BAND

OUR FOREMOST WAR WRITER

DURING the past year and a half of the Great War, no issue of this magazine has appeared without an article from the pen of Mr. Frank H. Simonds. We are well within bounds in saying that no other series of articles on the war in its many phases by land and by sea, involving political as well as military considerations, has been so widely approved as these monthly reviews and estimates occupying ten or twelve pages of each issue of this REVIEW. The Simonds articles have been as eagerly read by the officers of our army and navy as by professors and scholars in the universities and by intelligent readers of all classes throughout the entire country.

Let us hasten, then, to assure our readers that the absence of a Simonds article in this number does not mean that the series has come to an end, but that our gifted contributor, a few days after writing the instalment that appeared in the March REVIEW, sailed for Europe in order to spend a little time at the front, as well as in two or three capitals, planning to gain first-hand impressions, and to have a few weeks of what he calls "vacation." We are hoping that a contribution from his pen may be at hand in time for publication next month.

It is needless to tell our readers that Mr. Simonds has the gift of a remarkable literary style. His statements are terse and condensed, but they are vivid and illuminating. Writing here at home about military movements in France, Belgium, Poland, or the Balkans, he has been better able to make the reader see things as it with his own eyes than have most of the so-called "war corre-

spondents" who have flooded the newspapers and periodicals with descriptive matter produced in the hotels of London, Paris, and Berlin. There have, indeed, been given us many interesting sidelights upon conditions in European countries in brilliant correspondence from the warring countries. But these men have not been in a position to know much concerning the larger movements of a war that is in progress all over the world. The best

place to see the war as a whole, thus far, has been New York. Mr. Simonds has been in possession of many sources of information converging here.

More important, however, than anything else has been Mr. Simonds' own previous preparation. From early boyhood he has been intensely interested in political history, world geography, and military movements as bearing upon political changes. Our readers will have noted the readiness and felicity with which Mr. Simonds constantly



MR. FRANK H. SIMONDS

cites Civil War situations, Napoleonic campaigns, the movements of the Franco-Prussian War, and the military lessons of the Russo-Japanese War, as aiding his readers to understand things that have been happening in the past year and a half. He was already saturated with knowledge of the larger military and political aspects of all modern wars.

Furthermore, he had recently been in the Balkan regions as a student of the formidable and instructive wars which had immediately preceded this great struggle. He had visited at different times other parts of Europe in accumulation of that amazing topographical knowledge which is disclosed in many of his recent articles. Doubtless, also,

his ability to write about military matters owes something to the fact that in 1898 he enlisted in a Massachusetts regiment which was sent to Cuba and Porto Rico, although it had no chance to do any fighting.

At that time Frank H. Simonds was a student in Harvard College. He had grown up at Concord, near Boston, and inherited the traditions of the men who fought in the Revolution. After his brief experience in the Spanish War he returned to Harvard, where he graduated in 1900, coming at once to New York to take part in social settlement work and municipal and political reform movements. From Citizens' Union work he was soon projected into New York journalism as a political writer. His first connection was with the staff of the *Tribune*, where, as a reporter already versed in city and State affairs, he had opportunity to become still more intimately acquainted with the men and the issues prominent during the past decade or two. In due time he was sent to Washington as a correspondent of his paper. There followed a brief period of work for the *New York Evening Post* as Albany correspondent, and then came employment in the offices of the *New York Sun*, where good writing and keen political insight have always been so certain to find appreciation. After periods as special political writer and then as a writer of *Sun* editorials, Mr. Simonds was made editor of the *Evening Sun*.

When the great war broke out, every reader in and about New York bought all of the papers—in the first instance for the news, but with only less of demand for interpretation. In most papers, so-called "military experts" tried to tell of mobilization, topography, equipment, fortifications, and many other things. It was not long before the discriminating readers discovered that upon the editorial page of the *Evening Sun*, in extra leaded type, there was appearing every day an article, often two or three columns long, of a quality so far beyond anything else in the newspapers that there was no comparison to be made. These articles were sufficiently technical, without being pedantically so. They showed untiring knowledge of European diplomacy; of German, French, English, Russian, and Austrian politics; of Balkan conditions past and present; of military history, method, and practice. And they disclosed a grasp upon the history and principles of strategy that surprised and delighted the best trained of our younger men in the army and navy.

As a craftsman, it would be hard to find a journalist more skilled and efficient than Mr. Simonds. He can choose his attitude, decide upon his method, marshal his facts and points, set apart a given number of hours, and produce exactly the kind of article he had meant to write, occupying the space he had intended, divided and proportioned according to his chosen plan, and invariably finished and delivered, ready for the printers, at the moment previously agreed upon. Nothing but the most conscientious training in self-mastery can produce finished work in any art or craft or profession. Perhaps it is the instinctive feeling that Mr. Simonds knows how to do his work that has made the good workers in all fields so appreciative of the way in which he deals with his materials.

Early last year Mr. Simonds was urgently invited to go back to the newspaper with which he had begun, and accordingly he became associate editor of the *New York Tribune* and the chief exponent, on the editorial page, of that newspaper's views and policies. The *Tribune* has been taking strong grounds in these strenuous times in domestic politics as well as in the discussion of the foreign relations of the United States. Mr. Simonds has thrown such intensity, vigor, audacity, and unconventional freedom into his *Tribune* editorials as to remind that paper's oldest living subscribers of the days when Horace Greeley made the *Tribune* a household word and its aggressiveness in controversy a cause of joy to some and of wrath to others. Mr. Simonds as an editorial writer is an apostle of the American spirit, a believer in principles rather than expedients; and he does not hesitate to use sensational or sentimental language when these seem best suited to catch attention or to stir feeling.

But so fine a workman is Mr. Simonds that from writing a passionate editorial upon a point of national honor, or a column of biting attack upon public men who have not earned his approval, he is able to turn to an estimate of conditions in Europe with a poised judgment, a detached mind, and the gift for measured historical narration that he has exhibited each month in his articles for this magazine. When a man of German name writes to us that Simonds has been bribed by the British Ambassador into writing pro-Ally articles, there is almost sure to be in the same mail a letter from some Englishman or Canadian declaring that Simonds is undoubtedly in the pay of Bernstorff and the Germans. But the faultfinders have been few and the admirers have been many.—A. S.

BATTLING AT VERDUN

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

VERDUN is under attack for a full month, beginning February 21, because an aggressive war requires a persistent offensive. Unless this is carried on, the spirit of an army chills and the morale of its soldiery deteriorates. Nothing can avoid this. Wellington could wait; Napoleon had to attack. Marlborough parried every blow until at last he struck. The perpetual offensive of his antagonist, Louis XIV, led straight to Blenheim, and in the end to the loss of nearly all the acquisitions of a quarter of a century, crowned early with victory, falling at last in the dire defeat of Ramillies. So, through all European history. The conquering and aggressive power had at last to hunt fields where no harvest can be reaped but deaths, which diminish the aggressive army and at length destroy it.

The only escape from this fate is blow after blow, which costs the least practicable in men and buys the most in moral effect. No one success could affect France as would the reduction of Verdun. Such a break, in the long line of trenches from the Vosges to the Channel, might make it possible to strike across to Switzerland, force the surrender of Nancy, leave Belfort in peril, and cut off from France all the territory east of a line from Verdun to Épinal by threatening communications.

A blow at Calais could only affect England; and the experience of twenty months shows the Channel to be an inexpugnable bar. A serious attack on Paris has ceased, under modern conditions, to be feasible. A break in the trenches would mean only more trenches and then still more trenches.

IMPORTANCE OF THE FORTRESS

Verdun is a prize, visible to all, conspicuous to the world, appealing to the imagination of every Frenchman. It is the last of the great fortresses with which France has sought to defend its northern frontier. There, too, France was born. There, in 843, Charles, Louis, and Lothaire, the sons of Louis I, the "Debonaire," the Pious, divided the Empire of Charlemagne, brought France and Germany into existence, began the modern map of Europe, and sowed the seeds of

war from that day to this present hour. Awarded to Germany then, it came back to France under Henry II in 1552. From that day on, this place, the junction of the road that runs down the Meuse to Belgium and the road that goes straight as an arrow-flight from Metz to Paris, has been a great fortress. A Benedictine abbey was razed to put on its foundations a royal keep. Vauban planned its defenses. It was the one great place of arms in the north which, in 1870, made an honorable surrender. The Republic has put about it an encircling ring of forts.

Its plateau rises a steep 400 feet above the valley of the Meuse on the west and on the east has a short pitch of 200 feet above the plain dotted with lakes feeding the stream, Louvois. This plain the German army in the fourth week of August occupied with a rush which carried the Crown Prince down to St. Mihiel on the Meuse, some twenty miles above Verdun. The fortress whose outer works to the north look out on a plain dotted with hills carved out by the streams that seek the Meuse was the screen behind which the French army, driven back in defeat after it had cut the railroad between Strassburg and Metz, was able to reform on the line of the Marne. But for the delay this fortress caused, the three army corps under the Crown Prince on the southeast of Verdun, and the four army corps under the King of Wurttemberg, would not have been delayed, leaving Von Kluck "in the air," in his swift advance, thus forcing his headlong retreat.

THE ALLIES' DEFICIENCY IN ARMS

The loss of Verdun at this moment would raise the uncomfortable fear in France that perhaps, after all, the land could be eaten leaf by leaf, like an artichoke. For such a blow, moral rather than material, this is the effective instant to sow apprehension. Every Allied attack has failed, and has failed from plain lacks. No new aggressive is near until the supplies of munitions, guns, and small arms really begin to flow over the Atlantic. Rifles, the crying need of the English army, have yet scarcely gone at all. When our iron, steel, copper, and brass man-



MAP OF VERDUN AND THE SURROUNDING TOWNS AND FORTIFIED PLACES
(The shaded portion represents the ground covered by the German advance)

ufacturers have been put to the test in the past year, their capacity for accurate work has proved inadequate to meet the exact gauges to a thousandth of an inch needed by modern military weapons of precision. The fuses do not work to minute fractions of a second, as they must when the failure to explode on a given tenth of a second will carry them past the advancing line, to burst harmless in its rear. Cartridges and breech-

blocks do not gauge as they should, as one great corporation has found. In from three to six months, the Allies will be armed on all fronts. To-day their full force is not on the firing-line. It cannot come in full measure to the succor of France under months.

HEAVY FRENCH LOSSES

Losses, moreover, have been very heavy. France is filling with the maimed, the mutilated, and the disabled. Such rosters of killed and wounded as have appeared—one of teachers, for instance—shows a very large list of fatalities by the side of wounded. The hospital service is insufficient. Naturally, the base hospitals are used for those who can be returned to the firing-line, and the cases of those for whom life holds no hope of again sharing in the war, swamp the resources of villages on which they are billeted and dampen the enthusiasm of West France and daunt the Midi. Two army corps from the latter region broke early in the war. It gives the one spot in the French forces of which one hears strange and depressing rumors. Taken as a whole, the Allies match in their great task any land and any people—not of all France, the incomparable. But the moment has come, known to all, when a tide hangs and does not turn. A serious



THE RELATION OF VERDUN TO THE ENTIRE WESTERN FRONT
(The line indicates the front)

disaster to a French stronghold now will mean more than it could earlier or would later.

WHAT WOULD BE A GERMAN GAIN

The German plan at Verdun looks to no sweeping blow. The war has seen no more careful attack. The German losses are pronounced heavy by the French and reported light from Berlin. Some loss can be more than made good. If the Germans can close the long reentrant angle northeast from St. Mihiel to Verdun and west to Varennes, so that the line runs across from St. Mihiel to the latter place, the new line will take, according to conditions, from 75,000 to 150,000 less men, because fifteen miles will be closed up. This is a German gain. Of the 400 square miles or so about Verdun, about 135 square miles were won by March 20. This area varies as the line is run and these figures can be but approximate. The German defense and offense would be greatly improved by the taking of Verdun, even if nothing else followed, and under conceivable circumstances 4000 square miles of France east of the line drawn from Verdun through Epinal, already noted, to Switzerland would have to be abandoned. The French right in Champagne would be seriously threatened and would fall back twenty-seven miles to a level with St. Menchould, the next fortress west of Verdun.

NEW METHODS OF ATTACK

But neither the prize nor the conditions admit of the wholesale German charges delivered early in the war at Ypres and elsewhere. The advance in mass has ceased. The Germans (the French despatches agree with those from Berlin) have not thrown forward more than from three to six regiments at once. Taking war conditions, and the way units wear down, this does not mean more than 5000 to 12,000 in any one charge. In such a rush officers can lead their men, and the daily bulletins are full of the way German officers have gone to the front. Officers can affect a line of this size because it fills a front in which every man can see the officers who lead. In such charges as occurred earlier in the war from 40,000 to 60,000 men were thrown forward. This would cover a front of twenty-five to forty miles, according to the ground. The individual commanders are lost. If three to six regiments make the charge, every man can see that his officers are sharing his fate.

A new method has, therefore, come into

operation. An artillery fire over a wide area is no longer used as it once was. A very heavy rain of shells and shrapnel is concentrated over a definite share of the trenches. These are pulverized and a charge on a front of not more than a mile, often less, rushing a width of 100 to 200 yards, occupies the region beaten up and repeats the same process a week later. Whether Paris or Berlin is right as to the losses in such an attack no one can say. They may easily be relatively light. The ground favors the advance. Detached hills, woods, and rolling ground give cover. The movement on Verdun has been very gradual. It has taken a month to push a little more than six to eight miles. No effort has been made to throw men forward on a large scale. The line has been advanced by fragments. Positions have been taken, lost, and retaken on both sides.

LACK OF DATA

Are the Germans reporting the unwounded prisoners taken accurately? No one can say. If fewer prisoners were taken, then the concentrated artillery fire has destroyed men. If the German reports are accurate, the result thus far is not encouraging to the French. Large captures relative to the men in the trenches may show that at this point the French line is weak. Is it? No one can tell. The Allies are committed to the policy of attrition. This suggests small forces in the trenches instructed to hold their ground, firing into the advancing line and reducing its number, even at the loss of the men who stay and are captured in the trenches, having killed off from four to five times their number.

Here, as with so much else in this war, no exact facts are available. The losses of France no one knows, or whether its line is growing thin. Less than it was, it must be. The Bulgarian and Turkish armies have been added to the forces of the Central Powers. The Italian addition to the Allies has not matched this. The English loss and the English force are not known. The published German figures only record the loss of about one-half the army with which the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary entered the field. Both antagonists have lost so heavily that they cannot afford any general publication, and the relative strength to-day is uncertain to the amount of at least a fifth of the forces engaged, enough to decide the battle.

At Verdun, as in all the issues of the war



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A TRENCH IN THE DOUAUMONT HILLS (THE TRENCH EXTENDS BACK FROM THE CENTER OF THE PICTURE)
(On these hills are the ruins of Fort Douaumont, early taken by the Germans, while the French continued to hold positions on that part of these low elevations towards Fort Vaux.)



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THE REMAINS OF CHURCHVILLE

Little remains of the church, the Germans having taken the ruins from the ground. Through the ruins, many of the French soldiers and many of the French soldiers.



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A VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE CHURCH

Looking out from the ruins of the church, the French soldiers and many of the French soldiers.

as it stands, only the event can decide. Verdun may be won or lost on one side or the other or remain a gage of battle when these lines are read. Nor will the decision one way or the other alter any whit the real future of the war. This rests on the moral stamina with which one antagonist or the other bears the slow process of exhaustion. Each is under a pressure such as no previous war has ever known. Every engagement leaves the German league weaker in its copper, lead, clothing, rubber, and supplies, with a loss of men. The Allies are losing men, but not supplies. Food each can furnish on a scale large enough to keep up the fight. Which will first begin to feel that the war is hopeless and that a longer struggle is useless? This will decide who is beaten.

WHAT THE GERMANS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED

Verdun might, by its loss, turn the scale for Germany if a great blow sweeps it away. But this slow loss, waiting on both sides, has less effect on the imagination or the resolution of men. The German forces began the attack the last week of February. They first pushed back the French line from its salient, one side running from Chaumont, Azannes to Etain, where the road from the north, running southeasterly, crosses the road direct from Verdun to Metz, twenty-four miles from Metz. The salient at this cross-road turned and ran southwest along the road to St. Mihiel. This operation cleared a plain, a flat triangle about fifty miles by four, whose long base carried the German line to the foot of the steep rise which is the eastern side of the Verdun plateau. This took a week to March 1. In the next week, up to March 5-7, the German forces cleared the ground north of this plateau, adding to the 100 square miles about thirty square miles more. The approach is easier here than to the east. The difference of elevation is less and there are scattered hills whose tops match the plateau and, where it is cut by the Meuse, overlook parts of the plateau.

The first week, February 21 to March 1, showed a steady daily advance. The next five days showed a steady movement which clipped some six miles off the approach from the north to the outworks of Verdun, the central fortress having about it a ring of forts twelve miles across. A pause followed, to collect ammunition for another attack. This task is of increasing difficulty, as the entire machinery of men and of transportation grow wearied and worn. Both

sides are equally near their base. Both have a free railroad behind.

In one month, after a prodigal expenditure of shells, the Germans are close to the northern and the eastern side of the plateau on which Verdun stands. The eastern front of the plateau, they have not touched at all. Its steep scarp does not tempt assault. On the northeastern corner of the ring of forts about Verdun, Douaumont, an outlying work, has been picked up. On the northwest corner, a partial lodgment is claimed on Dead-man's Hill. Returning to the northeast corner, Vaux has been attacked, with no immediate result. When a stronghold is attacked, but not beleaguered, all military history shows how long and dubious may be the assault.

As the loss or the holding of Verdun will have a moral and not a material effect on the war, so the operations around the fortress are a test of the morale of the troops on each side and not of the skill of the commanders or the superiority of the artillery. The steadiness with which the French people view the advance shows how little their tears are awakened by the approach on Verdun. What effect its capture or its successful defense may have only the event can prove.

GERMANS PRODIGAL OF TIME, SAVING OF MEN

Whether Verdun is captured or stands its ground, depends upon whether the successful assaults on a trenched strip, six to eight miles broad, taken in detail and beaten flat by artillery, before the attack, prove to be as successful on forts and casemates. Time is needed for this and the new German policy at Verdun is to be lavish of time and economical of men. No one could tell, when a pause followed the first assault on Fort Vaux, whether this was a mere delay, until guns and ammunition were moved up, or a check which showed that a method successful with the trenched plain could not break entrance into a round of forts.

The future of the war may hinge on the solution of this military problem, not alone for Verdun; but for the conduct of campaigns elsewhere. Granted that a plain, scanned with trenches, if there be time, guns, munitions and men, can be carried piecemeal, as has been done about Verdun—does this apply to a chain of forts such as make Germany's final line of defense on the West and East fronts, or such as have grown, inside the Allied line, on various fronts?

RUSSIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR

BY STANLEY WASHBURN

[Mr. Washburn, who is one of the sons of the late Senator W. D. Washburn, of Minnesota, has had a striking career as war correspondent, explorer and traveler since he graduated from Williams College fifteen years ago. His experiences in the Russo-Japanese War were thrilling and noteworthy. During a great part of the present war he has been with the Russian armies as special correspondent of the *London Times*. He contributed an article to this REVIEW on a battle near Warsaw early last year. Few men are so well informed as to the part Russia has been playing and is yet likely to assume in the pending struggle. The present article is fresh from his pen, having been written last month just before his sailing from New York to resume his arduous duties with the Russian armies.—THE EDITOR.]

WHAT one knows about Russia in this war may be likened to what one sees of a floating iceberg. About seven-eighths of the iceberg is submerged. It seems to the writer that at least seven-eighths of the Russian achievements and sacrifices are not understood or appreciated outside of Russia. Even within the country itself lack of publicity has prevented the public from learning the extent to which Russia has contributed to what is to be the ultimate success of the war. Fairly to judge the situation, one must in the first place realize that this is not a war between Russia and Germany. It is a war between the Allies and the group of powers hypnotized by Germany into believing that a community of interest exists between her and these misled nations that she has dragged into her world adventure, or perhaps one might better say misadventure.

GENERAL EFFECT OF RUSSIA'S CAMPAIGNS

In dealing, therefore, with the Russian campaign one must always keep in mind that each success or failure in the East is of importance only in the degree that it tends to influence the great world situation. Which of the Allies is to give the final blow is of no importance. But it is important that all of the Allies weaken the enemy, so that in the final struggle one of them may give the decisive stroke. It is quite immaterial whether that one be Russia, or France, or England. Every week in the campaign presents changes and it is impossible to judge now from what quarter this decision may ultimately come.

To judge of Russia's contribution to the war, one must get and preserve a great perspective of the whole theater of war and realize that if Russia breaks the final Ger-

man strength under the walls of Moscow and gives the French the chance to get the decision in the West, she has as much played her part as though she had allowed the Germans to get to Paris and then herself ended the war before the gates of Berlin. With this perspective, then, let us consider what Russia has been able to offer on the altar of the common cause as her portion toward the ultimate success of the Allies.

RUSSIAN SACRIFICE SAVED PARIS

At the beginning of the war, as is now well understood, the Russians had not planned an immediate offensive. Their policy was to defend their frontiers while their huge strength was mobilizing. The rush on Paris in the West, however, threatened the cause of the Allies, and almost over night the Russians decided to embark on a hastily planned offensive in East Prussia. The impetus of this attack swept the Russians through the favorite province of the Kaiser, and in ten days the Unter den Linden was filled with panic-stricken refugees that had fled before the avalanche so suddenly launched from the East. At a critical moment in the West, when the German vanguard was almost within sight of the Eiffel Tower, the Germans shifted an important body of troops from the West to protect the East from Russian inroads. The Russians say that six corps were sent to East Prussia, while the French claim it was but four. But the figures are not material. What we know is that after their departure for the East came the battle of the Marne and the turning point of the war.

The Russians paid for this by the loss of almost their entire East Prussian army, but



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IN A RUSSIAN TRENCH IN POLAND



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OPERATING A FIELD TELEPHONE ON THE SNOW-
COVERED GROUND

© Associated Press Association, New York

FRATERNIZING WITH PRISONERS AROUND THE
CAMPFIRE

GLIMPSES OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY IN THE FIELD

they say their sacrifice saved Paris. History, no doubt, will establish the facts, but on the evidence available at present their claim seems logical and will, I believe, be ultimately credited to them as their first great contribution to the Allies' cause. This single phase of the war alone proves that there is such a thing as victory in defeat when that defeat was achieved by the enemy at the cost of the weakening of another front and the consequent victory of an ally in a more strategically important theater of operations. The loss of East Prussia and of one entire army was a mere drop in the bucket of Russia's sacrifices, while, on the other hand, the failure of the Germans to take Paris in 1914 promises to stand out of the war as one of the great turning points in the world's history. So much for Russia's first entrance into the European theater of operations.

DRIVE TO CALAIS THWARTED BY RUSSIA

In October, 1914, the Germans, piqued perhaps by their failure to follow up their northern successes, decided to take Warsaw. What happened? They reached the very outskirts of the city and were hurled back to their own frontier at a time when they were just beginning their fierce drive to Calais. And what was looming in the East just then? Another group of Russian armies, this time threatening the invasion of Prussia from the Polish frontier at one point and Silesia at another. At a time when the Germans needed every possible man to break through in Belgium, they were again obliged to divert huge bodies of troops to protect their own frontiers in the East. Army corps after army corps came into the Polish theater of operations. Outnumbered in men and munitions, the Russians fell slowly back on the Bzura line in the North and the Dunajec line in Galicia, fighting battle after battle and taking their toll of hundreds of thousands of Teutons and Austrians.

But they were defeated, says the critic in America. True enough, the Russians gave back. But what happened in the West? A point which the Germans believed spelled destruction to the English was saved, and to balance this what had the Germans to show in the East? Losses for themselves and their ally that ran not far short of 300,000 to 400,000 and the gain of—what?—nothing in particular except the opportunity to attack Warsaw itself, which they did for nearly ten months longer. I cannot say how many troops the Germans diverted to the East at this time, but probably not far short

of between fifteen and twenty army corps were operating against Russia. Here again we have a Russian defeat and Allied victories, but again Russia must be credited with having made a great contribution to the common cause.

IMPORTANCE OF AUSTRIA'S DEFEATS IN GALICIA

The early fighting in Galicia cannot, I think, be counted as much of an asset to the Allies, inasmuch as it represented in its early stages what might be called a private quarrel; but when it became so successful as to threaten Silesia there developed a real menace to Germany. This menace was checked with the second advance on Warsaw. The Russians, however, never disappointed or discouraged, began immediately to do to the Austrians what they had failed to accomplish against the Germans; and in the early days of January and February, 1915, we find the Russians pushing the Austrians back over the Carpathians and at last taking their great fortress Przemyśl in March of that year.

Heavy drives in the Bukovina by Russian corps so threatened the Hungarian plain that Hungary itself became dissatisfied and for a brief period the Dual Monarchy was threatened with a collapse which would have seriously imperilled the German plans. Russian successes, too, no doubt helped to bring Italy into the arena. In May, then, when beyond a shadow of a doubt the one thing that the Germans longed for was to strike decisively in the West, they found their neighbor, on whom they depended for protection on the South, so involved in disaster and with dissipated *morale*, that they were obliged practically to suspend their big movements in the West and turn toward imperturbable Russia, who, inch by inch, was eating away the prestige and the armies of their ally.

STRATEGIC VALUE OF THE GREAT RETREAT

There followed then the terrific drive in Galicia and the campaign in the Baltic provinces. The Russians, again outnumbered and practically destitute of munitions—were forced to retire and they did so in perfect order, trading Galician acres which had formerly belonged to Austria for German lives which the Germans could not spare. Corps after corps of Germany's best came by express train to the East, until at last the Germans were maintaining between thirty-three and thirty-seven corps on the Russian front and sending thousands to fill

the losses which the Russians were taking daily from their ranks. Then came the fall of Warsaw and the spectacle, which must have been a sad one to the Germans, of their iron jaws snapping at air, while the Russian army in excellent order slid away into its wind-swept spaces to the Eastward. In their fury to secure a decision the Germans followed on and on into that desolate plain of Russia, always losing heavily and scoring little, until at last their momentum ceased entirely. Many of them will say and do say that the German line stopped because it had reached its appointed place. But I, who have been there and know the country, can say that the German line stopped its advance for the same reason an arrow falls to earth—because it had no longer any impulse to advance. Their line to-day runs through meadow and forest and swamp just where it stopped in the fall, because it could not advance further.

What then is the summing up of the summer campaign?

RUSSIAN DEFEAT GAINED VALUABLE TIME FOR THE ALLIES IN THE WEST

It is simply this. Germany pursuing the entire summer a will-o'-the-wisp until fall, when we see the German army settled down in the snow with spirit gradually evaporating for want of local success to keep it going. What has Germany gained? Russian prisoners and limitless acres of bleak landscape which will come back to Russia by treaty without a fight at all when the decision comes for the Allies, which, I believe, is inevitable, whether it be now or whether it be one or two years from now. And what has Germany lost? Perhaps a million in casualties in the East since March and the loss of the opportunity to strike during the summer in the West. And what has been going on in the West all this time? Preparation. With what result? We have seen it in the last weeks at Verdun in the spray of German infantry dashing against the rocks of the French phalanx and the French defenses, Germans gaining each inch and foot of terrain by the shedding of German blood in torrents.

The reader will say, "Ah, yes, but the Russians have been defeated in the East." True enough; but it has taken so much to defeat the Russians that the Allies have had time to prepare themselves, so that the Germans, as it now seems, cannot break the Western line with the hope of gains commensurate with the cost. Does the reader

imagine that if the thirty-five German corps operating in Russia this past summer had been available in a block to throw against the Allied line in France or Belgium in May that Paris would still be in French hands? Russian defeats purchased for the Allies these priceless days during which they were able to make their line almost impregnable. And thus again we can trace Russia's contribution to the war.

PLENTY OF MUNITIONS NOW

I have written a little about Russian reverses, but I think so far there has been little to indicate to the outside world how very little these reverses mean to Russia as a whole. The retirements were due to practically no other cause than the lack of rifles and munitions. Warsaw was lost because there were no shells for the Russian guns. The Germans may deny this, but a million denials would never convince me because I was there. Time and again I saw Russian caissons coming at a gallop from fifteen miles in the rear to replenish batteries that were silent for want of shells. The day before Warsaw fell I saw battery after battery limber up and come out of strategic positions because there was not a shell left. The condition as to rifles was almost as bad. Millions of men were in uniform, but could not go to the front for want of rifles. When the world learns, as it will eventually, the meager effective force with which Russia was fighting all last summer, it will consider it an amazing thing, not that the Russians were beaten, but that the Germans did not utterly destroy them.

By latter September the scale began to turn, and with the final check of the Germans in the fall was dissipated their last great chance against the Russians. It is true that they may this year push them here and there, but never again will they find Russia unprepared. With millions of men available for her colors and with the arsenals of the world working for her, tools are daily being placed in the hands of the Russians with which to hew out their destiny this coming summer.

THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

Before mentioning future possibilities in Russia, it seems worth while to touch briefly on the subject of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch, and his removal from the chief command of the Russian army—a matter which has been of much interest to the world in general. In any huge army it is

sometimes difficult to trace exactly the source of the greatest strength governing a campaign. Generally plans and strategies are not the outcome of the ideas of any single individual, but represent the resultant of innumerable influences. In writing of the Grand Duke and the part he has taken in the war, I can only give the opinion which I have myself formed after having met him and practically all others in high command, from the Czar down to innumerable lesser chiefs of armies and individual units. My own opinion is that Nicholas Nicholaievitch is in one way the greatest man Russia has produced since Peter the Great, but not in the least in the way that the world believes. I do not think he brought to the war enormous sagacity or extraordinary military capacity; and I question if he is responsible for more than a fair portion of the strategies evolved in the campaign. What he did contribute to Russia was a great personality and an extraordinary character which at the beginning of the war was a far greater asset than mere brains, for there were others who had intellectual capacity greater than his.

But in the beginning, when bureaucracy was frantically trying to direct and control the elemental forces which the war loosened on the world, the Grand Duke towered above every other single figure in Europe.

A TOWERING FIGURE AND A GREAT MORAL FORCE

He was a great moral force replete with patriotism, sincerity, courage, and the iron will that swept from his path intrigue and petty quarrels. Men of more finesse might have been found to conduct the strategy and tactics of the campaign, but there was no man in Russia who could have held that great cosmopolitan army together as a cohesive

unit through the first chaotic year of the war save only the Grand Duke Nicholas. I think that Russia owes more to his character than to any other single factor in the whole war.

It is impossible for me to express an opinion on the exact share that he had in dictating the strategy of the campaign. Personally, I think he dictated little but the policies to be followed and dealt meagerly with the actual problems. If one believes reports, the two policies which he favored preëminently and which he is said to have forced through by

his own iron will are the two which have proven the greatest mistakes. These were the campaign to pierce the Carpathians and enter the Hungarian plain, and the turning out of the population before the German advance. The former failed for lack of munitions and because it instantly brought down superior forces of the Germans into Galicia, which was certain to be the case when the menace against their ally became sufficiently acute. The driving of the population before the retreating army and the destruction of property before the German advance no doubt annoyed the enemy

greatly, but the military values secured therefrom to Russia were, and are, relatively little compared to the human and economic problem they have created, for to-day they have on their hands 13,000,000 refugees wandering about the highways and byways of Russia.

ALEXIEV, RUSSIA'S GREAT MILITARY GENIUS

It is my opinion, after having met practically every important commander in Russia, that Alexiev, the present Chief of the General Staff, and subordinate only to the Czar and who is the real commander-in-chief of the army, is to-day the greatest military intellect in Russia, if not in the entire armies of all the belligerents. It is interesting to



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS NICHOLAIEVITCH

recall that Alexiev was the Chief of the Staff of Ivanov during the days of the Galician successes at the beginning of the war. It is said, though I have not the evidence to prove it, that Alexiev did not concur in the advance in the Carpathians and was therefore removed to the command of the Warsaw front, where he had nothing whatever to do in planning that ill-fated enterprise. Incidentally it may be remarked that with his departure the successes in Galicia soon ceased, and simultaneously with his appearance on the Warsaw front the defense was stiffened up. It seems that in America the credit for the strategy and tactics of the Warsaw campaign is given entirely to the Grand Duke; this view I have not the slightest hesitation in opposing. I am positive that the last defense of Warsaw and the great retreat that followed was entirely due to the skill of Alexiev himself, for I was with his staff many times during those critical days and in almost every army engaged in the movement. That it was his skilful hand that engineered the escape of the Russian armies must, I think, be clear to the military observers who watched this same clever mind directing the strategy and tactics which resulted in the escape of the Tenth Russian Army from the beleaguered and all but surrounded Vilna, at a time when the Grand Duke himself had already gone to the Caucasus.

WHY THE GRAND DUKE WAS SHIFTED

And now comes the question as to why the former commander-in-chief was removed from the absolute command. While it is difficult to answer this exactly, I am of opinion that there were a number of reasons which brought this removal about. In the first place, it must be known that the Czar himself is a man of much sentiment, and that he was only detained from going to the front in person at the outbreak of the war by weightier considerations of state in Petrograd. It is said that in the Japanese war he had wished to be with his troops. In this campaign his desire became more and more acute as the army retired. This feeling on the part of the Czar was no doubt the real reason for the removal of the Grand Duke, the action crystallizing through a political situation which developed in Petrograd after the loss of Warsaw. The moment the Polish capital fell there began in Russia a propaganda which sought to assure the people that the war was lost and that the Czar himself was seeking an excuse to make an inde-

pendent peace. These rumors, undoubtedly instigated by the Germans, ran riot all over Russia, and at last began to drift back to the army and to threaten seriously its morale. Official denials were of no avail.

As a political move the taking over of the command by the Emperor was an excellent one, for when it became known that he was going to join his troops the rumors of an independent peace evaporated overnight, for the people said: "If the Czar were going to make peace, he would do it now, and say that the Grand Duke had lost the war and he had no alternative but peace. But when he takes command it means that he takes the responsibility of the future on himself and is staking his dynasty on victory." This feeling was increased when it became generally known that the Emperor had taken with him the little Grand Duke, the heir to the dynasty of "All the Russias." In any event, the bubble of an independent peace and of a monarch plotting to betray his Allies was burst once and forever. This and his own sentiment are probably the dominant reasons which prompted the Czar to send the Grand Duke to the Caucasus.

NO BREAK BETWEEN THE CZAR AND THE GRAND DUKE

It is probably true that there were, and have been, many intriguers at work against Nicholas Nikolaivitch since the beginning of the war. With a ruthless hand he was sweeping aside the incompetents, whether prince or peasant, and there were many who hated him bitterly. It is probable that there were those who tried to persuade the Emperor and the Empress that the giant commander-in-chief was plotting to overthrow the dynasty. I cannot, of course, speak as to what extent this influence governed, but having met and talked with both the Grand Duke and the Emperor, I am of the opinion that the Grand Duke never had a disloyal thought for his monarch, and that the Czar never conceived that he had. I believe their relations were excellent. I know that the last act of the Grand Duke before he gave up his command was to invoke from his staff the same devotion and support for the Emperor that they had given to him and I know likewise that he commended in the same way to all with whom he spoke intimately, the new chief-of-the-staff, General Alexiev. I think there never has been anything small about the Grand Duke, and I question if he ever had a petty thought in his life. His is a great moral figure that stalked through

the campaign and then moved off to another field of activity to give place to the Czar, for the reasons I have mentioned above.

THE CAUCASUS CAMPAIGN

From a long and intimate association with the Russian Army I am not of the opinion that the Caucasus was ever regarded by the higher command as a major theater of operations, and save for the removal of Nicholas from the European command, I think it would never have become one. When he left the front the Caucasus was the only place of dignity to which he could be sent. The remark ran through the army at the time that when the Grand Duke reached there, he would start larger operations as an outlet to his energy. I do not think that the present move was contemplated until after the Grand Duke took over the Southern command. From my knowledge of the country between Trebizond and Constantinople, and from my observation of Russian transport matters, I am of opinion that it will be many a long month before Constantinople is itself directly threatened from this quarter, but it would rather anticipate that the Russians will follow their successes southward to cooperate with the British in Mesopotamia. The greatest asset that will come out of this movement will be the moral effect on both Bulgaria and Turkey, who had both been induced to believe that Russia was finished.

THE JANUARY OFFENSIVE IN GALICIA

In considering Russia's contribution to the general campaign one must not overlook the January offensive in southern Galicia which began almost where it was left off in May—the drives toward the Bukowina. All of this happened since I left Russia and I am not able to speak authoritatively of the strategy or tactics of the campaign but from a knowledge of the situation there in July and

August and acquaintance with the generals involved I am not inclined to believe that this is or will be a major theater of Russian operations. The effect was aimed, I believe, to accomplish two results: First, to interfere with and impede the German-Austrian movements in the Balkans, and, second, to create a moral effect not only on the enemy but more especially on Bulgaria and Rumania. That these results have been achieved seems to be moderately clear. The menace on the Bukowina rendered it necessary for the central powers to divert heavy masses of troops from other fronts to send

against the Russian army, which forces would otherwise have been available against the Allies operating from Salonika as a base. It is clear that the operations of the central powers in the Balkans have faded into insignificance since this recent Russian advance, and for the moment, at least, we are hearing nothing more of the Teuton campaign in the Serbian theater of operations.

The moral effect of this January offensive of the Russians has been, I think, of enormous value. To realize the important bearing that it must have in Bulgaria, one



THE CZAR AND THE CZARITCH INSPECTING SOME TROOPS

must understand the situation that has existed in that country since the beginning of the war.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN BULGARIA

The sentiment in Bulgaria was always intensely pro-Russian and somewhat pro-English, though possibly indifferent to the French. During the first months of the war there was every reason to believe that Bulgaria might have been induced to side with the Allies, but at that time her participation was not considered important and the golden moment slipped by. In the meantime German propaganda was working night and day in Bulgaria to convince the people that the Allied cause was doomed. Moving pictures, lectures, newspapers, and every other

means of publicity known in this day and generation were used by the Germans to present to the people of Bulgaria an unbroken picture of German successes. With the King himself German and with everyone who could be bought working for the German ends, the Bulgarians were half-convinced by May of last year that Germany was going to win. Then came the Galician drive and the spectacle of Russia thrown out of all but a corner of Galicia, and on top of it the shouts of the Germans that Russia was finished. Still Bulgaria hesitated. Then followed the fall of Warsaw and the apparent melting away of the Russian army into the heart of Russia. Simultaneously with this German troops appeared in constantly growing numbers on the Serbian fronts. The Bulgarians, convinced now that Russia was hopelessly lost and the Allies' cause doomed, joined the Teutons.

BULGARIA'S EYES OPENED

It may be imagined now what the sentiment is in Bulgaria, a nation that has forever forfeited the friendship of Russia, to see the supposed broken armies of the Czar sweeping back into the Bukowina, apparently in the same strength and with an even increased morale over that which they possessed a year ago. Bulgaria, I think, as an active participant in the war will be a constantly waning factor, and one may expect to see the Bulgars avail themselves of the first opportunity to slip back into the fold and make some sort of peace with Russia. Once the doom of Germany is understood in Bulgaria, her allegiance to the Central

Powers will doubtless be shortlived. What has influenced Bulgaria will in a similar degree affect Rumania. The recent Galician offensive, if sustained, will prevent Rumania from entering the war against the Allies, and if further continued may ultimately bring her into the lists as soon as victory seems assured for the Allies.

WHAT CAN RUSSIA DO THIS SUMMER?

The question which seems uppermost in everyone's mind in America in regard to Russia is whether or not she will be able to "come back" this summer with an important offensive. This is purely a question of material. It must be understood that there will never in this war be a shortage of men in Russia, and that she can continue raising millions as fast as she can find arms to put in their hands and shells to shoot. The lack of these is the one vital reason for Russian disaster. I am personally of the opinion that by the first of June Russia should have a better equipped and larger army at her disposal than at any time during the war. The Empire of the Czar saw its ebb tide from a military point of view in August and September, 1915, and since then the tide has been coming steadily back. Those who see the German prisoners these days cannot but notice the difference in the men that are now being sent to the firing line. From the point of human material, Germany certainly passed her zenith last summer. Day by day her tide is going out. England and Russia will be ready, really for the first time, to strike effectively in May or June. Who can doubt the ultimate outcome?



Photograph by Bain News Service

A VIEW OF THE CITY OF TREBIZOND, WHICH THE RUSSIANS AIM TO CAPTURE



PART OF THE ENGLISH FORCES IN MESOPOTAMIA

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN TURKEY

By JAMES B. MACDONALD

[The writer of this article, now in Montreal, was for some years connected with the foremost British newspaper in India. He has been a diligent student from the British standpoint of economic, political, and military conditions in Asia, and has also been connected with military organizations in India, England, and South Africa.—THE EDITOR.]

I.—WHY THE BRITISH ARE INVOLVED

IT is perhaps not generally realized how important the future of Mesopotamia is to the British, or why they originally sent an expedition there which has since developed into a more ambitious campaign. Ever since the Napoleonic period British influence and interests have been supreme from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, and this was the one quarter of the globe where they successfully held off the German trader with his political backing.

BRITAIN'S INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA

It will be recalled that early in Queen Victoria's reign Great Britain engaged in a war with Persia, and landed troops at Bushire in assertion of their rights. Ever since they have policed the Persian Gulf, put down piracy, slave and gun-running, and lighted the places dangerous to navigation. These interests having been entrusted to the Government of India, news affecting them seldom finds its way into Western papers. Previous to the war a line of British steamers plied regularly up the River Tigris to Bagdad, the center of the caravan trade with Persia. The foreign trade of this town

alone in 1912 amounted to \$19,000,000, and it was nearly all in the hands of merchants in Great Britain or India. Germany exported \$500,000 worth of goods there annually. Basra, farther down the river, exports annually about 75,000 tons of dates, valued at \$2,900,000. It also does a large export trade in wheat.

OIL FIELDS AND IRRIGATION WORKS

A large irrigation scheme was partly completed before the war, near the ancient town of Babylon, under the direction of a famous Anglo-Indian engineer, Sir William Willcocks. When finished it was to cost \$105,000,000, and was expected to reclaim some 2,800,000 acres of land of great productivity. It will, therefore, be seen that Britain had some considerable stake in the country. In addition to this, the British Government, shortly before the war, invested \$10,000,000 in acquiring control of the Anglo-Persian oil fields, which is the principal source of supply for oil fuel for their navy. By this means they avoided the risk of great American corporations cornering the supply of oil fuel and holding up their navy. John Bull upon occasion shows some



TURKEY, WITH ITS STRATEGIC RAILWAYS AND FIGHTING AREAS OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

gleamings of shrewdness. This deal is on a par with their purchase of sufficient shares to control the Suez Canal. The Anglo-Persian oil fields are situated across the border in Persia, and the oil is led in pipes down the Karam River valley, a tributary of the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The native tribes in the neighborhood were subsidized to protect the pipe-line, or, rather, to leave it alone.

THE SITUATION IN PERSIA

During recent years Persia has fallen into decay. Politically she is more sick than "the sick man of the East." The people have a religion of their own and worship the sun, although quite a number of Moslems have settled in their midst. Being cognizant of German designs to create a great Eastern empire in Mesopotamia and Persia, which would threaten India, Egypt, and the Russian East, Britain and Russia came together and formed a kind of Monroe Doctrine of their own. They said, in effect, northern Persia shall be Russia's sphere of influence, and southern Persia shall be Britain's sphere of influence. They both recognized that a great military power, like Germany, permanently established at Bagdad, with aggressive tendencies, would imperil their Eastern dominions, and both were prepared to make it a *casus belli*—Britain, further, a few

years ago informed Germany that the area from Bagdad to the head of the Gulf was her "Garden of Eden," and any attempt to carry German railways south of Bagdad would bring on war. The Emperor William apparently did not mind this opposition by Britain and Russia to his Oriental ambition, provided he could find a passage through the Balkans.

HOW THE TROUBLE STARTED IN PERSIA

At the time Britain and Russia came to an agreement regarding Persia they were not on so good a footing with each other as they are to-day. In order that neither should get an advantage over the other, it was decided that the Persian gendarmes—about 6000 in number—should be officered by neutrals, and, unfortunately as it turned out for the Allies, they mutually chose Swedes. On the outbreak of war neither Britain nor Russia desired that Persia should be brought into it. The German ambassador in Persia, however, had other views, and suborned Swedish officers in command of the Persian gendarmes. Partly by this means, and partly by Turkish agents, a rebellion was brought about within the Russian sphere. Religion had nothing to do with the trouble in Persia. Turkish forces entered Persian Kurdistan and announced that they were on their way to con-

quer India and the Russian East, while their compatriots would overrun Egypt. These were the fairy-tales with which the Germans had originally enticed the Turks into the war. The Turks were willing to believe them, and apparently did believe them. The responsible Germans had no such illusions, but hoped to attain their ends by caus-

ing internal disturbances within India and Egypt. These German canards, put about in war time, have been adopted by some writers in this country as the foundation from which to write contemporary history. It may interest them to know that India possesses the strongest natural frontiers in the world.

II.—STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY OF TURKEY

Strategy nowadays is very largely a matter of geography. Modern armies are circumscribed in their movements by the available means of transportation, whether these be by railroad, river, or roadway, and this means geography applied in giving direction to troop movements.

Before entering into a review of the combined Anglo-Russian campaign a preliminary survey of the strategical geography of the war area will make the position more clear.

STRATEGIC VALUE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

In ancient times the only practical way by road and ferry from Europe to Asia or Africa was by way of the Balkan valleys and across the Bosphorus or Dardanelles. Hence arose the importance of the ferry-house—Constantinople. That city in those days was the center of the known world and the clearing-house for the merchandise of Asia, Africa, and Europe. From Scutari, on the opposite shore, the overland route meandered across Asia Minor to Aleppo in Syria. Here the sign-post to India pointed down the Euphrates Valley, by way of Bagdad, while that to Egypt and Arabia followed the Levant or eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Between each fork lay the Syrian desert. A glance at the map shows the reason why in those days this was the only practical route, as to-day it is the easiest. The wall of the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasian Mountains, and the Black Sea shut out direct communication from Europe to Asia, or *vice versa*, except by the Constantinople ferry or a sea voyage.

IMPORTANCE OF THE TAURUS PASSAGE AND ERZERUM

In Asia Minor progress was further barred by the watershed of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers to the south, and the Cau-

casian Mountains to the east. A practical way was found at the lower elevations of the Taurus and Amanus mountains—two parallel spurs which strike the sea at the Gulf of Alexandretta. This narrow neck of the bottle, as it were, is of enormous military importance alike to the Turks and to the British. Through it must pass any army of invasion by land from Europe or Asia Minor to Egypt or India; and, conversely, through it must pass any invading army from Mesopotamia into Asia Minor. If the British should conquer Mesopotamia and should intend to hold it—as they undoubtedly would—they will have no strategical frontiers until they secure the watershed of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the Taurus passage. If they secure the latter, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia will fall to them like apples off a tree. It would then be no longer necessary to defend the Suez Canal. The natural frontier of Egypt is the Taurus mountain range. Asia Minor is the real Turkey; the other portions of the empire—Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Turkey in Europe—are only appendages. The eastern door into Asia Minor is Erzerum, and the southern door is the Taurus passage. Turkey can only part with these at the cost of her life. Russia has already captured Erzerum, and the British possess the Island of Cyprus, which commands the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta—twenty miles from the Taurus passage. That is, broadly, the situation.

THE RAILWAY ROUTES TO THE EAST

Near the crossing of the Taurus and Amanus mountains lies the city of Aleppo, the starting-point for the overland caravan routes to Bagdad and India, and also to Damascus, Mecca, and Egypt. Just as surely as pioneer travelers always chose the easiest route, so the railways of to-day follow



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ON THE DECK OF A STEAMER ON THE TIGRIS RIVER
(A river steamer passing Kut-el-Amara, and showing a
typical scene on the deck)



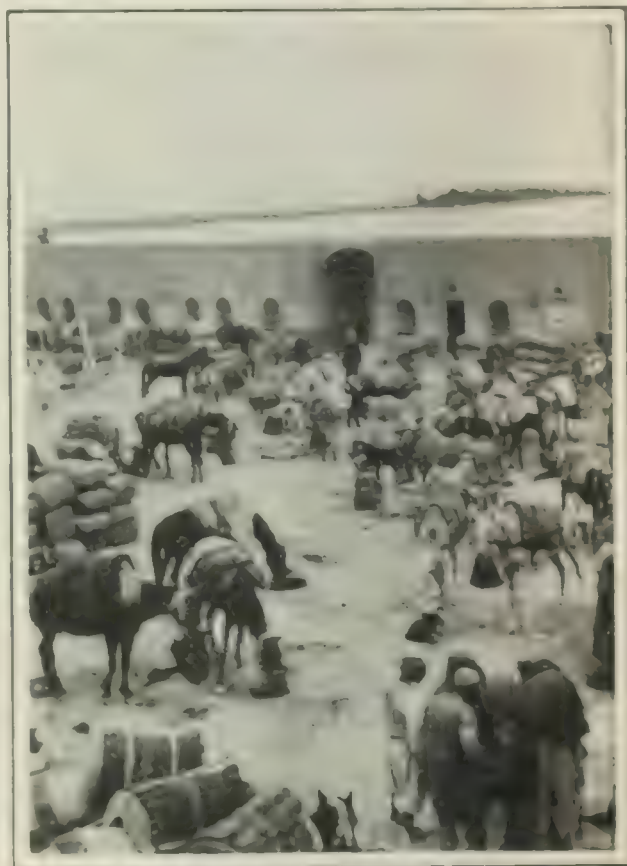
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LOOKING TOWARD SHEIK-SAAI
(In the territory of the fighting between the Turks and
the British relief force under General Aylmer)



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A TURKISH MILITARY TRANSPORT CROSSING THE
TIGRIS ON A FLOTTON BRIDGE



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A TURKISH MILITARY DEPOT ON THE RIVER, BE-
TWEEN BALZAH AND KUT-EL-AMARA

SCENES IN THE MESOPOTAMIAN WAR ZONE

in their footsteps. The physical features of nature constrained both modern as well as ancient armies to travel the same way. Hence a railway map of the Balkans and of Asiatic Turkey is a first consideration in appreciating the strategical bearings of the Anglo-Russian campaign in Turkey-in-Asia, or the alleged rival Germanic-Turkish schemes for the invasion of Egypt, Persia, and India. Of no less importance is a knowledge of the available sea routes and inland rivers.

The ability of Bulgaria and Turkey to carry on the war depends on aid from Germany in men, munitions, and money. These allies are the weakest members of the Central Group, and may be the first to give in if circumstances are adverse to their adventure.

Their sole communication with the Central Powers is by the Balkan railway from the Danube to Constantinople by way of Sofia. If this line is severed, then these nations are out of the game. The Allies have all winter been organizing the defenses of Salonica as a *pied-à-terre* for such

an attack. Should Rumania join the Allies in the spring, then a further attack may be expected from the north, in which Russian troops would join. Turkey is now too pre-occupied with her own troubles to be able to assist Bulgaria.

ALEPPO AS THE KEY TO INDIA AND EGYPT

In Asia Minor the only railway of importance is the trunk line from Soutari, on the Bosphorus, to the Taurus Tunnel, in course of completion near Adana. One branch runs west to Smyrna, and another east to Angora. Beyond the Taurus Tunnel is another in course of completion through the Amanus Mountains. Every person and everything destined for the Bagdad front or for the invasion of Egypt has to be transported over these mountains. So also have rails for the completion of the Aleppo-to-Bagdad railway. These tunnels are expected to be finished this year—when it will be too late. From Aleppo the Syrian rail-

way runs south through Damascus to Medina and Mecca in Arabia. Branches reach the Levant seaports of Tripoli, Beirut, and Haifa. Another railway was started from Aleppo to Bagdad shortly before the war, and construction begun at both ends. We have no reliable information as to how far it has progressed, but the presumption is that there is a large gap between Ras-el-ain and Mosul and between the latter place and Samara.

It is at once apparent how important the city of Aleppo is as the junction for the three main railways of Asiatic Turkey. Napoleon considered that it was the key to India, because it commanded the caravan routes. To-day it would be more correct

to say that Aleppo is the key to the outer *approaches* to India and Egypt, the inner defenses of which are impregnable.

WHY THE BRITISH MAINTAIN A LARGE ARMY IN EGYPT

The British maintain a large army in Egypt not so much because it is required there as because it is a most convenient cen-



EGYPTIANS FIGHTING FROM BEHIND SAND-BAG DEFENSES

tral camp within striking distance of all the battle-fronts in the East. This permits of throwing a large army secretly and unexpectedly where it can be most effective. Similar camps are available at Malta and Cyprus. Any attack on Egypt on a formidable scale would be a veritable trap for the invaders. It will be recalled that when Britain held up the Russian advance on Constantinople, in 1878, she entered into a treaty with Turkey guaranteeing the latter in the possession of Asia Minor (only) against all enemies. The consideration was the lease of the Island of Cyprus, which dominates the Taurus passage. In other words, Britain holds the cork with which she can close the Syrian tube and put the closure on any invasion of India or Egypt from this side. This treaty was abrogated some eighteen months ago, when Turkey declared war on the British Empire. Britain, in consequence, annexed Egypt and Cyprus.

III.—THE BRITISH AND RUSSIAN CAMPAIGNS

THE ANGLO-INDIAN EXPEDITION

At the outbreak of the war the Indian Government, apparently off their own bat, despatched a small force to the Persian oil fields to seize and hold the pipe-line, which had been tampered with and the supply cut off for a time.

It became necessary to hold in force three triangular points—Basra, Muhammerch, and Awaz. A strong Turkish force, with headquarters at Amara, was equidistant about 100 miles from both Basra and Awaz, and could elect to strike the divided British forces either by coming down the Tigris River to Basra, or by going overland to Awaz. Reinforcements were sent from India, and Amara occupied. The oil fields seemed secure. Then the unexpected happened. A Turkish army came down the Shat-el-Hai—an ancient canal or waterway connecting the Tigris River at Kut-el-Amara

with the Euphrates at Nasiriyeh (or Nasri)—about 100 miles to the west of Basra—and threatened the latter place. (Shat-el-Hai means the river which flows by the village of Hai. Kut-el-Amara means the fort of Amara and is not to be confused with the town of Amara lower down the Tigris River.) This led to the British driving the Turks out of Nasiriyeh and also advancing up the Tigris River from Amara to occupy Kut-el-Amara, where a battle was fought. The Turks were strongly entrenched and expected to hold up the Anglo-Indian troops here, but a turning movement made them retire on Bagdad—about 100 miles to the

northwest. It was known that large Turkish reinforcements were on the way to Bagdad and an attempt was made to anticipate them.

TOWNSHEND'S ADVANCE ON BAGDAD

General Townshend advanced on Bagdad with less than a division of mixed Anglo-

Indian troops—some 16,000 to 20,000 strong. At Ctesiphon he found a Turkish army of four divisions, with two others in reserve, awaiting him. After a two days' indecisive battle, Townshend, recognizing he had insufficient forces, retired on his forward base at Kut-el-Amara. The Arabs in the neighborhood awaited the issue of the battle, ready to take sides, for the time being, with the winner.

It says much for the stamina of this composite division that, although opposed throughout by five or six times their number of Turks and Turkish irregulars, the latter were unable to overwhelm them. To the



GENERAL TOWNSHEND, COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FORCES BESIEGED AT KUT-EL-AMARA.

Western mind, unacquainted with the mentality and moral weakness of the Moslem under certain circumstances, this may appear a most foolhardy adventure. To the Anglo-Indian the most obvious thing to do when in a tight corner is to go for the enemy no matter what their numbers. All Europeans in India develop an extraordinary pride in race, and an inherent contempt for numbers. It is the secret of their success there. Most Moslems fight well when posted behind strong natural defenses. In open country, such as Mesopotamia, they do not show to so much advantage. Another trait is that when their line of retreat is threatened they

are more timorous than European troops. This weakness will have important bearings on the future of the campaign on the Tigris Valley, because the communications of the Turks are threatened by the Russians far in their rear and in more than one place.

THE BRITISH POSITION AT KUT-EL-AMARA

Townshend's camp at Kut-el-Amara is well supplied with stores and munitions, and will soon be relieved. When his retreat was cut off at the bend of the Tigris River he could still have retired safely by following the Shat-el-Hai to Nasiriyeh. There was no thought, however, of retreat. Kut-el-Amara is geographically of great strategical importance, and the British garrison there has served the useful purpose of detaining large forces of the enemy where it was desired they should remain while important Allied developments were taking place in their flank and rear. Most of these Turkish reinforcements were withdrawn from Armenia when the depth of winter appeared to make it impossible for the Russians to break through the lofty hills of Caucasia.

THE RUSSIAN OPERATIONS

The rumor, so diligently put about, that the Grand Duke Nicholas had been retired in disgrace, after so ably extricating the Russian armies in Poland, and that he had been sent to Caucasia, served its purpose. The Turks were deceived by it, and sent part of their forces from Armenia to oppose the Anglo-Indian advance on Bagdad and arrived in time to turn the scale after the battle of Ctesiphon. When the Grand Duke fell on the unwary Turks their defeat was complete. Flying from Erzerum, one army made for Trebizond, another for the Lake Van district, and the rest went due west towards Sivas. The Grand Duke's right wing, center, and left are following in the same directions. He has two flying wings further south—one in the Lake Urmia district and the other advancing along the main caravan route from Kermanshah to Bagdad, while the British are furthest south at Kut-el-Amara. It will be observed that the whole of the Allied armies from the Black Sea to Kut-el-Amara are in perfect echelon formation, and it would be a strange coincidence if this just happened—say, by accident. Like the Syrian and Arabian littoral, Mesopotamia is another tube confined within the Syrian desert on the one side and the mountains of Armenia and Persia on the other. All egress is stopped by the

Allies' echelon formation, except by Aleppo.

RUSSIAN PROGRESS FROM THE NORTHEAST

Petrograd advices at the time of writing (March 9th) state that the Grand Duke's main army is making for the Gulf of Alexandretta with intent to cut the Turkish Empire in two. This is not only possible, but highly probable, and the echelon formation of the Allies, together with the configuration of the country, lends itself to such an operation. The British army in Egypt and the British fleet could in such an eventuality coöperate to advantage.

As a preliminary the Russians must clear their right wing by capturing Trebizond and utilizing it as a sea base. Asia Minor is a high tableland, in shape like the sole of a boot turned upside down, with the highlands of Armenia representing the heel. The Turks, having lost their only base and headquarters at Erzerum, have now to rush troops, guns, and stores from Constantinople to the railhead at Angora and endeavor to rally their defeated forces to the east of Sivas. In the meantime, the Russians will have overrun some 250 miles of Turkish territory before they are held up even temporarily. The Turkish army in Syria will be rushed to Diarbekr to rally their defeated right wing and endeavor to hold the Armenian Taurus Mountains against the Grand Duke's left wing. If the Russians break through here, then all is lost to the Turks in the south. They, however, have a most difficult task before them, because the hills here reach their highest. There is a road of sorts, because we know that Xenophon in ancient times traveled it with his 10,000 Greeks, and the Turks did the same recently, when they sent reinforcements to Bagdad. Both must have traveled light, and the Russians will have to do the same. This means that the Turks on the south will be better supplied with guns than their opponents, who will have to rely once more on their bayonets.

BRITISH COOPERATION ON THE SOUTH

In the extreme south the British have ample forces now to carry out their part of the contract. We know that some 80,000 veteran Indian troops have arrived from France, as well as other large reinforcements from India. It is unlikely that these will all proceed up the Tigris River, because sufficient troops are already there who are restricted to a narrow front, owing to the salt marshes between the bend of the river



ONE OF THE RIVER STEAMERS USED ON THE TIGRIS IN THE BRITISH EXPEDITION TOWARD BAGDAD



AN INDIAN MACHINE-GUN SECTION IN THE DESERT



TURKISH ARTILLERY ON THE ROAD



A TURKISH CAMP IN THE DESERT—PREPARING MEALS



TURKISH ARTILLERY IN ACTION



THE IMPORTANT ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL FIELDS NEAR AHWAZ
(Hauling material for the pipe line)

and the Persian mountains. Two other routes are available, the Shat-el-Hai from Nasirveh to relieve the garrison at Kut-el-Amara from the south, and the Euphrates River, to attack Bagdad from the southwest, while the Russian flying wing at Kermanshah threatens it from the northeast. The Turkish report of heavy fighting at Nasirveh would indicate that one or both of these routes were being taken. Athens reports that Bagdad is about to fall. As it falls, a British flotilla will ascend the Euphrates and make direct for Aleppo. The British army from Kut-el-Amara and the Russians from Kermanshah will, after the fall of Bagdad—which is a foregone conclusion—ascend the Tigris River to Mosul, where they may be expected to get in touch with the other Russian flying wing from the Lake Urumia district. The combined force will then be in a position to force a junction with the Grand Duke's left wing, and then continue their advance on Aleppo.

Should the main army of the Grand Duke, as reported, converge on the Gulf of Alexandretta with intent to destroy the Turkish southern army, then the latter would be in a very dangerous position, because their northern army being, as yet, without a base or organization, is not in a position to take the offensive to assist them. It, on the other hand, the Turkish army of the south declines battle at Aleppo and retires to defend the Taurus passage, after abandoning half their Empire to the Allies, the latter will, if they have not previously anticipated it, have a difficult problem to solve as to how they are going to get their large forces in the south over the Taurus range to assist the Grand Duke in the final struggle. The forcing of the Taurus passage will mean fighting on a narrow front and will take time.

THE ALLIED GRAND STAFF NOW COMMANDS

So far this campaign had been conducted as one of India's little wars, which come as regularly as intermittent fever.

When Turkey entered the war she reckoned that Russia was so busy on the German and Austrian frontiers as to be unable to meet an attack in her rear. Turkey thereupon concentrated her main armies at Erzerum and invaded Caucasia. The Russians

beat them back and entered Armenia, where the inhabitants assisted them. The same cause which led to the retirement from Poland—shortage of ammunition—compelled the Russians also to withdraw from Armenia.

Contemporary with these events, Britain met with a severe reverse on the Gallipoli peninsula, which likewise injured her prestige in the East.

It became a matter of first importance with both Britain and Russia that they should not only reinstate their prestige in the East in striking fashion, but that they should end once and for all time German intrigue and Turkish weakness in the East. These considerations were contributing factors in bringing about a joint war council and an Allied Grand Staff. The latter immediately took hold of the military situation in Asiatic Turkey, and the isolated operations of Britain and Russia in these parts now changed into a great Anglo-Russian campaign stretching from the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers at Kurna to the Black Sea.

The drama unfolding before us promises to be one of the most sensational in the great world war. The end of the Ottoman Empire appears in sight. Its heirs and successors may be the other great Moslem powers—Britain, Russia, France, and Italy. The last two have yet to be heard from on the western shores of Asia Minor.

The future may see the British in possession of Turkey's first capital, Mosul; the French in possession of their second capital, Konia; the Russians in possession of their third and last capital, Constantinople, and the Italians occupying Smyrna. Each of these powers is a Mohammedan empire in itself; and the greatest Moslem country in the world is the British Empire.

The Moslems in India not only approve of the idea of removing the Sheik-ul-Islam, head of the Mohammedan creed, from Constantinople to Delhi or Cairo, under British protection, but the head of their church in India volunteered as a private soldier to fight in France, and is now with the Anglo-Indian army in Mesopotamia. It would seem as if Britain and Russia, at the end of this war, would find themselves in a stronger position than ever in the East.



THE SWISS AND AUSTRALIAN MILITARY SYSTEMS¹

BY FREDERIC L. HUIDEKOPER

JUST at the present time when the urgency of considering the best method of obtaining a sufficient force of well-trained soldiers for the United States is being universally discussed, it is pertinent to examine briefly into the two systems of military service which could most readily be adapted to this country. These are the systems employed in Switzerland and Australia. In the former country every male, not physically unfit, between the ages of twenty and fifty is liable to military service. In the case of the officers, however, this liability extends until fifty-five.

Switzerland, like Australia, realizes the value of youthful training, with the result that courses of gymnastics and calisthenics are given in the public schools for boys from the ages of ten to sixteen. At the latter age, the Swiss boy is required by law to continue his gymnastics and to start musketry. Little stimulation is needed in this respect, since rifle shooting has become a national sport in Switzerland, and almost every boy is a member of a rifle club, all of which clubs are under government auspices.

At the age of twenty the boy becomes enrolled in the first line army called the "*élite*," in which he remains until his thirty-second year, inclusive. At thirty-three he passes into the second line, or "*Landwehr*," remaining until the end of his forty-fourth year. The third line consists of all other able-bodied males between the ages of seventeen and fifty.

Upon reporting for duty the Swiss recruit is provided with a uniform, equipment, and rifle, all of which remain in his custody and must be cared for by him until the termination of his military service. The recruits are given military instruction in recruit schools, followed by periods of training amounting to fifty-five days for the infantry, engineers, and foot artillery; seventy-five days for the field artillery; and ninety days for the cavalry. The subsequent training, known as "repetition courses," varies from seven to fourteen days each year. All soldiers under

the rank of sergeant are excused from schooling after having attended seven "repetition courses"—or eight in the case of cavalry. Sergeants and higher non-commissioned officers are, however, required to serve ten "repetition courses." In the case of the "*Landwehr*" a "repetition course" for all the different arms is given for eleven days, but only on every fourth year. All training takes place in the field and on the target range.

The predominant features of the Swiss system are the commencement of work in the public schools, and the universality of the service exacted, from all males physically capable of bearing arms. Another notable feature of the Swiss system is the requirement that every man exempted for any reason from military service shall pay a special tax for national defense, the amount being proportioned to his income or wealth.

Going more in detail into the Swiss system, it will be found that the character of the people plays a great part in this scheme. All are intensely interested in rifle shooting, and practically every town and village has its rifle club, the prizes being obtained by public subscription. Aside from inter-town shooting, there are rifle matches between the cantons and also a national match. The men as a whole are greatly interested in the military service, and shirking is almost unknown. As a matter of fact, it is considered almost a disgrace if a healthy young man is rejected by the military authorities. The people, being given to an active out-of-door life, are thus hardened to the strain of military work. As has been seen, the regular military training does not commence until the twentieth year, although in the various towns and cities there are "Cadet Corps" for boys of fourteen years of age and upwards, the membership being voluntary. The equipment is furnished principally by the municipality, and one or two afternoons each week drills are held and elementary duties taught, supplemented subsequently by shooting.

At the age of nineteen every young Swiss without exception must present himself for

¹The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Col. A. E. Bland, U. S. A., for material furnished in this article.

examination. The physical examination is decidedly severe, while the mental examination is simple but thorough.

Those who successfully pass the examination and are accepted for military service receive assignments depending largely upon their previous occupation. For example, commercial men, clerks, etc., are allotted to the infantry; mountaineers to the mountain batteries; mechanics to the artillery and engineers; and farmers' sons to the cavalry and artillery.

During the year after the examination the men enter the "Rekruten Schule" (Recruit School) and begin their military work, being first assigned to companies and battalions.

Smartness and mathematical precision in marching are virtually neglected, and ceremonies are few and far between; but strong emphasis is laid on practical field work, and long marches are made with the full equipment. How effective is the last may be judged by the fact that the Swiss field service regulations define an average march as 15 to 19 miles; an ordinary march as 19 to 25; and a long day's march as 37 to 44 miles.

The Swiss soldier is incorporated into the *Auszug*, or first line, from the time he begins his service at the age of twenty until he is thirty-two. During this period he is required to report seven times for field service of eleven days, except in the case of the artillery, when the period is fourteen days. From the ages of thirty-three to forty the soldier remains in the *Landwehr*, or militia, during which he has only one period of service amounting to eleven days. At forty-one he passes into the *Landsturm*, remaining until he is forty-eight, and during that time performs only one period of training of three days or less.

During the years when a man does not perform active service he is required to report for inspection on a fixed day, of which he is notified in advance, and must appear in field equipment. Any unserviceable article

is promptly condemned and an order given for its replacement.

It will thus be seen that under the Swiss system a man is given just sufficient military training to keep him in prime condition for active campaigning, and that he always has his entire equipment ready, knows where to report, and in what organization he is to serve. Furthermore, each man is obliged to belong to a rifle club and shoot at least 40 rounds *per annum* at distances varying from 300 to 500 metres.

Additional training is given to corporals and to those of the higher grades. In the case of the corporal this training comprises 20 days for the infantry and 35 for the other arms. This done, they return to the Recruit Schools for a second term in order to help to train the new batch of recruits. In the case of a deficiency in the requisite number of corporals, a man may be ordered to attend the school for that grade. In the event of a man's applying for a commission he is required to attend a special school of 60 days for the quartermaster corps; 80 days for the infantry, and 105 days for the artillery and engineers.

The organization of the Swiss army is practically like that of the American army; the battalions are virtually independent and their importance is similar to that of our regiments. The highest commission is that of colonel, except when war is imminent, in which case a general is commissioned to the supreme command. Switzerland maintains six divisions comprising three army corps. It also has a fully constituted general staff and keeps the organization, equipment, etc., of its force at the highest standard. On a peace footing the total military expenditure is only about \$13,000,000. It will thus be seen that Switzerland has universal service in the broadest sense of the term, as every man is practically a trained soldier; there is no professional army, and the burden on the country is almost *nil*.

THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM

Two countries more dissimilar than Switzerland and Australia it would be difficult to find. The former has an area of about 16,000 square miles and a population of approximately 4,000,000, and has no seacoast. The area of Australia is about 3,000,000 square miles, its population is about 5,000,000, and its seacoast is upward of 12,000 miles. The former is surrounded by four powerful nations; the latter is unique

in its isolation. Both of these countries are among the most democratic in the world and have developed in their political affairs much that is strikingly analogous.

In 1903 Australia enacted a Defense Act, but the inefficiency of the system was such that in 1909 a second measure became a law, stipulating that all male British subjects who had resided in the country for six months were liable for military service in time of

war and would be subject to compulsory training in time of peace. This measure is notable for the fact that it was the first law enacted in time of peace in an English-speaking country which established the principle of universal liability to service in a defensive force. It was subsequently amended in 1910, 1911, and 1912. In 1910, Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener came to Australia upon invitation of the Government and made a careful study of the system. His recommendations were put into effect in January, 1911, and it is this system, as modified, with which we are now concerned.

The military force of the Australian Commonwealth consists of (a) permanent forces, which include the administrative and instruction staff, the royal Australian field artillery and garrison artillery regiments and certain small detachments of engineer, medical, service, and veterinary corps; and (b) the citizen forces of all arms, embracing every man, save those specially exempted, between the ages of 14 and 26.

The Australian system is distinctive for the early age at which the training of the soldiers is begun. At twelve years of age this training commences in the "Junior Cadets" in the public and private schools. The course of instruction consists of calisthenics, swimming, marching, and first aid to the injured. This instruction is given almost entirely in the schools, under teachers superintended by the military authorities, all teachers qualifying for instructors being themselves excused from compulsory service. The prescribed training of Junior Cadets amounts to about 120 hours per year—including 15 minutes of physical drill daily. A standard is set for proficiency in elementary marching, and during the two years the effort is made to attain efficiency in at least two of the following, *viz.*: miniature rifle shooting, running exercises in organized games, swimming, and first aid. The particular object of this training is to better the physique of the boys and to teach them patriotism. At the age of fourteen the Australian boy is enrolled as a "Senior Cadet," serving in this organization until he attains his eighteenth year, when he passes into the "Citizen Forces," provided he is not rejected at a physical examination.

It is interesting to note that the position of the Australian Government is analogous to that of the United States inasmuch as the Commonwealth has no control over the school system, which is wholly under the States, but it exercises complete control over the military training.

Save for those specially or temporarily exempted, all adult Australian males from 18 to 26 years constitute the Citizen Forces numbering 112,000 men. Senior Cadets, unlike Junior Cadets, are provided with uniforms which must always be worn on duty, as well as with a record book in which is entered the full history of his military career. His arm is a light edition of the Martini-Henry rifle, and his instruction consists of marching, discipline, management of arms, rifle shooting, physical drill, guard and sentry duty, and first aid. The minimum length of training, which is fixed by statute and is compulsory, is 56 hours *per annum*, but may be increased by voluntary exercises. The Senior Cadet is examined at the end of each year, and at the termination of his service he is classified as "Effective" or "Non-effective."

At the age of eighteen the Senior Cadet passes into the Citizen Forces and serves until he is twenty-six, but he must first be subjected to a severe physical examination at which fully 35 per cent. of the applicants are rejected. During the first seven years a training period of the equivalent of 16 whole days is given, at least eight of which must be spent in camp. The artillery and engineers are schooled for 25 days, 17 of which are in camp. In the eighth year the attendance is required only at muster periods or registration. All promotion is made from the ranks by competition based upon merit. The only reserve is composed of the rifle clubs consisting of old soldiers, men who are physically incapable, and those who have been honorably discharged.

All evasion of service is punishable by fines, and an employer who prevents a subordinate from taking his requisite training is subjected to a fine of \$500. Officers destined to be assigned to the administrative and instruction staff or to the command of areas are trained in the Royal Military College at Duntroon, the course being four years and is followed by service in Great Britain or India.

Inasmuch as the present military system was not put into operation until 1911, it will be 1919 before the first men who entered the Citizen Forces will have completed their service and 1923 in the case of those who entered the Senior Cadets. When the system is in full operation, it is estimated that the total numbers of men under training will amount to 150,000 cadets and 120,000 citizen soldiers. The annual cost of the scheme, it is figured, will somewhat exceed \$15,000,000.

"AMERICAN MONEY AND JAPANESE BRAINS IN CHINA"

BY HOLLINGTON K. TONG

[We have from time to time gladly accorded space to able and honorable Japanese writers who have set forth the aims and methods of Japan in her policy towards China, and her viewpoint regarding the commercial and political problems of the Far East. When, therefore, a representative of China has his view to present he is entitled to his opportunity, especially when he is so competent to speak as is Mr. Hollington Tong, managing editor of the Peking News. It is permissible to say that Mr. Tong is close in the councils of Yuan Shih-kai, head of the Chinese Empire, and a friend of Dr. Wellington Koo, the accomplished Chinese Minister at Washington. Mr. Tong is a member of a company of Chinese journalists who conduct a native newspaper at Peking, as well as one in English. Like Dr. Wellington Koo, he spent several years in Columbia University. He is now visiting in this country.—THE EDITOR.]

"**T**ELL the Americans our country is ready for extensive development. The more money and energy they can put in, together with our own, the better. But," said a prominent Chinese banker, as my train was about to leave Peking two months ago, "we don't want the Japanese to meddle in our trade relations." Above the speeding wish for a "fair wind" from my friends and the lamentation of the younger and older members of my family, I caught, as the train rolled away, the shrill voice of the gesticulating apoplectic old banker, "Warn the Americans against Baron Shibusawa."

Upon my arrival in the United States and after a fortnight spent touring over the country, I have found Americans everywhere more interested in Zeppelin raids on London and Paris, and in the sinking of merchant ships, than in the fundamental American problems of industry and commerce. In official circles at Washington, war forms the only interesting topic of discussion. Two months ago, however, I heard in Peking's official and financial circles nothing but the restoration of monarchy, Japanese aggression, American friendship for China, and China's good market.

This sharp contrast between the social and political atmospheres of the United States and China has somewhat bewildered me, but I realize already that the European War is important.

Little wonder, then, that no attention has been paid to what Baron Shibusawa, official spokesman of Japan, had to say when he was here on a special mission a month ago. The proposal he made was that China's natural resources should be developed with American

money and Japanese brains, or something of that sort. True, the Americans do not like to bother about anything except the war. But such an important proposition, coming as it did from one of the rapidly growing powers, must be analyzed sooner or later. National destinies rest upon economic factors—as does the outcome of the European war. Let us see what there is in the good Baron's proposal.

Two years ago, a similar Japanese proposal was made to England by Count Okuma; but it was quickly and flatly turned down. Count Okuma's suggestion was at that time regarded by the British people as not too flattering to their self-sufficiency.

NO "GO-BETWEEN" NEEDED

Holding up Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan, and Schwab as able representatives, and respecting their China agents like Willard Straight, Robert Dollar, Atwood Robinson, Mr. Green (general manager of the International Banking Corporation in China), and Charles H. Blake (general manager of the Standard Oil Company at Shanghai), the Chinese people have always considered the Americans as being capable managers, skilful engineers, experienced manufacturers, and sound business men.

The Chinese Minister at Washington, Dr. Wellington Koo, voiced their sentiments in a recent speech before the fourth annual conference of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on Chinese-American trade relations. He declared that "the business Chinese understand the Americans, and the business Americans understand the Chinese." But Baron Shibu-

sawa seems to hold an opposite view, assuming that Americans do not know the situation in China.

Count Okuma based his proposal to England on the axiom that the Japanese had the knowledge of China and the British had the capital by which that knowledge might be made effective. In reply to this suggestion, British manufacturers and merchants asserted that they knew as much about the situation in China as their Japanese allies could teach them, and that it might be assumed that the Chinese themselves had some slight knowledge of their own country. If such were the case, why not Anglo-Chinese economic co-operation? A similar question can apply to American interests in China.

JAPAN'S MONOPOLIZING AMBITIONS

But behind the clever, though seemingly innocent scheme of Baron Shibusawa there is a dark and sinister design to close the door in the Orient. With the financial assistance of the British Government, Japan has been able to close the Manchurian market, and has even been trying to oust British interests from the Yangtse Valley, which is still considered a British sphere of influence. When Japan succeeds in securing American money, the door of commerce in the Orient will be completely shut.

The rise of modern Japan, as pointed out by an English authority, has been based very largely on loans from London; and yet she has been using these very loans to extend her commercial activities in China in keen competition with British merchants by means of government subsidies and protection.

In Manchuria, the Japanese Government grants rebates for Japanese goods on the railway whose construction was made possible through credit established in London. Favored by government subsidies, special railway rates, preferential customs treatment, and exemption from internal taxation, Japanese merchants have practically ousted the commodities of all other nations from the market in Manchuria, which is now credited with 17 per cent. of the total foreign trade of China. America fares the worst in this commercial struggle.

In the Yangtse Valley, likewise, the Japanese Government has been giving every support to its subjects in competition with all foreign merchants, especially British and American. The Nippon Kaen Kaisha—whose ships ply between Hankow and Shanghai, two of the biggest commercial ports in China—has been receiving from the

Japanese Government an annual subsidy of \$1,000,000, which has enabled it to charge the lowest freight and passage fares. As a result it has almost monopolized the river trade between Hankow and Ichang and between Hankow and Changsha, which once belonged to British merchants. Finally, two British shipping companies and one Chinese company were driven to a combination. But even with such coöperation they have had little success in the face of the heavy subsidy granted to the Kaisha.

SHUTTING DOORS IN YOUR OWN FACE

How Americans will treat the proposal of Baron Shibusawa, which would produce practically the same bad effect upon themselves as upon the British merchants, is an interesting question. Many intelligent Chinese now ask themselves: Will Americans consider practicable the Japanese proposal aiming at closing the door of "equal opportunity in China," which policy they formulated sixteen years ago and which they have since reasserted at intervals? Japan has closed the door in Manchuria with British money. Will she be able to bolt the door in China, against the whole world, with American money?

An immense amount of money will be required before the door can be safely closed and locked. Since Japan is poor and her people are heavily taxed, she must find new sources of revenue elsewhere. Realizing that money obtained by Japan would be used to compete with British trade in China, Great Britain refuses to extend further assistance to the Mikado's empire. The recent exposure of Japan's duplicity and bad faith in misrepresenting the scope of the notorious demands presented to the Peking government a year ago last January, and the final ultimatum compelling China's acquiescence in a partial closing of the door of equal opportunity, aroused indignation in Europe and America. This having not yet abated, public opinion in these two continents will likely turn a deaf ear to entreaties for financial assistance with which to accomplish her Kaiser-like ambition.

Such being the case, Japan must, before the end of the war, maneuver for an alliance with Russia, through which she thinks she will gain access to the French money market, and at the same time she endeavors to get money from the United States through the sugarcroated proposition of Baron Shibusawa, the Japanese Morgan.

Should Japan succeed in her plan, she

would undoubtedly use American money, as she used British money, to subsidize her merchants even to a larger extent, extend her sphere of influence still further, and repeat elsewhere in China the same methods used in Manchuria to drive out foreign traders. At first, she will secure the lion's share of China's trade, and, finally, will force other nations to give up the market.

MILITARY EXPANSION OF JAPAN

With the enormous profits which would accrue from American capital invested in China through her, Japan would be able to build more battleships, train more soldiers, erect a greater number of munition plants, and construct more aeroplanes. Should any nation, aware of what Japan is aiming at, protest against the questionable business methods of her merchants, Japan would instantly accept the opportunity and start a world-wide war with a view to finding her place in the sun. She would be possessed of a powerful army and a still more powerful navy, besides millions of Chinese coerced into her service.

In this connection it may be pertinent to mention that in China it is believed that Japan fully intends to make the California land question an issue with the United States when she is sufficiently prepared. Her statesmen—including Count Okuma, her aged Prime Minister, and Baron Shibusawa—have dropped hints to that effect. If this is her intention, there can be nothing better for Japan than to see to it that American money is tied up in China and that meanwhile she secures all profits therefrom. Should Japan choose to bring up the California land question again, she can afford to take a much stronger position than ever. American investors would be compelled to use their influence to secure the kind of legislation Japan wants, for they would lose all their money invested in China in case of war between Japan and America.

CHINA HAS HER OWN VIEWS

Baron Shibusawa's scheme is impractical even from the purely business point of view. The Chinese people must be considered. In his zeal to put his proposition before the American people, Baron Shibusawa had only the United States and his own country in mind. If his scheme should be made a success, China's consent must be obtained; but the Chinese people would never make themselves a party to a deal which would deprive them of their sovereignty in the end and

place them under Japanese overlordship. They would, however, welcome American capital, and would be willing to develop their natural resources with American energy combined with Chinese energy. Suspicious of Japanese integrity and honesty, they have complete confidence in the Americans, knowing that while Japanese entertain territorial ambition, Americans trade for the sake of legitimate profits.

"For it must be remembered," said the Chinese Minister, in a speech on Chinese-American relations, striking the keynote of the Chinese attitude towards the Baron's suggestion, "that you have the necessary money just as we have the necessary resources. Neither of us is a mere broker, who has neither money nor goods, but is solely interested in making a commission at the expense of both the buyer and the seller."

The motives of American and Japanese business men are different. Americans, as has been mentioned, trade for the sake of legitimate profits, while Japanese merchants use trade to further their political interests, such as the acquisition of land and concessions, the ousting out of other nationals from the Chinese market, and the creation of disturbances among discontented elements.

HOW JAPAN PROMOTES HER COMMERCE

I do not suppose that the United States Government would send a battleship to accord protection to seven of her citizens engaged as experts or engineers in an iron mine in China. But the Japanese Government is doing it. The Tayeh Iron Mines, a Chinese concern, some time ago concluded a loan with a Japanese firm, the principal and interest to be paid in ore. The Japanese investors have sent an engineer and six experts to watch their interests. There is a Japanese battleship stationed there, under the pretense of according protection—although the Chinese believe that it is really engaged in smuggling into port arms and ammunition for the use of trouble-makers.

Japan has also secured a small concession at Chingchow, in Hupeh province, in the heart of southern China, where there are five Japanese. A Japanese consulate looks after their interests, a special Japanese postmaster handles their mail, and a Japanese inspector protects them. This is the kind of commerce that Japan is accustomed to carry on in China, and the Japanese would, in the opinion of most Chinese, like to do the same thing in California or in Mexico.

The Baron's proposition has been tried in

China and found beneficial only to the Japanese. The Chinese have invested much money through Japanese hands in the promotion of companies and the development of natural resources, but they have lost all their capital and have eventually been compelled to give up their shares in joint enterprises.

A MANCHURIAN INSTANCE

Numerous illustrations can be cited to substantiate this statement, but suffice it to give one. Yonder in Manchuria there were prosperous forests, the supply of lumber from which was almost inexhaustible. The Japanese saw an opportunity for making money. As they were poor, they approached a number of Chinese for capital, in the manner of Baron Shibusawa. They obtained the necessary funds and a joint company, called the Yalu Timber Company, was immediately established. When the company was organized, a capable Chinese represented the interests of the Chinese merchants, and he proved too shrewd for the Japanese. With much manipulation and corruption and the assistance of their Government, they got rid of him and secured in his place the appoint-

ment of a man who knew nothing whatsoever of the lumber trade. Then peculiarly Japanese business tactics came into play. At the end of the first year, the Yalu Timber Company paid 6 per cent. in profits to the shareholders. The second year a dividend of 1 per cent. was declared, and the third year there was no dividend. In the fourth year, the company was losing money. No one can believe that the company does not continuously make profits. With a capital of three million dollars it monopolizes the whole lumber trade in Manchuria. All merchants who buy timber from the company are making profits, and it is incredible that the company itself is unable to pay dividends. Inside information tells us that the Japanese are using this method to force the Chinese shareholders to give up their interests in the company, thereby acquiring the whole concession themselves.

These facts may serve as a timely warning to Americans who may contemplate dealings with the Japanese, and may shed some needed light upon the proposition of the Japanese Government made to the American people through Baron Shibusawa.

JAPAN'S CHALLENGE TO ENGLAND

BY BRONSON BATCHELOR

[Mr. Bronson Batchelor, whose analysis of the Far Eastern situation leads him to the opinion that Japan and England are the inevitable future rivals for political and trade domination in Asia and the Pacific, writes an article which will be read with interest in connection with Mr. Hollington Tong's expressions in the pages immediately preceding. We offer both articles as contributions to a discussion of great importance. It is needless to add that our contributors express their own views, which may or may not happen to coincide with our own.—THE EDITOR.]

B RITISH diplomacy has been charged with two great blunders in the present war: the failure to handle the Balkan cross and pacify Bulgaria, and the failure to prevent the alliance of Turkey with the Central Powers. It is responsible for a third, equally great, but hidden for the moment in the greater urgency of war. It has failed to prevent the entrance of Japan into China.

Through this error England has opened the way for her own ally to become her greatest commercial and political rival in the Orient. She has invited a reputation there, in a decade or two, of the consequences that have followed similar German expansion and competition in the West.

England was committed to her share in

the present conflict by her failure to detect and frustrate German naval ambitions as far back as 1861. Because Britain held back, Bismarck was able to attack Denmark and wrest from her, beside Schleswig, the harbor of Kiel. Even then German statesmen dreamed of the great canal which was to be the bulwark of future fleets. The cession of Heligoland, thirty years later, only confirmed the original mistake.

The next war—difficult as it now is to conceive of further bloodshed—is likely to have its root at Kiao-chau, so easily taken from the Germans by Japan. For on the cornerstone of this ancient province, the cradle of the Chinese race and the home of Confucius, a new Empire is scheduled to

rise—the greater Nippon that is the dream of every Japanese.

With the elimination of Germany, the problem of the Far East has been profoundly altered. England, France, and Russia, who had once been eager for the partition of China, a division prevented largely by their own mutual jealousies, are to-day conscious of a new menace and a new "problem" after the war. A youthful power determined at any cost to dominate the East commercially confronts them, eager for the day when they can be ousted politically from the East as well.

WHY JAPAN ENTERED THE WAR

It was not for mere treaty obligations, therefore, as many Englishmen fatuously imagined, that the Japanese Government entered the war. "Anyone who fancies that Japan made war on Germany on account of the Anglo-Japanese alliance must be credited with a great degree of simplicity," said S. Yokoyama, a member of the Japanese Diet. Either Japanese diplomacy succeeded in lulling the suspicions of the British Foreign Office or—as is more probable—England found herself unable to oppose Japan's course. Like many other obscure steps of Entente diplomacy, we shall have to wait for history to furnish the answer.

Sufficient it is that Japan saw in the war an opportunity to drop the disguise of respectful compliance with the powers, and to demand, with Germany's boldness, her own "place in the sun." She has gone further and proclaimed a virtual Monroe Doctrine for Asia, where Premier Okuma has given warning that henceforth Japanese interests are to predominate.

How far the Japanese Government was prepared to go, even against its own allies, to secure the position put within its grasp, was only disclosed in the demands made upon China after the surrender of Kiau-chau. Alarmed by the virtual protectorate sought by Japan under the guise of military and financial "advisers," the Ministers of England and Russia were forced to warn her that "it would be difficult to negotiate diplomatically" if the demands were pressed. Japan not only ignored the protest, but with scant concealment prepared to force their adoption. China yielded, though not in full; and Japan, not daring to go further, announced that the remaining proposals had not been withdrawn but merely "postponed." Their resumption has recently been rumored, but denied at Tokio. The transferences of

large bodies of troops from Japan and Port Arthur to the Shantung Peninsula, however, portend preparations for some important move.

The stakes for which Count Okuma played were high. He realized that if the opportunity for which Japan had burdened herself with armament to the point of breaking was not to be lost, he must take the gambler's risk. Japan could not wait the slow fruition of a policy, as Germany for twenty-five years has waited for the Turks. Nor was there time to adopt the concealed approaches through which the British have established their ascendancy over native peoples. Japan's necessity compelled her to enter the European peace conference with a *fait accompli*, challenging the powers, if they dared to dislodge her.

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY WITH BRITAIN

Particularly was it necessary to confront England, whose empire had been built on a similar course pursued through the eighteenth century, with an accomplished fact. England had been before the war, and must be again, the greatest obstacle to Japan's dream of dominating China. At Shanghai and in the colony of Hongkong, the British hold the choicest trading locations, just as in the Yangtze valley they possess the richest mineral district not only in China but in the world; they own most of the railways, the principal banks, and exercise a large control over Chinese customs and salt taxes; their investments in the country alone reach the total of \$2,000,000,000.

Only at the expense of British interests can Japanese expansion take place, as it has in the past in Manchuria and Korea. British merchants have long felt the competition and have bombarded the Foreign Office with petitions for redress. But for one of the few times in British history, Downing Street was obliged by treaty obligations to turn a deaf ear to the commercial classes.

No sooner was Tsing-tau taken than it was closed to all but Japanese ships. Only after a protest were British vessels admitted to the port. Next the withdrawal of practically the whole of European shipping for war service gave Japan another chance. An Imperial edict was issued that preference for Japanese cargoes must be shown on Japanese vessels. It was thus sought to repeat on the sea the policy pursued on the Manchurian railways, where discriminatory rates have practically driven all but Japanese goods from the field. In ally lines the government

sought to stimulate the exploitation of the new markets by liberal bonuses and assistance.

From China, Japan demanded the right to veto all foreign loans and concessions unless Japanese interests were first consulted. To England she has also proposed an economic alliance, whose advantages for the British are at the most rather dubious.

Baron Shibusawa, who has served as an unofficial emissary of Premier Okuma in the United States and China, at Shanghai said in an interview:

For the development of a country there are necessary three economic factors: resources, capital, and the knowledge and experiences of men. China has many resources to be developed, the British have the capital, and the Japanese the knowledge and experience. There should be an economic coöperation.

"I recognize the importance of the British influence in the Yangtze valley," said the Baron, and then he uttered these warning words: "Each of the Allies *should*, however, *concede something to the other, for if not, a conflict of interests will take place.*" What concessions Japan would make Baron Shibusawa did not say.

In order to gain a free hand in China, therefore, the whole task of Japanese diplomacy must be to neutralize the power of Great Britain. It is a problem that is receiving careful attention at Tokio, and already advances have been made toward its solution.

AMERICA NOT FEARED—AND NEED NOT FEAR JAPAN

The only other nation that could check Japan's designs is the United States. But we are no longer feared. By our withdrawal from the six-power loan agreement, by our surrender of the Hankow railway concession, and by our failure to protect China against the Japanese demands, we have lost the influence in Far Eastern affairs built up for America through the work of John Hay, Elihu Root and Philander C. Knox. Japan knows that we would not fight for the "Open Door," already half shut in our faces, since we will not even protect our own citizens and their investments in Mexico.

Nor does America, on the other hand, need to fear Japan. For the next generation the Japanese will be wholly occupied in China. They will be straining every nerve, politically and commercially, to fasten their mastery over that vast defenseless territory before they are blocked by the revival of

Chinese nationalism, now making such great headway. Japan does not dare to turn aside for America. She may cherish the wound inflicted upon her national pride by our immigration and land laws, but she will not fight. China once supine, she may turn—and probably will—to avenge her wrongs against us.

Japanese statesmen are not so vain as to believe that they can challenge British sea power. Although with the passing of the Germans from the Orient, the Anglo-Japanese alliance has largely lost its value to both nations, it is to Japan's interests, so long as it lulls British suspicions, to preserve it. Under its cover she is striving to construct a new Asiatic balance of power, which will allow her independence of action, but tie the hands of Europe.

JAPAN'S FUTURE ALLIANCES

With the utmost naïveté Japan is now seeking an alliance with Russia, her foe of a decade ago. Her public men are outdoing themselves to show their friendship for the Czar. Fortresses have been stripped, and guns and officers sent to aid the Russians; factories and arsenals are running overtime—if such a thing be possible in Japan—to replenish Russia's depleted munition supply.

Of course Japan is thus enabled to pay off a part of the crushing national debt, under which she was staggering toward ruin, but to the subtle Oriental mind there is an additional value in such an alliance. Japan seeks to detach Russia from the Asiatic policy of England, and with the offer of an increased share in Manchurian and Inner Mongolian concessions, win Petrograd to her own purpose. What could be more effective to counter Britain, for instance, than a revival of the Russian menace to India?

There is some evidence, too, that Russia has not lent an unwilling ear to these proposals. In Manchuria, instead of the bitterness and inevitable hostility which followed the Russo-Japanese War, the Russians and Japanese are working together in ever-increasing amity and cooperation. One of the Russian Grand Dukes, accompanied by a large suite, in which the Foreign Office is sure to be represented, is now on an official mission to Tokio. Despite the strain of war, perhaps Russia also has an eye to the future. For the rearrangement of Asia, she does not wish to be unprepared.

Japanese statesmen and publicists have even gone so far as to advocate an alliance with Germany after the war. Emperor

William, before England made her compact, was eager for such a treaty. The extreme courtesy with which the Japanese treated the Germans at Kiau-chau was so noticeable as to excite comment. Perhaps the Kaiser might forgive the loss of his Eastern possessions for a new chance of striking at Britain's sea power. At any rate it is a card the Japanese are not neglecting.

And finally Japan has sought, if not to win over the United States, at least to blind us to her course in China. The object of Baron Shibusawa's recent visit was, first, to sound out American opinion as to how far it would go in protecting China, and secondly, if the answer was favorable, to enlist American capital for China's exploitation. British funds, besides being none too plentiful after the war, were not likely to be freely offered to the Japanese. That the Baron succeeded in securing American funds for use in China was the announcement made in Tokio after his return.

THE ONE ASSURED RIVALRY

It is, of course, too early to say how successful Japan will be in her projects. Much depends upon the strength of the belligerents as they emerge from the war. If Great Britain comes out with her fleet undiminished, and with no domestic quarrels between labor and capital, already menacing,

to threaten her, she will be free to bring Japan at once to an understanding. Many difficulties in the future could thus be avoided.

Much also depends upon China in her efforts at self-regeneration. If her new nationalist spirit is strong enough she may yet be able to throw off the Japanese menace and regain control of her own destiny. Whether the return to the Monarchy makes for greater security, or whether it is another sign of disintegration, events have not gone far enough to disclose. It would seem to be the policy of the Western powers to strengthen the central government in order to checkmate Japan, yet the Entente nations have joined with her in protesting Yuan's elevation to the throne. Until the return of peace, however, no definite policy is likely to be formulated.

Before his death, Prince Ito, the Bismarck of Japan, made a remarkable prophecy. "The next war," said the Prince, "will take place in Europe. It will be followed by a second conflict, the struggle for the mastery of the Pacific."

Whether the Prince's words were the echo of Japan's own determination to win that mastery we do not know. But it is at least clear that the only possible contenders for the prize are Great Britain and Japan. On the success of Japan's present diplomacy much of the issue depends.

CIVIL SERVICE TRIAL BOARDS

A NEW SYSTEM IN SUCCESSFUL OPERATION IN NEW YORK CITY

BY HON. MARCUS M. MARKS

(President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York)

"YOU are dismissed from the service," said the Commissioner of Public Works to the civil service employee who had been brought before him on charges. This was a terrible sentence,—practically a death sentence,—to the man with a wife and large family. According to civil service regulations, the man could not return to any employment either in the Borough of Manhattan, or in any other Borough of the Greater City of New York for a term of two years. When the man entered the service, he did so after passing civil service examinations, which established his fitness for the place. True, he committed an offense. He was intoxicated on two different occa-

sions, or he disobeyed orders, or he showed himself inefficient in the performance of some service. On the other hand, the Commissioner, being human, might have been unduly severe; he might have been prejudiced; he might have misunderstood some of the elements in the case.

I was convinced that the trial of a civil service employee should not have the "star chamber" feature, nor be determined by a single man's judgment. For that reason, I determined to introduce in the Borough of Manhattan the plan of a Trial Board similar to the Boards of Arbitration in which, for many years, I have been deeply interested in the industrial field, and which were



PRESIDENT MARKS (AT DESK) PRESIDING AT A SESSION OF THE JOINT TRIAL BOARD, MANHATTAN BOROUGH

made up jointly of representatives of the employers and employees.

The right of trial by jury is one of the oldest established rights given to the citizens of any country; yet the trial of charges against municipal employees before juries composed jointly of representatives of the administration and of fellow employees had never before been used in government anywhere, so far as I am aware.

The Joint Trial Board operates as follows: Four men hear the charges and the explanation, and advise me what action to take; these four men come in equal numbers from the administration and from the working forces of the Borough office; one is a Commissioner, the other an Assistant Commissioner, or Secretary or Engineer, and the two others are selected by lot from among the fellow workers of the man on trial.

Before the inauguration of this plan, it was urged by some that the Joint Trial Board would be a failure for two principal reasons; first, that the two fellow employees would, in most instances, side with the man on trial, and permit their feelings to sway their better judgment; second, that the discipline of the department would be injured by taking from the Commissioner the power of peremptory dismissal. The first objection I overruled on the basis of my twenty years' active experience in the labor world, in which I had discovered that workers when raised to a position of responsibility are just as fair and conscientious as employers un-

der the same circumstances. My experience was that instead of leaning towards their fellows, there was, on the contrary, more danger of their leaning backward against the interests of their fellow workers.

On the second point, I felt sure that the discipline of justice was more far-reaching in its real effects than the discipline of fear; I felt certain that the two men who had been selected from the ranks, and placed upon the Trial Board, would carry back to their fellows in the service the story of the "square deal"; that they would impress upon the rank and file the fact that in case of good service, the position of every worker was absolutely assured by the new system against the attacks of political or other prejudice.

The events since July, 1914, have fully justified these conclusions. Among 2300 employees under my jurisdiction, 56 had been brought before the Joint Trial Board up to the time of writing—(about a year and a half), and, remarkable as it may seem to those who have not studied the psychology of this system, the verdict of the Board has been unanimous in each one of the 56 trials. The results were as follows. Twenty-four employees were dismissed from the service; eighteen were fined from one to two weeks' pay; seven were fined from one to three days' pay; three were suspended for continued absence from duty pending a report of our physician as to their physical fitness; four were reprimanded.

The circumstances surrounding the trials are deeply impressive. A Bible is before me to which I allude in opening the trial, stating that no oath is to be taken, but that the men are on their honor in the sacred duty of dealing out justice to the accused, with full regard for the efficiency of government in the Borough of Manhattan. It is explained that the man is to be considered innocent until he be proven guilty, and, if the latter be the conclusion, what penalties have been customary. The man under charges is much less disturbed than he would be in the absence of his fellows. He has full opportunity to collect his thoughts and calmly give explanation of his offense. Furthermore, after a trial by the Joint Trial Board, the employee is saved the annoyance, the uncertainty, and the expense which in the past have been the results of appeals to the courts.

He knows, or if he does not know, he soon learns upon consulting an attorney, that all elements of prejudice have been removed by the presence on the Board of his own fellow employees, selected by lot, and that the courts will, as a rule, reinstate a man only if prejudice is evident.

Many of the cases presented for trial have been filled with human interest. One in particular comes to my mind. The employee, a stationary fireman, was charged with repeated disobedience of orders, and with having failed to keep up the steam pressure in the boiler which he was attending. It developed during the trial that the man had for a time been acting rather peculiarly and the Board concluded that the accused should have medical examination and treatment rather than punishment. Accordingly he was given leave of absence, without pay, in order that he might recover his health and return to work. Thus the man and his family were saved from disgrace.

Another incident occurred recently that was of interest, as showing the human sympathy of the average man, and his appreciation of real and valuable service. An attendant at one of the public baths was brought up on charges of intoxication. The hearing was over and the Joint Board was discussing the punishment that should be meted out. I have understood since then that the feeling at the time was that this man should be dismissed from the service.

While the Joint Board was considering the case the man began to unwrap a parcel he had in his hands, tied up in brown paper. "May I show this to you?" he asked. I in-

quired whether it had anything to do with his case. "Well, no, sir," he admitted. After a moment he added, "But perhaps it has—anyhow, won't you please let me show it to you?"

Of course I was sorry for the man and so I told him I would look at the contents of the parcel if he wished me to. He unwrapped the rest of the brown paper and held out to me five medals which had been given him for saving lives of drowning persons. I looked at them and at him. Then I laid the medals down on the table before members of the Joint Board, and said in effect: "Gentlemen, before rendering your final decision in this case, perhaps you may wish to take into consideration these proofs of service and of courage."

The Joint Board did take into consideration his saving of lives at the risk of his own, without thought of reward. The man was not dismissed from the city's service.

Viewing all the circumstances of our experience in the last year and a half in connection with the Joint Trial Boards—(1) the unanimity in each judgment of the Board; (2) the equal justice that has been dealt out; (3) the good effect upon those who serve as judges; and (4) the excellent "*esprit de corps*" throughout our department engendered by the clear evidence of a thoroughly square deal for all, we may truly draw the conclusion that the new system is a complete success, and well worthy of establishment in every borough, city, State, and federal department of government.

During the past summer, I described the operations of this Joint Trial Board in two addresses, one in the City of Denver, and the other in the City of Los Angeles. It was a matter of much interest and gratification to me to learn that the police and fire departments of Denver shortly afterwards officially adopted the Joint Trial Board. I was delighted to hear later that the charter commission of Los Angeles unanimously approved its adoption. It must be remembered that civil service employees, who have proved by passing regular examinations that they are fitted for their places, are not in a position to force action for permanent employment nor improved conditions through organized strikes. The nature of their employment in the city service makes this unthinkable. Therefore, all the more do they deserve the fullest consideration in plans assuring security in their employment during good behavior and all proper protection tending towards their general welfare.

FARMING AND A WORLD CRISIS

FINANCING AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

BY PAUL V. COLLINS

[The following article is the first of a series of three, dealing with the subject of rural credits in the United States. The second article will explain the method by which it is proposed to supply farm credit through a system of federal land banks. The final article of the series will consider the matter of personal credits, as distinct from land mortgages.—THE EDITOR.]

“WHENEVER this country undertakes to legislate for farmers, or any other special class of citizens, it will be treading upon the verge of danger. My own conviction upon the absence of any need for Rural Credits legislation was confirmed, a few days ago, when I attended a meeting of farmers and heard an old farmer declare that ‘farmers resented the idea that they needed any special legislation to help them.’”

So wrote to me a New York editor, and he wrote in all frankness and sincerity. I do not agree with such talk; it falls so far short of comprehending the true agricultural situation in the United States.

Commercial and industrial interests are given the aid of the financial machinery established by the commercial banks and the new Reserve Bank System, where merchants' and manufacturers' general assets and the ledger credits are negotiable for real money, upon their unsupported notes—their promises to pay, backed by no collateral but that of a fountain pen. Why should farmers be barred from equal facilities?

With eight million farmers (of whom five million are tenants, unable to own land in a country which, but a few years ago, boasted that its “Uncle Sam was rich enough to give us all a farm”)—and with these eight million farmers unable to get half of their tillable acres into crop, for lack of working capital, and unable to borrow money on long enough time to be practicable and safe, and at a cost reasonable enough to make it profitable—with agriculture thus handicapped, yet producing over ten billion dollars of new wealth a year, while only 40 per cent. of its potential capacity is at work, it shows unfair bias for anyone to say that meeting conditions peculiar to farming and giving agriculture facilities of financing,

equivalent to those established for commercial and manufacturing business, is “treading on the verge of danger.”

FOOD PRODUCTION AS A “PREPAREDNESS” MEASURE

What is the greatest of all measures of national preparedness to meet the exigencies of world conditions,—whether of war or peace—but that of speeding up to the utmost possible efficiency our food production?

The war-mad world is not merely upon the “verge of danger” of starvation; it is starving. There are no reserve granaries in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria—nor anywhere in the world. Russia's surplus will be used by Russia; it is inaccessible to the rest of the world.

Whether America remains neutral, or enters the conflict, it must produce more food than ever, or the world will starve.

Whether Europe continues to devastate its own fields, or lies prostrate and exhausted in ultimate peace, it must turn, hungry, to America for food.

The London *Times* explained recently why the Canadian Government had commandeered the entire wheat crop of Canada. It was because Britain and her Allies, and Germany and her Allies, were engaged in a frenzied struggle to seize the remaining stores of grain in Roumania, and the beginning of the end of the world's supply of food was in sight.

RURAL CREDITS AS A NATIONAL PROBLEM

The movement to finance agriculture is not primarily a war measure. It began long before the world horror was believed possible. Perhaps we may say it originated, to a certain extent, amongst impractical dreamers and class agitators, but if so it has, by

evolution, completely eliminated their vagaries and has been taken up by conservative economists.

The history and present status of the measure in Congress is as follows:

In 1912, all three political platforms—Democratic, Progressive, and Republican—pledged national legislation upon Rural Credits. All political parties conceded the need of such action; the movement, therefore, is non-partisan.

EUROPE'S EXPERIENCE

The general idea of collective land-mortgage credits with debenture bonds originated in Silesia, in 1769, by order of Frederick the Great. The order put a perpetual lien on all rural lands of the nobility in that province, as a security for all debentures to be issued by the *landschaft*. These debentures were then issued to landowners in exchange for mortgages on their individual lands and the borrowers sold the debentures, which became a circulating medium of the country. Back of the debentures were the individual mortgages and also the blanket lien on all land in the province, whether belonging to borrowers or not.

Coöperative credit without land security also originated in Germany. It started in 1850 through the efforts of Judge Schulze-Delitzsch, in Germany, and was introduced in Austria in 1858 by Ziller, an economist, in other countries at later periods, and in Canada by Desjardins in 1900, and in the United States by the same man (a journalist) in 1908. Later it was adopted in Japan, upon the initiative of the government, and likewise in British India and in Egypt.

THE PROPOSITION IN CONGRESS

In 1913 Congress appointed a "United States Commission," headed by Senator Duncan U. Fletcher and made up of members of Congress, to go to Europe and investigate rural conditions with special reference to coöperative finance. At the same time Congress recognized and gave authority to a so-called American Commission of ninety private citizens, representing twenty-nine States and Canada. This American Commission had grown out of a speech by Mr. David Lubin made at the Southern Commercial Congress the previous year. Its members paid their own expenses but were given official recognition with the United States Commission, of Congress.

The trip resulted in three reports—one by the United States Commission, and a major-

ity and minority report by the American Commission.

The United States Commission and the majority of the American Commission agreed on a plan which became known as the Fletcher-Moss bill. But the minority report of the American Commission laid the foundation of what became the Hollis bill, which is the measure now pending, all others having been rejected in committee.

This bill was introduced on January 4, 1916, in the Senate by Senator Hollis and in the House by Representative Moss, of Indiana, chairman of the sub-committee on Personal Credits.

Both branches then referred the bill to their respective Committees on Banking and Currency, and these committees, after months of consideration and amendment, have reported separate bills for passage, both bills framed upon the Hollis bill.

There is considerable divergence in the details of the two bills, but not in their fundamentals, so that there is no question of their passage, not only in the two branches of Congress, but also in their harmonization in conference and final enactment into law at this session.

It is promised by the House Committee that the House will act promptly in passing its bill, but the program in the Senate is to take no action until after Preparedness has been cared for.

URGENT NEED OF AGRICULTURAL FINANCING

All the balance of trade of our foreign commerce does not equal the wealth-production of our farms in the aggregate; yet, our farmers are forced to let 60 per cent. of their acres lie idle because of lack of liquid capital to operate them. If that 60 per cent. were set to raising crops, and the proper proportion of crops fed to stock, the ten billion dollars of total wealth production of the farms of to-day, would be capable of becoming twenty—thirty billion dollars, and that increase would be added to what we could spare to the hungry world in exchange for gold. Our coveted "balance of trade" would be increased, our manufacturers would prosper by this increased wealth.

Further than that: It takes 8,000,000 farmers, plus the "hired help," to crop the 40 per cent. (even as it is now tilled), and, if the other 60 per cent. of the land could be capitalized and set to work, how many more million farm workers would be employed? Indeed, Secretary of Agriculture Houston states that only twelve per cent. of

the land has ever been tilled to its fullest capacity. How it would shout a real answer to that present vain call, "Back to the Land!" if agricultural efficiency were "speeded up" to its full volume and full capacity!

THE RURAL CREDITS BILL

The Rural Credits Bill undertakes to accomplish something in the direction of financing agriculture. It will not solve all the problems; it will not legislate wealth into poor farmers, nor prudence into foolish ones. But it will perform great things in the right direction, if it be not killed by its jealous opponents or its "fool friends."

The present measure applies only to land-mortgage financing. It will not benefit the tenant farmer, nor the man who does not want to mortgage his land, but who needs a few hundred dollars for only six or nine months, to put in his crops or to buy live stock.

More than two-thirds of the farmers—tenants and others who seek not to mortgage land for five years or longer—will not benefit by the first measure; and that means that only about one-third of the farmers could take advantage of it, if they desired. But it is in itself such a tremendously long step in advance that we may watch and pray for its success.

Then will follow another step, planned to help the greater number—the small farmer who needs a few dollars for a few months—through what is termed "personal credit."

LAND MORTGAGES

In the meanwhile, let us see just what is to be done for land mortgages, and why anything is needed in that line.

In many localities (especially in the old-settled East) farmers already borrow on first mortgages, at 5 or 5½ per cent. interest, and so they are not to be greatly relieved in interest rate; though, as these mortgages run, usually for only five years, they are in danger of foreclosure and loss of their farms, if crop failure or sickness overtake them.

But, according to the testimony of the expert on farm organization, Dr. C. W. Thompson, of the Department of Agriculture, the rate on farm mortgages in the

Northwest and South, averages 10 per cent., and, in many cases, ranges up to 15, 18, and even 25 per cent. The proposed Rural Credits System, if put into force, will bring sunshine upon many such mortgage-clouded farms, for it will provide all the funds needed, upon first mortgages, up to half the value of any farm, at, not to exceed 6 per cent., and at an average of 5 per cent. interest.

Furthermore: The mortgage will run, if desired, thirty-six years; and, during that time, the farmer will pay one per cent. a year on the principal, and, presto! the total of 6 per cent. in thirty-six years pays off the principal, as well as the interest, and the farm works its own way out from under the mortgage. That is what is known as "amortization"—a big word, performing big work. It is not obligatory that the paying of the loan be so prolonged, for, after five years, it can be paid off as fast as the farmer pleases.

No loan is to be for less than five years, nor more than thirty-six. Whatever number of years are determined upon by the borrower, when he makes the loan, determines how much he must amortize each year; for a fixed portion of the principal must be paid every year, so as to clear off the entire principal by the end of the term. Strange as it may seem, it is necessary, only, to pay one per cent. (of the original amount) each year, together with the interest on the original amount, to clear off the entire debt in thirty-six years.

THE METHOD PROPOSED

Now what is the plan of financing agriculture through this new Rural Credits bill? Is the Government going to lend its public money, or, is it planning to use its credit for the relief of agriculture? No.

A much safer and saner plan is now proposed which will not involve public money, nor credit, yet will give all the needed funds.

The framework of the plan is very similar to that of the Federal Reserve Banks, established for correlating the national banks. But the new Federal Land Banks will be entirely separate from the commercial bank system. The details will be explained in a subsequent article.



MISTAKEN METHODS IN SCIENCE TEACHING

BY L. F. BARKER, M.D.

[Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, the distinguished Johns Hopkins pathologist and professor of Medicine, in a recent address before the Johns Hopkins Alumni at New York, expressed noteworthy views on teaching which, at our request, he has embodied in the letter printed herewith.—THE EDITOR]

IT seems to me that we are trying to teach too much detail to the students in our medical schools, and are, to a certain extent, failing to realize the goal we have in view. The most we can hope to do, either in a college course or in a professional course in which natural sciences are taught, is to give to the student in each subject a grasp of its fundamental principles and a training in its more typical practical-technical methods of investigation. Each subject should, in my opinion, be taught for its own sake, and without too strict a regard for its immediate utilitarian value for the sciences that follow it in the curriculum. It does not require a long course to make a student familiar with the general principles of a science or to acquaint him practically with its more important technical methods. A brief course, organized with this definite purpose in view, and given by a master of the subject, will be much more valuable to the student than a longer course that is not well organized.

The natural sciences are advancing with great rapidity and the temptation of teachers is ever to add new parts to their courses of instruction, without discarding older parts and without periodically reorganizing the course, as a whole, to correspond to the new position occupied by the science. The result is that the curriculum becomes so arranged that the student's entire time is filled with required work, leaving very little, if any, time free for optional courses, for meditation, for reading in libraries, or for exercise in the open air.

Would it not be possible, with good-will on the part of the professors, and with a better understanding of what we really want to give our students, to reorganize our curricula so that the obligatory courses for each student shall occupy only a part of his time, suitable optional courses to be offered to those that desire to take them, the dean, however, to insist that a certain amount of daytime shall be left free from any courses (obligatory or optional) in order that the

student may keep at least some part of the daytime free for intercourse with his fellows, for reflection, for reading, and for exercise?

The importance of this matter has been borne in upon me by the statistics dealing with the number of students that develop pulmonary tuberculosis during their period of study in the medical schools. I am told that in one class of medical students, of which all the members on entrance to the medical school had been examined physically and were found healthy, no less than 10 per cent. developed tuberculosis before the end of their fourth year of study. There must be something radically wrong with the conditions that permit of such a morbidity from tuberculosis in young people apparently healthy on entrance to a school. Is it not the duty of the faculties of such schools thoroughly to inquire into the causes of the infection and so to rearrange the curriculum and the mode of life of the students that they may remain healthy during their course?

Wholly aside from the physical welfare of the students, I am convinced that their minds will be better trained for their later professional careers if the curriculum be arranged in the manner I have outlined above, rather than completely filled with the mass of obligatory work that now characterizes it, owing to the attempt at large content. For, after all, it is not the mere content of the man's mind on graduation that is significant for his later success. The memorizing of a mass of facts is far less important than a **well-rounded education in fundamental principles**, a certain training in methods of investigation, and, above all, the acquisition of the scientific habit of mind. A student at graduation can never be a finished product. He is only a beginner in his subject. What we must do for him is to prepare him in such a way that he will know how to continue his studies for himself after graduation, and we must see to it that he will be capable of making growth himself parallel with the progress that his science makes.

A MODERN SCHOOL

BY ABRAHAM FLEXNER

[Dr. Abraham Flexner stands to-day in the first rank of American authorities in the field of educational science and administration. His inquiries have been wide as well as deep, and he has the courage of his convictions. Six years ago his report on medical education, prepared and published under the direction of the Carnegie Foundation, made a stir the results of which are already transforming the methods of our medical schools. This is only one of Dr. Flexner's notable achievements.

After graduating from the Johns Hopkins University, in 1886, he began teaching in his home city of Louisville, and continued as a teacher and school administrator for many years. During the past eight years he has carried out or directed investigations for foundations endowed by Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller. For four years he has been one of the executive secretaries of the General Education Board. He is also one of the most influential members of the New York City Board of Education, which spends \$40,000,000 a year upon the public school system.

At several of the recent meetings of the General Education Board, the subjects of elementary and secondary education have been discussed. The Board has not only lent its aid to the better establishment and endowment of many institutions for higher education, but it has given much thought to the methods by which rural schools could be made to contribute more to the well-being of country communities, and also to the question of high schools. The president of the Board, Mr. Frederick T. Gates, has taken advanced ground in a paper, published by the Board, entitled "The Country School of To-morrow." Dr. Charles W. Eliot, also a member of the Board, has prepared a monograph on "Changes Needed in American Secondary Education," which has just been issued and to which we are making extended reference elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW. Dr. Flexner's paper, "A Modern School," was presented to the Board several weeks ago and is now appearing in the same series of publications of the Board as the papers of Messrs. Gates and Eliot. It seems to us to have interest of so timely a character that we are glad of the opportunity to present it in full herewith for our readers.

The most important thing in American "preparedness," from the permanent standpoint, must consist in making the education of all our young people a real and vital thing, fitting them for the places they ought to take in the community. In authorizing the publication of its occasional educational papers, the Board does not intend to endorse any particular views or theories. It desires to stimulate discussion, and to facilitate hopeful experiment in the field of educational progress.—THE EDITOR.]

AS President Eliot has so clearly pointed out in his paper on "The Changes Needed in American Secondary Education," tradition still too largely determines both the substance and the purpose of current education. A certain amount of readjustment has indeed taken place; in some respects almost frantic efforts are making to force this or that modern subject into the course of study. But traditional methods and purposes are strong enough to maintain most of the traditional curriculum and to confuse the handling of material introduced in response to the pressure of the modern spirit. It is therefore still true that the bulk of the time and energy of our children at school is devoted to formal work developed by schoolmasters without close or constant reference to genuine individual or social need.

The subjects in question deal predominantly with words or abstractions, remote from use and experience; and they continue to be acquired by children because the race has formed the habit of acquiring them, or

more accurately the habit of going through the form of acquiring them, rather than because they serve the real purposes of persons living to-day. Generally speaking, it may be safely affirmed that the subjects commonly taught, the time at which they are taught, the manner in which they are taught, and the amounts taught are determined by tradition, not by a fresh and untrammelled consideration of living and present needs.

I am not forgetful of the fact that the moment a student takes fire in studying any subject, no matter how remote or abstract, it assumes a present reality for him. Thus, sometimes through the personality of the teacher, less often through the congeniality of the subject matter, Latin and algebra may seem as real to particular students as wood-work, Shakespeare, biology, or current events.

It still remains true, however, that these cases are highly exceptional; and that most children in the elementary and high schools struggle painfully and ineffectually to bring the subject matter of their studies within a world that is real and genuine for them.

The best of them succeed fitfully; most of them never succeed at all.

It is perhaps worth while stopping long enough to show by figures the extent to which our current teaching fails. Complete statistics which would tell us how many of all the pupils who study Latin and algebra and geometry fail to master them do not exist. But we know that a large percentage of the better students of these subjects try the College Entrance Examinations, and that for these examinations many receive special drill, in addition to the regular teaching.

Now in the examinations held by the College Entrance Board in 1915, 76.6 per cent. of the candidates failed to make even a mark of 60 per cent. in Cicero; 75 per cent. failed to make a mark of 60 per cent. in the first six books of Virgil, every line of which they had presumably read and re-read; 69.7 per cent. of those examined in algebra from quadratics on failed to make as much as 60 per cent.; 42.4 per cent. failed to make 60 per cent. in plane geometry.

What would the record be if all who studied these subjects were thus examined by an impartial outside body? Probably some of those who fail do not do themselves justice; but as many—perhaps more—of the few who reach the really low mark of 60 per cent. do so by means of devices that represent stultification rather than intelligence. For nothing is commoner in the teaching of ancient languages and formal mathematics than drilling in arbitrary signs by means of which pupils determine mechanically what they should do, without intelligent insight into what they are doing.

It is, therefore, useless to inquire whether a knowledge of Latin and mathematics is valuable, because pupils do not get it; and it is equally beside the mark to ask whether the effort to obtain this knowledge is a valuable

discipline, since failure is so widespread that the only habits acquired through failing to learn Latin or algebra are habits of slipshod work, of guessing and of mechanical application of formulæ, not themselves understood.

A word should perhaps be said at this point by way of explaining why the Germans appear to succeed where we fail. There are two reasons: in the first place, the German gymnasium makes a ruthless selection. It rejects without compunction large numbers whom we in America endeavor to educate; and on the education of this picked minority it brings to bear such pressure as we can never hope to apply—family pressure, social pressure, official pressure. Under such circumstances, success is possible with small numbers; but the rising tide of opposition to the classical gymnasium and the development of modern schools with equivalent privileges show that even in Germany the traditional education is undermined.

But not only do American children as a class fail to gain either knowledge or power through the traditional curriculum—they spend an inordinately long time in failing. The period spent in school and college before students begin professional studies is longer in the United States than in any other western country. An economy of two or three years is urgently necessary. The Modern School must therefore not only find what students can really learn—it must feel itself required to solve its problem within a given number of years—the precise number being settled in advance on social, economic, and professional grounds. Its problem may perhaps be formulated in these terms: how much education of a given type can a boy or girl get before reaching the age of, let us say, twenty, on the theory that at that age general opportunities automatically end?

A MODERN CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

Before I undertake to do this, it is necessary to define education for the purposes of this sketch; and for obvious reasons this definition will be framed from a practical rather than from a philosophical point of view. All little children have certain common needs; but, beginning with adolescence, education is full of alternatives. The education planned for children who must leave school at fourteen necessarily differs in extent and thus to a degree in content from that feasible for those who can remain, say,

two years longer, so as to acquire the rudiments of a vocation. Still different are the possibilities for children who have the good fortune to remain until they are eighteen or twenty, reasonably free during this lengthened period from the necessity of determining procedure by other than educational considerations. I assume that the Modern School of which we are now speaking contemplates liberal and general education in the sense last-mentioned. With regard to children who expect to enjoy such opportu-

nities, what do we moderns mean when we speak of an educated man? How do we know and recognize an educated man in the modern sense? What can he do that an uneducated man—uneducated in the modern sense—cannot do?

I suggest that, in the first place, a man educated in the modern sense has mastered the fundamental tools of knowledge: he can read and write; he can spell the words he is in the habit of using; he can express himself clearly orally or in writing; he can figure correctly and with moderate facility within the limits of practical need; he knows something about the globe on which he lives. So far there is no difference between a man educated in the modern sense and a man educated in any other sense.

There is, however, a marked divergence at the next step. The education which we are criticizing is overwhelmingly formal and traditional. If objection is made to this or that study on the ground that it is useless or unsuitable, the answer comes that it "trains the mind" or has been valued for centuries. "Training the mind" in the sense in which the claim is thus made for algebra or ancient languages is an assumption none too well founded; traditional esteem is an insufficient offset to present and future uselessness.

A man educated in the modern sense will forego the somewhat doubtful mental discipline received from formal studies; he will be contentedly ignorant of things for learning which no better reason than tradition can be assigned. Instead, his education will be obtained from studies that serve real purposes. Its content, spirit, and aim will be realistic and genuine, not formal or traditional. Thus, the man educated in the modern sense will be trained to know, to care about and to understand the world he lives in, both the physical world and the social world. A firm grasp of the physical world means the capacity to note and to interpret phenomena; a firm grasp of the social world means a comprehension of and sympathy with current industry, current science, and current politics.

The extent to which the history and literature of the past are utilized depends, not on what we call the historic value of this or that performance or classic, but on its actual pertinency to genuine need, interest, or capacity. In any case, the object in view would be to give children the knowledge they need and to develop in them the power to handle themselves in our own world. Nei-

ther historic nor what are called purely cultural claims would alone be regarded as compelling.

Even the progressive curricula of the present time are far from accepting the principle above formulated. For, though they include things that serve purposes, their eliminations are altogether too timid. They have occasionally dropped, occasionally curtailed what experience shows to be either unnecessary or hopelessly unsuitable. But they retain the bulk of the traditional course of study, and present it in traditional fashion, because an overwhelming case has not—so it is judged—yet been made against it. If, however, the standpoint which I have urged were adopted, the curriculum would contain only what can be shown to serve a purpose. The burden of proof would be on the subject, not on those who stand ready to eliminate it. If the subject serves a purpose, it is eligible to the curriculum; otherwise not. I need not stop at this juncture to show that "serving a purpose," "useful," "genuine," "realistic," and other descriptive terms are not synonymous with "utilitarian," "materialistic," "commercial," etc.,—for intellectual and spiritual purposes are genuine and valid, precisely as are physical, physiological and industrial purposes. That will become clear as we proceed.

THE AIM: INTELLECTUAL POWER

It follows from the way in which the child is made, and from the constitution and appeal of modern society, that instruction in objects and in phenomena will at one time or another play a very prominent part in the Modern School. It is, however, clear that mere knowledge of phenomena, and mere ability to understand or to produce objects falls short of the ultimate purpose of a liberal education. Such knowledge and such ability indubitably have, as President Eliot's paper pointed out, great value in themselves; and they imply such functioning of the senses as promises a rich fund of observation and experience. But in the end, if the Modern School is to be adequate to the need of modern life, this concrete training must produce sheer intellectual power. Abstract thinking has perhaps never before played so important a part in life as in this materialistic and scientific world of ours—this world of railroads, automobiles, wireless telegraphy, and international relationships. Our problems involve indeed concrete data and present themselves in concrete forms; but, back of the concrete details, lie difficult and involved

intellectual processes. Hence the realistic education we propose must eventuate in intellectual power.

We must not only cultivate the child's interests, senses and practical skill, but we must train him to interpret what he thus gets to the end that he may not only be able to perceive and to do, but that he may know

in intellectual terms the significance of what he has perceived and done. The Modern School would prove a disappointment, unless greater intellectual power is procurable on the basis of a realistic training than has been procured from a formal education, which is prematurely intellectual, and to no slight extent a mere make-believe.

A MODERN CURRICULUM

Aside from the simply instrumental studies mentioned—reading, writing, spelling, and figuring—the curriculum of the modern school would be built out of actual activities in four main fields which I shall designate as science, industry, esthetics, civics. Let me sketch briefly a realistic treatment of each of these fields.

TRAINING IN SCIENCE

The work in science would be the central and dominating feature of the school—a departure that is sound from the standpoint of psychology and necessary from the standpoint of our main purpose. Children would begin by getting acquainted with objects—animate and inanimate; they would learn to know trees, plants, animals, hills, streams, rocks, and to care for animals and plants. At the next stage, they would follow the life cycles of plants and animals and study the processes to be observed in inanimate things. They would also begin experimentation—physical, chemical, and biological. In the upper grades, science would gradually assume more systematic form. On the basis of abundant sense-acquired knowledge and with senses sharpened by constant use, children would be interested in problems and in the theoretic basis on which their solution depends. They will make and understand a fireless cooker, a camera, a wireless telegraph; and they will ultimately deal with phenomena and their relations in the most rigorous scientific form.

The work in science just outlined differs from what is now attempted in both its extent and the point of view. Our efforts at science teaching up to this time have been disappointing for reasons which the above outline avoids: the elementary work has been altogether too incidental; the advanced work has been prematurely abstract; besides, general conditions have been unfavorable. The high-school boy who begins a systematic course of physics or chemistry without the previous training above described lacks the

basis in experience which is needed to make systematic science genuinely real to him. The usual textbook in physics or chemistry plunges him at once into a world of symbols and definitions as abstract as algebra. Had an adequate realistic treatment preceded, the symbols, when he finally reached them, would be realities. The abyss between sense training and intellectual training would thus be bridged.

Of coördinate importance with the world of science is the world of industry and commerce. The child's mind is easily captured for the observation and execution of industrial and commercial processes. The industries growing out of the fundamental needs of food, clothing, and shelter; the industries, occupations, and apparatus involved in transportation and communication—all furnish practically unlimited openings for constructive experiences, for experiments, and for the study of commercial practises. Through such experiences the boy and girl obtain not only a clearer understanding of the social and industrial foundations of life, but also opportunities for expression and achievement in terms natural to adolescence.

LITERATURE AND ART SUBJECTS

Under the word "esthetics"—an inappropriate term, I admit—I include literature, language, art and music—subjects in which the schools are mainly interested on the appreciative side. Perhaps in no other realm would a realistic point of view play greater havoc with established routine. The literature that most schools now teach is partly obsolete, partly ill-timed, rarely effective or appealing. Now nothing is more wasteful of time or in the long run more damaging to good taste than unwilling and spasmodic attention to what history and tradition stamp as meritorious or respectable in literature; nothing more futile than the make-believe by which children are forced to worship as "classics" or "standards" what in their hearts they revolt from because it is

ill-chosen or ill-adjusted. The historic importance or inherent greatness of a literary document furnishes the best of reasons why a mature critical student of literature or literary history should attend to it; but neither consideration is of the slightest educational cogency in respect to a child at school.

A realistic treatment of literature would take hold of the child's normal and actual interests in romance, adventure, fact or what not and endeavor to develop them into as effective habits of reading as may be. Translations, adaptations, and originals in the vernacular—old and new—are all equally available. They ought to be used unconventionally and resourcefully, not in order that the child may get—what he will not get anyway—a conspectus of literary development; not in order that he may some day be certificated as having analyzed a few outstanding literary classics; but solely in order that his real interest in books may be carried as far and as high as is for him possible; and in this effort the methods pursued should be calculated to develop his interest and his taste, not to "train his mind" or to make of him a make-believe literary scholar.

There would be less pretentiousness in the realistic than there is in the orthodox teaching of literature; but perhaps in the end the child would really know and care about some of the living masterpieces and in any event there might exist some connection between the school's teaching and the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading.

Of the part to be played by art and music I am not qualified to speak. I do not even know to what extent their teaching has been thought of from this point of view. I venture to submit, however, that the problem presented by them does not differ in principle from the problem presented by literature. Literature is to be taught in the Modern School primarily for the purpose of developing taste, interest, and appreciation, not for the purpose of producing persons who make literature or who seem to know its history; we hope to train persons, not to write poems or to discuss their historic place, but to care vitally for poetry,—though not perhaps without a suspicion that this is the surest way of liberating creative talent.

The Modern School would, in the same way, endeavor to develop a spontaneous, discriminating and genuine artistic interest and appreciation,—rather than to fashion makers of music and art. It would take hold of the child where he is and endeavor to develop

and to refine his taste; it would not begin with "classics" nor would it necessarily end with them. By way of showing, however, that a real curriculum is not synonymous with an easy curriculum, I may say that if, as one factor in appreciation, it should be decided that all children should at least endeavor to learn, say, some form of instrumental music, the fact that there are certain advantages to be gained from an early start must decide the "when" and the "how," regardless of the child's inclination or disinclination.

It is none the less true, however, that the child's interests and capacities are in general so fundamental and so significant that the question here raised is not often presented. Most of what a child should do coincides with its own preference, or with a preference very readily elicited. But preference or lack of preference on the child's part is not a sole or final consideration.

The study of foreign languages must be considered in this connection. The case of Latin and Greek will be taken up later; German, French, perhaps other languages, are now in question. Languages have no value in themselves; they exist solely for the purpose of communicating ideas and abbreviating our thought and action processes. If studied, they are valuable only in so far as they are practically mastered,—not otherwise; so at least the Modern School holds. From this standpoint, for purposes of travel, trade, study, and enjoyment, educated men who do not know French and German usually come to regret it keenly. When they endeavor during mature life to acquire a foreign tongue, they find the task inordinately difficult and the results too often extremely disappointing. It happens, however, that practical mastery of foreign languages can be attained early in life with comparative ease. A school trying to produce a resourceful modern type of educated man and woman would therefore provide practical training in one or more modern languages.

MODERNIZING HISTORY TEACHING

The fourth main division, which I have called civics, includes history, institutions, and current happenings. Much has been written, little done, towards the effective modernization of this work; so that though new views of historical values prevail in theory, the schools go on teaching the sort of history they have always taught and in pretty much the same way.

"Should a student of the past," writes

Professor Robinson of Columbia, "be asked what he regarded as the most original and far-reaching discovery of modern times, he might reply with some assurance that it is our growing realization of the fundamental importance and absorbing interest of common men and common things." Now the conventional treatment of history is political. Meanwhile, as Professor Robinson goes on to say, "It is clear that our interests are changing, and consequently the kind of questions that we ask the past to answer. Our most recent manuals venture to leave out some of the traditional facts least appropriate for an elementary review of the past and endeavor to bring their narrative into relation, here and there, with modern needs and demands. But I think that this process of eliminating the old and substituting the new might be carried much farther; that our best manuals are still crowded with facts that are not worth while bringing to the attention of our boys and girls, and that they still omit in large measure those things that are best worth telling." If this be true, as it appears to be, the realistic approach may make as much difference in history as in literature.

THE PROBLEM OF MATHEMATICAL INSTRUCTION

The subject of mathematics offers peculiar difficulty. Perhaps nowhere else is waste through failure so great. Moreover, even when a certain degree of success is attained, it happens often that it is quite unintelligent; children mechanically carry out certain operations in algebra, guided by arbitrary signs and models; or they learn memoriter a series of propositions in geometry. The hollowness of both performances—and most children do not accomplish even so much—is evident the moment a mathematical problem takes a slightly unfamiliar turn. The child's helplessness exhibits a striking lack of both mathematical knowledge and "mental discipline." It cannot be that this training through failure is really valuable. Finally, a point might even be made on the ground that algebra and geometry as traditionally taught are mainly deductive exercises, whereas practical living involves the constant interplay of observation, induction and deduction. The artificiality of conventional mathematics, therefore, raises a suspicion as to its value,—even were the subjects mastered.

The truth is that the present position of both algebra and geometry is historical.

Now, let us suppose the realistic standard applied,—how much mathematics would be taught, when, and in what form? "Mental discipline" as a formal object is not a "realistic" argument, since, as has been already said, it is an unproved assumption. At any rate, it is for those who believe in it to demonstrate how much good it does most children to make a failure in algebra and geometry. Is the elaborate study of mathematical and spatial relations through algebra and geometry a valid undertaking for its own sake? If so, neither the disinclination of the child nor the difficulty of the achievement is a reason for abandoning it. Disinclination and difficulty in that case simply put a problem up to the teachers of the subject; it is for them to find ways of triumphing over both. If, however, this study does not serve a legitimate and genuine purpose, then the mathematical curriculum must undergo a radical reorganization for the purpose of treating algebra and geometry from the standpoint of the other subjects which they serve. They would be taught in such form, in such amounts, and at such times as the other subjects required. Thus geometry would be decreased in amount by something like two-thirds or three-fourths and the form of the remaining fourth would be considerably modified.

It is interesting to observe that doubt as to the soundness and value of our mathematical instruction has recently become so serious a matter that the Association of Teachers of Mathematics in New England has suggested "a one-year course in elementary algebra and geometry of a concrete sort, designed so far as possible to test the pupil's qualifications for future mathematical study; and Dr. Snedden has raised the question as to why girls in high schools or as candidates for college should be required to present algebra; he has also urged that a knowledge of algebra is of no importance to men following law, medicine, journalism, or theology. Professor Breslich, of Chicago, has been attacking the same problem vigorously from a not unrelated point of view. Without considering any point settled, it is clear that a Modern School which wiped the slate of mathematics and then subsequently wrote upon it only what was found to serve the real needs of quantitative thought and action might evolve a curriculum in mathematics that we should not recognize.

For the sake of convenience, the four large fields of activity have been separately discussed. But it must be pointed out that

the failure of the traditional school to make cross connections is an additional unreality. The traditional school teaches composition in the English classes, quantitative work in the mathematics classes; history, literature, and so on each in its appropriate division. Efforts are indeed making to overcome this separateness, but they have gone only a little way. The Modern School would from the first undertake the cultivation of contacts and cross-connections. Every exercise would be a spelling lesson; science, industry, and mathematics would be inseparable; science, industry, history, civics, literature, and geography would to some extent utilize the same material. These suggestions are in themselves not new and not wholly untried. What is lacking is a consistent, thoroughgoing, and fearless embodiment. For even the teachers who believe in modern education are so situated that either they cannot act, or they act under limitations that are fatal to effective effort.

In speaking of the course of study, I have dwelt wholly on content. Unquestionably, however, a curriculum revolutionized in con-

tent will be presented by methods altered to suit the spirit and aim of the instruction. For children will not be taught merely in order that they may know or be able to do certain things that they do not now know and cannot now do, but material will be presented to them in ways that promote their proper development and growth—individually and socially. For education is not only a matter of what people can do, but also of what they are.

In the preceding sketch I have made no distinction between the sexes. It is just as important for a girl as it is for a boy to be interested in the phenomenal world, to know how to observe, to infer, and to reason, to understand industrial, social, and political developments, to read good books, and to finish school by the age of twenty. Differentiation at one point or another may be suggested by experience; but in the vocational training alone can one assume in advance its necessity. The Modern School, with its strongly realistic emphasis, will undoubtedly not overlook woman's domestic rôle and family functions.

WHAT THE CURRICULUM OMITS

This necessarily brief and untechnical sketch will perhaps become more definite if I look at the curriculum from the standpoint of the omissions. Let us restate our guiding thesis: Modern education will include nothing simply because tradition recommends it or because its inutility has not been conclusively established. It proceeds in precisely the opposite way: *It includes nothing for which an affirmative case cannot now be made out.*

As has already been intimated, this method of approach would probably result in greatly reducing the time allowed to mathematics, and in decidedly changing the form of what is still retained. If, for example, only so much arithmetic is taught as people actually have occasion to use, the subject will shrink to modest proportions; and if this reduced amount is taught so as to serve real purposes, the teachers of science, industry, and domestic economy will do much of it incidentally. The same policy may be employed in dealing with algebra and geometry. What is taught, when it is taught, and how it is taught will in that event depend altogether on what is needed, when it is needed, and the form in which it is needed.

Precisely the same line of reasoning would

be applied to English, history, and literature. For example: There has been a heated discussion for years on the subject of formal grammar, which has been defended, first, on the ground that it furnishes a valuable mental discipline; second, on the ground that it assists the correct use of language. It is passing strange how many ill-disciplined minds there are among those who have spent years being mentally disciplined, now in this subject, now in that. The Modern School would not hesitate to take the risk to mental discipline involved in dropping the study of formal grammar. It would, tentatively at least, also risk the consequences to correct speech involved in the same step. For such evidence as we possess points to the futility of formal grammar as an aid to correct speaking and writing. The study would be introduced later, only if a real need for it were felt,—and only in such amounts and at such periods as this need clearly required.

In respect to history and literature, a Modern School would have the courage not to go through the form of teaching children useless historic facts just because previous generations of children have learned and forgotten them; and also the courage not to read obsolete and uncongenial classics, sim-

ply because tradition has made this sort of acquaintance a kind of good form. We might thus produce a generation as ignorant of the name of the Licinian laws as we who have studied them are ignorant of their contents and significance; a generation that did not at school analyze Milton's "Lycidas" or Burke's speech as we did, who then and there vowed life-long hostility to both. But might there not be an offset if the generation in question really cared about the history and politics of, say, modern England or New York City, and read for sheer fun at one time or another and quite regardless of chronological order Homer, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Stevenson, Kipling, and Masfeld?

Neither Latin nor Greek would be contained in the curriculum of the Modern School,—not, of course, because their literatures are less wonderful than they are reputed to be, but because their present position in the curriculum rests upon tradition and assumption. A positive case can be made out for neither.

The literary argument fails, because stumbling and blundering through a few patches of Latin classics do not establish a contact with Latin literature. Nor does present-day teaching result in a practical mastery of Latin useful for other purposes. Mature students who studied Latin through the high school, and perhaps to some extent in college, find it difficult or impossible to understand a Latin document encountered in, say, a course in history. If practical mastery is desired, more Latin can be learned in enormously less time by postponing the study until the student needs the language or wants it. At that stage he can learn more Latin in a few months than he would have succeeded in acquiring through four or five years of reluctant effort in youth.

Finally, the disciplinary argument fails, because "mental discipline" is not a real purpose; moreover, it would in any event constitute an argument against rather than for the study of Latin. I have quoted figures to show how egregiously we fail to teach Latin. These figures mean that instead of getting orderly training by solving difficulties in Latin translation or composition, pupils guess, fumble, receive surreptitious assistance or accept on faith the injunctions of teacher and grammar. The only discipline that most students could get from their classical studies is a discipline in doing things as they should not be done.

I should perhaps deal with yet another

argument—viz., that Latin aids in securing a vigorous or graceful use of the mother tongue. Like the arguments previously considered, this is unsubstantiated opinion; no evidence has ever been presented.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

So far I have discussed the Modern School only from the standpoint of its course of study. It is time now to mention other implications of the realistic or genuine point of view. If children are to be taught and trained with an eye to the realities of life and existence, the accessible world is the laboratory to be used for that purpose. Let us imagine a Modern School located in New York City; consider for a moment its assets for educational purposes: the harbor, the Metropolitan Museum, the Public Library, the Natural History Museum, the Zoölogical Garden, the city government, the Weather Bureau, the transportation systems, lectures, concerts, plays, and so on. Other communities may have less, but all have much. As things now are, children living in this rich and tingling environment get for the most part precisely the same education that they would be getting in, let us say, Oshkosh or Keokuk. Again, the Modern School is as much interested in the child's body as in his mind. It would, therefore, provide play-facilities, sports, and gymnastics. A study of Gary¹ and of the country day schools, now springing up, should tell us whether the Modern School should or should not seek to provide for the child's entire day. Some of this additional material, we already know pretty well how to organize and use; as for the rest, we shall have to find out.

It is evident that, while in some directions the Modern School would have a fairly clear path, in others it would have to feel its way, and in all its attitude would be distinctly tentative and experimental. To no small extent it would have to create apparatus and paraphernalia as it proceeds. Text-books, for example, almost invariably conform to tradition; or innovate so slightly as to be, from our point of view, far from satisfactory. The Modern School would thus at the start be at a great disadvantage as compared with established schools that seek gradual improvement through readjustment. But it would have this advantage—that it could really try its experiments with a free hand.

¹ The General Education Board has just authorized a study of the Gary schools, the results of which will be published.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MODERN SCHOOL

President Eliot's paper was called "Changes Needed in Secondary Education." But the habits and capacities needed in a reconstructed secondary school are those whose formation must be begun in the primary school. A modern secondary school cannot be built on a conventional elementary school. If the primary years are lost in the conventional school, the child's native freshness of interest in phenomena has to be recovered in youth—a difficult and uncertain task, which, even if successful, does not make up the loss to the child's fund of knowledge and experience. Nor can the child's singular facility in acquiring a speaking command of other languages be retrieved. The Modern School would, therefore, have to begin with a vestibule, an elementary "Vorschule," in which children would be started properly. The relation between elementary and secondary education would be a matter for experimental determination, for whatever may prove to be right, the present break is surely wrong. So, also, the relation of the Modern School to the American College would have to be worked out by experience.

POSSIBLE RESULTS

Would the proposed education educate? Many of the disagreeable features of education with which under existing circumstances children are compelled to wrestle would be eliminated. Would not the training substituted be soft—lacking in vigor, incapable of teaching the child to work against the grain? Again, is there not danger that a school constituted on the modern basis would be unsympathetic with ideals and hostile to spiritual activity?

Two questions are thus raised, (1) the question of discipline, moral and mental, (2) the question of interest or taste.

There is, I think, no harm to be apprehended on either score. The Modern School would "discipline the mind" in the only way in which the mind can be effectively disciplined—by energizing it through the doing of real tasks. The formal difficulties which the Modern School discards are educationally inferior to the genuine difficulties involved in science, industry, literature, and politics; for formal problems are not apt to evoke prolonged and successful effort. It is, indeed, absurd to invent formal difficulties for the pretended purpose of discipline, when, within the limits of science, industry, literature, and politics, real problems abound.

Method can be best acquired, and stands the best chance of being acquired, if real issues are presented. Are problems any the less problems because a boy attacks them with intelligence and zest? He does not attack them because they are easy, nor does he shrink from them because they are hard. He attacks them, if he has been wisely trained, because they challenge his powers. And in this attack he gets what the conventional school so generally fails to give—the energizing of his faculties, and a directive clue as to where he will find a congenial and effective object in life.

A word on the subject of what I have just called the "directive clue." Our college graduates are in large numbers pathetically in the dark as to "what next." Even the elective system has not enabled most of them to find themselves. The reason is clear. A formal education, devoted to "training the mind" and "culture" does little to connect capacity with opportunity or ambition. The more positive endowments, of course, assert themselves; but the more positive endowments are relatively scarce. In the absence of bent, social pressure determines a youth's career in America, less frequently than in more tightly organized societies. But an education that from the start makes a genuine appeal will disclose, develop, and specialize interest. It will, in a word, give the individual a clue.

In this connection it may be fairly asked whether, in the end, it will not turn out that the Modern School practically eschews compulsion. Not at all. But it distinguishes. First of all, the interests of childhood, spontaneous or readily excitable, are of great educational significance: interests in life, objects, adventure, fancy—these the Modern School proposes to utilize and to develop in their natural season. Next, the capacities of childhood—for the learning of languages, for example—of these the Modern School proposes to make timely use with a view to remote contingencies. So far there is little need to speak of compulsion. Compulsion will be employed, however, to accomplish anything that needs to be accomplished by compulsion, provided it can be accomplished by compulsion. Children can and, if necessary, must be compelled to spell and to learn the multiplication table, and anything else that serves a chosen purpose, near or remote; but they cannot be compelled to care about the "Fæerie Queene."

and sheer compulsion applied to that end is wasted. If children cannot through skilful teaching be brought to care about the "Faerie Queene," compulsory reading of a book or two is as futile a performance as can be imagined. The Modern School will not, therefore, eschew compulsion; but compulsion will be employed with intelligence and discrimination.

As to the second question—whether the Modern School would not be spiritually unsympathetic, the answer depends on the relation of genuine interests of a varied character to spiritual activity. It is, of course, obvious that, if the Modern School were limited to industrial or commercial activities, with just so much language, mathematics, and science as the effective prosecution of those activities requires, the higher potentialities of the child would remain undeveloped. But the Modern School proposes nothing of this kind. It undertakes a large and free handling of the phenomenal world, appealing in due course to the observational, the imaginative, and the reasoning capacities of the child; and in precisely the same spirit and with equal emphasis, it will utilize art, literature, and music. Keeping always within reach of the child's genuine response should indeed make for, not against, the development of spiritual interests. Are science and such poetry as children can be brought to love more likely or less likely to stir the soul than formal grammar, algebra, or the literature selections that emanate from the people who supervise the college entrance examinations?

The education of the particular pupils who attend the Modern School might prove to be the least of the services rendered by the School. More important would perhaps be its influence in setting up positive as against dogmatic educational standards. We go on teaching this or that subject in this or that way for no better reason than that its ineffectiveness or harmfulness has not been established. Medicines were once generally and are still not infrequently prescribed on exactly the same basis. Modern teaching, like modern medicine, should be controlled by positive indications. The

schools should teach Latin and algebra, if at all, just as the intelligent physician prescribes quinine, because it serves a purpose that he knows and can state. Nor will tact and insight and enthusiasm cease to be efficient virtues, simply because curriculum and teaching method are constant objects of scientific scrutiny.

In education, as in other realms, the inquiring spirit will be the productive spirit. There is an important though not very extensive body of educational literature of philosophical and inspirational character; but there is little of scientific quality. The scientific spirit is just beginning to creep into elementary and secondary schools; and progress is slow, because the conditions are unfavorable. The Modern School should be a laboratory from which would issue scientific studies of all kinds of educational problems—a laboratory, first of all, which would test and evaluate critically the fundamental propositions on which it is itself based, and the results as they are obtained.

The inauguration of the experiment discussed in this paper would be at first seriously hampered because of the lack of school paraphernalia adapted to its spirit and purposes. Text-books, apparatus, and methods would have to be worked out—contrived, tentatively employed, remodeled, tried elsewhere, and so on. In the end the implements thus fashioned would be an important factor in assisting the reorganization and reconstruction of other schools—schools that could adopt a demonstration, even though they could not have made the original experiment.

Finally, the Modern School, seeking not only to train a particular group of children, but to influence educational practise, can be a seminary for the training of teachers, first its own, then others who will go out into service. The difficulty of recruiting a satisfactory staff to begin with must not be overlooked; for available teachers have been brought up and have taught on traditional lines. On the other hand, the spirit of revolt is rife; and teachers can be found whose efforts have already passed beyond conventional limits. With these the new enterprise would be started.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

BESIDES the comment of foreign journals on topics related to the great war, such as "The Indemnity Problem," "The Teutonic-Oriental Alliance," "The Papacy and the War," and "The Cry of Ukraine," there appear on the following pages abstracts of articles dealing with vital American problems. Among these are President Eliot's suggestive discussion of sense-training in secondary education, the statement by Samuel Gompers on the attitude of organized labor toward preparedness, the plea made by Mr. E. E. Rittenhouse for the establishment of a national vitality commission, Mr. Henry Bruère's review of the Mitchel administration in New York City, and the Rev. Samuel A. Eliot's tribute to the prison-reform efforts of Thomas Mott Osborne.

In the *North American Review* (March) will be found articles on "Protection of American Citizens," by David Jayne Hill, former Ambassador to Germany; "The Strengthening of Latin America," by Charles H. Sherrill; "South America and Investments," by Percival Farquhar; "Capitalism and Social Discontent," by Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, of the University of Chicago; "The Spirit of a State," by John M. Thomas, and "Is Prohibition American?" by L. Ames Brown.

We quote (on page 483) from an unusual chapter of personal experiences, entitled "A Soldier of the Legion," which appears in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March. In the same magazine there are articles on "Kitchener's Mob," by James Norman Hall; "The Belgian Wilderness," by Vernon L. Kellogg, and "Business After the War," by Ray Morris. The introductory article in this number is a stimulating essay on Americanism by Agnes Repplier. In the April *Atlantic* ex-President Tucker of Dartmouth writes on "The Crux of the Peace Problem."

The first twenty-five pages of the *Yale Review* (quarterly) are devoted to a friendly review of President Wilson's administration by Moorfield Storey. Then follow articles on "America's Obligation and Opportunity," by George Burton Adams, and "The War and American Democracy," by Wilbur C. Abbott. Other war articles of distinctive merit are "The Campaign in Western Asia," by H. G. Dwight, and "With the British Medical Corps in France," by Harvey Cushing.

"The Federal Valuation of the Railroads" is the subject of an article by Morrell W. Games, and among other interesting features of the number are letters written from Russia during the Crimean War by the late President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, and a discriminating study of Charles Sumner by Gamaliel Bradford.

Major Robert R. McCormick, of the *Chicago Tribune*, contributes to the April *Century* a thought-provoking article on national defense, under the suggestive title "Ripe for Conquest." In the same number there is a character sketch of "The Terrible Yuan Shih-kai," by Frederick Moore. The principal war article of the number is Arthur Gleason's "Chantons, Belges! Chantons!" Mr. Stanton Leeds writes on "The Greek King and the Present Crisis."

In *Harper's* for April there appears for the first time a detailed account of the wonderful health campaign that has been waged during the past few years in the Philippine Islands by Dr. Victor Heiser, Director of the Health Service. In the same number is Mr. Charles W. Furlong's narrative of a recent voyage across the Atlantic in a challop.

Scribner's continues to specialize in descriptive articles. The March number contains, in addition to Colonel Roosevelt's description of "The Bird Refuges of Louisiana," a series of drawings with descriptive texts of Mexican border scenes by Ernest Peixotto, "A Russian Painter's Impressions of the War," with illustrations in color, and "The Serbian People in War Time" by Stanley Naylor, are features of the same number. In the April *Scribner's* Ernest Peixotto sketches "The Charm of New Orleans," and H. G. Dwight describes "The Holy Mountain of Thrace." Edward H. Southern's "Remembrances" has reached the era of the Old Lyceum Theater in New York City.

OSBORNE, THE PRISON REFORMER

AN appreciation of Thomas Mott Osborne, the courageous exponent of prison reform in New York State, is contributed to the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* by the Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, a college classmate.

After referring to the fact that Osborne comes of Abolitionist stock, and is of Quaker descent, Mr. Eliot speaks of his succession to the presidency of the Osborne Harvester Company, at Auburn, N. Y., the affairs of which he conducted with marked ability and success for sixteen years. He had ambitions for public service, however, became president of the Board of Education, and later was elected mayor of the city on a non-partisan ticket, after an exciting campaign.

Although Mr. Osborne's antecedents had been strongly Republican, he had cast his first Presidential vote for Grover Cleveland in 1884, and has ever since allied himself with the Democratic party on national issues, excepting in the free-silver campaign of 1896.

After retiring from the active management of the Harvester works, Mr. Osborne devoted practically all his time to public service. He was particularly interested in the work of the George Junior Republic, serving for many years as president of its Board of Trustees. He was appointed by Governor Hughes on the Public Service Commission of New York State. A man of education and refinement, a lover of good books and fine music, well able to surround himself with every form of luxury, Mr. Osborne has chosen a career of difficult service and has been compelled more than once to imperil his life and personal reputation.

Acquiring from his work with the George Junior Republic an interest in prison reform, Mr. Osborne next turned his attention to the penitentiary at Auburn, his home city. He became a volunteer prisoner within the walls of that institution and has described his experiences in the book "Behind Prison Walls." This experience led to his appointment to the wardenship of Sing Sing, known far and wide as one of the worst prisons in the United States. The story of his attempt to put in practise there certain principles of prison reform and of the bitter opposition that he incurred from the political ringsters of Westchester County, culminating in his indictment and trial, are

within the knowledge of all newspaper readers.

An acquittal on the first of the indictments—that for perjury—was ordered last month by Supreme Court Justice Tompkins, after testimony for the prosecution had been heard.

Mr. Eliot finds nothing especially novel in Osborne's ideas about prison administration. He has simply succeeded in focusing public attention upon a serious and long-neglected social problem. He is beginning to make people see that prison reform is a business proposition, that our present methods of dealing with crime are a failure, and that we must change both our theory and our practise:

Osborne is no sentimentalist. He demands that the way of the transgressor shall be hard, but he insists that we must treat convicts in such a way that they shall either be cured or kept under such continual restraint as shall guarantee to society safety from further depredations. The practical question he raises is whether men committed to prison are going to come out eager for new crimes or prepared to go straight; ready and able to support themselves by honest work or obliged to prey on society for a living. Are their bodies to be upbuilt, their hands given skill, their minds quickened, their ambitions aroused, or are they to be left to rot and to plot schemes of revenge when their punishment is over?

Osborne insists that every offender ought to have a prompt and speedy trial; that our jails should cease to be nurseries of crime; that prisoners should be classified and graded. He insists that industrial training should be made the basis of reformatory methods. To teach a convict a trade is to make him master of the art of self-support. He recognizes that many criminal impulses are due to physical causes, so he believes in healthy exercise. He understands that it is only through a reasonable degree of freedom and self-government that a man can learn to live in freedom. Osborne preaches the doctrine of the indeterminate sentence. We do not send an insane man to the hospital for thirty days or six months, but until he is cured and fit to take his place again in society. Osborne demands that our prisons shall be managed so as to develop the germs of good that are still lying in the convict's nature and not so as to communicate the poison of evil until all are dragged down to the level of the worst. He has confidence in human nature and has the courage to act on that belief.

In conclusion, Mr. Eliot ventures the suggestion that Osborne's character and career are typical of the spirit of Harvard. At any rate, he is holding up before the nation certain ideals that the graduates of Harvard and of every other American college would do well to make their own.

EXIT MONTENEGRO

SINCE Montenegro's capitulation to Austria, very little reliable information has been published in this country relative to the change in the situation and prospects of that mountain people or the manner in which the Central Powers are likely to utilize their acquisition. In *Land and Water* (London) Mr. Alfred Stead, who was with the rear guard of the Serbian army, and who recently returned from Rumania, gives the story of the episode.

While attributing courage to the Montenegrin people, Mr. Stead belittles their value as a fighting element in the present war. Indeed, he deems it doubtful whether "there was ever a moment after the war began when Montenegro's rulers were not actuated solely by desire that any participation in hostilities should be directly beneficial to themselves." From a military standpoint, Mr. Stead declares that to the Entente Allies the loss of Montenegro as it was utilized has no importance whatever. It is true that within the frontiers of Montenegro were situated the dominating artillery positions overlooking the Bocche di Cattaro, but no real effort had been made to place heavy guns on these positions, and the Austrian fleet was permitted to use this magnificent natural harbor at will. The excuse given was that had such an attempt been made the Austrians would have occupied Lovchen before the guns could have reached there.

As to the probable results of the Austrian occupation, Mr. Stead summarizes his conclusions as follows:

The occupation of Montenegro, while it enables Austria to complete the subjugation of the Serbian peoples and secure her occupation of Cattaro, must mean leaving a large garrison in the country. It also means feeding the whole population, since otherwise there will undoubtedly be guerilla warfare. The chance of using the manhood of Montenegro as soldiers (as has been done in Serbia) does not present many attractions, since the Montenegrin fighter is of small value in a modern army. One result is that now the ultimate inclusion of Montenegro into a greater Serbia is hastened—in any event it was only a question of a short time.

The military assistance given to the Allied cause was never great; the anxieties and worries in connection with keeping the governing *régime* supplied with money, and at the same time endeavoring to benefit the deserving population, were very great. It is probably no exaggeration to say that to-day the conclusion of the Montenegrin chapter comes as relief to the Allies rather than as a surprise. For long it has been known that it only needed an opportunity for an Austrian desire to accomplish the occupation, partial or total, of Montenegro. And it must not be forgotten that the future of Montenegro is not settled to-day nor will be until the final settlement after the war—and in that settlement the evidence of the past four years will be weighed and known.

As the wave of Austro-German occupation of the lands of the Serbians is rolled back, a free Montenegrin people, untrammelled by corrupt government, will play a part, and in so doing achieve a real national existence.

THE INDEMNITY PROBLEM

WITH the anticipation of an early peace in the world war, neutral nations are more interested in the question of the payment of huge "indemnities" to the victorious group of belligerents than in any other phase of the war. The payment of billions of dollars by one group of nations to another cannot fail to have a profound influence on the whole future mercantile, industrial, and military development of both the victor and the vanquished. Even should the war, as sometimes seems likely, end in a sort of stalemate, large sums of cash are pretty sure to be handed over in return for some territorial concessions. With characteristic Dutch thrift, the people of Holland are taking stock of the nations at war, their financial resources and industrial prospects, and are discussing the important question of

indemnities carefully and without undue heat of passion.

"Aside from the morality of levying indemnities," says the *Frede door Recht* (Peace by Right), "every war indemnity collected by the victor in one of the world's past wars has had the necessary consequence of embittering the vanquished people and of creating a desire among them to 'wipe out the disgrace,'—thereby again providing causes for future wars. But even in a much broader sense is it undesirable. One does not need to possess exceptional historical knowledge to be able to read in the history of the past 'indemnities' the future of any indemnities levied and collected at the end of the present war."

The demoralizing influence of a "rain of billions" upon a nation can be easily traced in the

case of France and Germany in 1870-71. The 5,000,000,000 francs which France paid to Germany during the years 1871-72, and 73 created in the latter country an unhealthy prosperity wave, accompanied by overspeculations, watered stocks and formations of fake companies. The people as a whole suffer so much in a war that even at best an indemnity is but a small payment for their troubles. In 1870-71 Germany lost 130,000 men,—in the first eighteen months of the present war about twenty times as many! In 1870-71 Germany's immediate expenses figured at about 1,000,000,000 francs; her subsequent outlay for war material, provisions and supplies about 1,400,000,000 francs. Even counting all the other expenditures, directly and indirectly due to the war, Germany did not pay out more than 4,000,000,000 francs. When the French paid their \$1,000,000,000 indemnity, they "made good" all of Germany's outlay and, in addition, paid 1,000,000,000 francs.

In the present war Germany spent more than 18,000,000,000 francs (\$3,600,000,000) during the first eighteen months,—or one and one-half times as much as the entire value of the railway systems of the empire, station buildings and rolling

stock included. Great Britain took up new public debts to an amount four times as large as the sums she was able to "write off" during the entire 19th Century. Because of its large loans, Germany will be compelled to pay out annually at least 2,000,000,000 francs more in interest and cancellations, than heretofore,—it is unthinkable that it could collect such an amount from Great Britain, for Great Britain had all it could do even before the war to pay its own interest on the huge public debt. Germany, on the other hand, which entered upon an ambitious program of naval expansion, would be compelled practically to *double* the income that she now receives from taxation!

More than one of the nations involved will find it an unsolvable problem to restore their industries and finances without repudiating their obligations, without admitting official bankruptcy. Would it be possible for the victors under such conditions to enforce the payment of an indemnity? No!

Aside from a payment to Belgium, which at any rate would only be a comparatively small sum, a war indemnity would be undesirable, almost impossible, or at least highly improbable.

A TEUTONIC-ORIENTAL ALLIANCE

AN article presenting the Teutonic view of the necessity of a great Central European power with the Orient as an auxiliary, appears in a recent number of the *Österreichische Rundschau* (Vienna). The writer, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, explains Austria's position and course of action, the reasons why Germany backed her up, and suggests the formation of a German-Austro-Hungarian power—"Central Europe"—in order to secure the permanent independence of those countries, with the addition of the Orient as an auxiliary power.

In order that this Central-European-Oriental alliance may rest upon a lasting foundation, the writer specifies several prior conditions that must be met: Firstly, removal of the Serbian bar—this has already been broken. The connecting link, Bulgaria, must enter the alliance under conditions that will be to her present and permanent interest. Nor does this problem offer serious difficulties—it has indeed been already essentially solved. The second and third conditions must be fulfilled at the Bosphorus and the Suez Canal. This means a radical change of attitude on the part of Central Europe towards Russia as well as towards England. The writer refers to the long friendship between Germany and Russia. He cites Bismarck's remark that all the Balkans were not worth the life of a single Pomeranian grenadier.

Russia has always aimed at Constantinople, but only since the railroad has converted her fertile Southern soil into a great export wheat region, has the question of the dominion over the Turkish straits become a vital issue for her. Seventy per cent. of her grain exports pass through the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. The closing of the latter means the end of Russia's economic life, hence she must possess the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and predominate in the Balkans. But should Russia control the Balkans, Austria would be completely encircled.

Why can Germany not allow this Russian expansion? The murder of the Austrian heir to the throne, was connived at by Serbian official circles. Had Austria accepted an excuse of the Serbian Government, it would have meant her political dissolution. Germany was compelled to say: "This is the last time we shall be able to cover Austria's rear." Had they not done that the Russian frontier would ultimately have stretched to the Alps and the Adriatic. Germany could do but one of two things,—deliver up Austria, or, in conjunction with her, set her face against the onset of the Entente Powers.

The third and last, but not least important, point of security lies on the road to Egypt. England will be compelled to use the freedom of the seas if we can at some point exert a pressure against her political structure. That point is the Suez Canal. Should we proceed vigorously, the freedom of the seas will be secured. In reality, England's doom is already sealed. Scarce any one believes in the Salonika humbug. The Berlin-Constantinople line is secure and covered; the line to Anatolia (Asia-Minor) is in great part completed. Kitchener, Grey and their associates may try as they will, Greece and Rumania, will not swallow the bait. Belgium and Serbia bet on the English card,—they have lost; Italy bet on the English card,—it will lose

before long. There are footprints, indeed that lead into the English allied cave, but none that lead out of it.

The construction of the Suez Canal was England's doom. It is her misfortune that with its acquisition she was rendered open to attack by land. From the moment that Egypt became Eng-

lish, England was forced to begin a struggle against Turkey's future. Hence, her alliance with Russia and France. But the sum of these events necessarily bred the thought of a Central European power, and an indirect Central European-Oriental partnership in the coming readjustment of world conditions.

ITALY'S TOURIST TRADE

AS the crushing financial burdens imposed by the war are believed to press more heavily upon Italy than upon any other of the great powers, the attention of thoughtful Italians is naturally directed toward safeguarding her sources of national income.

One of the most important of these has long been the money expended in Italy by the thousands of foreign tourists who have annually visited that country, drawn thither by the potent charm of its historic associations and its wonderful art treasures. A recent estimate places the sum expended by them each year at \$100,000,000. At present, however, just when Italy most needs money, this golden stream is cut off, and the fear has been expressed that even after the close of the war the number of tourists may be smaller than in the years previous to its outbreak.

Undoubtedly countries like the United States, for instance, which has profited largely by the exceptional demand created for its productions, and perhaps in a lesser degree some of the South American countries, may send more visitors than before the war, but the necessity for strict economy in the lands that have been devastated by military operations, or impoverished by loss of trade and heavy taxation, will necessarily discourage foreign travel.

Moreover, the Germans, who have furnished in times past one of the largest contingents of travelers to Italy, will almost certainly avoid that country for a time because of the resentment produced by Italy's failure to uphold the Triple Alliance.

The necessity for taking timely action in this matter, and the best course to pursue, furnish material for an article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). The writer says:

In wartime no state should permit the destruction of any of the great industries or undertakings upon which it will have to count in time of peace, just as little as in time of peace it should permit the destruction of industries upon which it would have to depend in wartime. Otherwise it would inevitably encounter defeat

in war, and would be reduced to a state of economic inanition under peaceful conditions.

The tourist trade as a source of national income and as a substitute for taxation, is of enormous value to Italy; indeed, as a means of settling international obligations it is almost indispensable for our land. Hence, nothing could be more unreasonable than to let the hotel business become demoralized, as upon it will rest the task of reviving the tourist trade.

This led us to propose, a year ago, that payment of the rental charge of hotels should be postponed, a proposal that was only adopted in part, payment for half of these rentals being adjourned until the end of the war, interest at the rate of 5 per cent. a year to be charged in the meanwhile. Now, however, in view of the prolongation of the war, it becomes necessary to make similar provisions for the remaining half of the rent. If we are unwilling to allow the manager of a hotel to pay his entire rent in promissory notes or other instruments of credit, a special fund should be established, if necessary with state aid, to finance that half of the rent hotelkeepers are now required to pay while the war lasts.

This writer is evidently a firm believer in the advantages of publicity, and he calls attention to the erroneous idea prevailing among Italians that the beauties and attractions of their country are known everywhere throughout the civilized world. He holds that Italy should emulate the example set by Switzerland in getting up a magnificent volume on the beauties of that country, with attractive illustrations, a volume interesting to the general public and well adapted to be offered as a prize in schools, and issuing this at a price below the cost of publication. The wide circulation that such a book would have in foreign lands would do much to spread a knowledge of the beauties of Italian scenery, and, above all, of the historic monuments and the art treasures of Italy.

The leading foreign magazines and newspapers should also be utilized to the fullest possible extent in the propaganda. In this connection the writer notes that the cost of adequate publicity is so great that it could only be borne by the state, and he cites the instance of a newspaper that demanded 250,000 a year for "advertising Italy."

"NATIONALIZING" ITALIAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

IT may be regarded as one of the forerunners of peace, that in the belligerent countries attention is being more and more directed toward the gigantic financial and economic problems that must be solved after hostilities have ceased. *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) offers a contribution to the discussion of some of these problems, by Prof. Ghino Valenti, of Siena. The writer dwells at considerable length upon the successful commercial propaganda carried on by Germany in the past few decades, and while condemning certain of its methods, is obliged to concede its effectiveness.

As a rule the Germans have been sparing of large investments in Italian industrial undertakings, and have been clever enough to secure a considerable measure of influence in concerns largely or entirely founded by Italian capital. Sometimes German money has been used to start an enterprise, and its capable and remunerative management has soon attracted Italian capitalists, obviating the need of further German investment, and sometimes even permitting the withdrawal of the German capital already engaged. The essential point was that the commercial sources and connections of the Italian concerns should be German, thus ensuring large importations of German materials and products.

The war has, of course, temporarily nullified everything that Germany had accomplished along these lines, and at present the feeling in Italy, as in the other Entente countries, is decidedly opposed to any resumption of the former friendly, and too dependent relations with Germany. Before the war, on the other hand, German industrial and commercial penetration had been noted by only a few as a grave danger for Italy's economic status, the general trend of opinion being that it offered an opportune remedy for her deficiencies.

Of industrial conditions before the war and of the changes likely to result from it, the writer presents the following considerations:

In Italy but little steel was manufactured, because this material was furnished by Germany. Now, however, this industry is growing under pressure of the necessity for making good the interrupted importations. Capital is flowing into this channel that would not otherwise have been so employed, from fear of the crushing German competition. Who knows but that the end of the

war may find the industry so firmly established that it can maintain itself even under normal conditions? Munition factories are springing up here and there in our land, and these factories may eventually be utilized for the manufacture of the chemical products, especially the dyes, which have come to us almost exclusively from Germany. We already know to-day that certain of these munition plants are to be transformed into factories for the production of electric supplies, for which we have heretofore been forced to depend upon importations.

The whole problem is comprised in the word *nationalize*. But since this word excites a train of ideas, and perhaps of objection, we must explain it briefly. Nationalizing does not mean that Italy should become a closed field economically, so that she would have to content herself with the little that she can produce and renounce the rest. In this way our country would be condemned to retrogression as compared with the past and to remaining almost stationary as regards the future, for it is clear that if we give up importing from other lands, it would become impossible for us to send exports to them.

Nationalizing signifies developing the native resources to their fullest extent, so that nothing shall be imported that can be properly produced in the home country. This would be a great gain for our economic situation, as up to the present time we have annually been debtors to foreign countries in the sum of \$200,000,000, because of the excess of imports over exports. This indebtedness has been offset by various credit items, principally by the money spent in Italy by foreign tourists, and also by the remittances sent from foreign lands by our emigrants.

These credits, in the writer's opinion, should not have to serve merely in liquidation of foreign debts, but should be made to constitute a clear gain for Italy, as they would do if the excess of imports over exports was done away with. To this end every effort should be made to stimulate the exportation of the best Italian products, as for example, of the finer vegetables and fruits which Italy can furnish because of favorable conditions of climate and soil.

Above all, the home industries must be thoroughly reorganized and rendered more efficient, and Professor Valenti insists strongly upon the necessity of appointing foreign agents to make special investigations in foreign lands as to the opportunities for extending Italian commerce. Here, again, the example set by Germany extorts praise even from an enemy, for it is impossible to overestimate the value of the work done by German consular agents in opening up new markets for German goods and in strengthening the hold of German commerce upon the old markets.

THE PAPACY AND THE WAR

THE attitude of Pope Benedict XV in regard to the war, and his earnest efforts to mitigate some of its harsher aspects and to further the cause of peace, are impartially and critically considered by Signor Giuseppe Manacorda in *Rassegna Nazionale*. At the outset, he calls attention to the fact that nothing serves better to hold the Pope and the Roman Church aloof from the conflict of interests than the absence of any temporal possessions. Only under these circumstances can the Papacy be free from the temptation to side with one or other of the contesting groups, and the maintenance of this position depends upon a frank acceptance of the new status dating from 1870.

While it must be borne in mind that this article is written by one of the liberal Catholics, and hence cannot be taken as expressing the ideas of the clericals, the following passage will be of interest both for Roman Catholics and Protestants, although the latter can scarcely be expected to share the writer's enthusiastic faith in the power of his Church:

Often enough has the Church entered into one of those alliances called "holy" because the Pope was a party thereof, but which, on the contrary, were as purely and simply secular as any others. Indeed, history shows that the States of the Church were so governed by the all-powerful laws of political action, that when it seemed opportune they were even willing to embark in a war of conquest such as that which Clement VIII advocated against Ferrara, toward the end of the sixteenth century, moved by the purely practical and materialistic motive of extending the boundary of the Papal States up to the River Po, so as to secure a stronger and more defensible frontier.

I do not believe there is to-day in Italy a single sincere Catholic, cultured and impartial, who is disposed to deny to the capture of Rome, in 1870, the almost religious service of having restored to the Church its primitive character of an exclusively spiritual power, and since such a power is unique in the world, it appears to-day the most august of all.

The Church alone can, if she will, pronounce the word that will sink deep into the hearts of the peoples and will most move them, since it is known that she alone can speak, when she wills so to do, even against her own apparent interest. In the midst of such a subversion of the idea of God, invoked on one side and on the other by the leaders of opposing countries, often supported in this by the foremost ecclesiastical dignitaries, it is hard for the affected peoples to avoid doubt and distrust; it is hard for them to refrain from asking themselves in what degree the religious ideal, the most perfect of all, has become enslaved to state policy. Only the voice of Peter can resound above the clash of arms, far beyond



POPE BENEDICT XV

ing as the voice of God, if he be willing to again become "a fisher of men," a rescuer of shipwrecked humanity!

The chief impediment in Italy to the peace propaganda of the Pope is the distrust of his policy felt by the anti-clericals. In regard to this Signor Manacorda says:

In the anti-clerical and the Masonic press there is no inclination to ridicule as puerile the pacifist efforts of Benedict XV, but a hidden and oblique aim is ascribed to them: to acquire a certain status in the diplomatic world; to negotiate with the different cabinets; to propose himself for the role of peace-maker; above all, to find an opening for the Church in the future European Congress, where she can assert herself, especially in regard to Italy, as being still a power.

Now, if it be exceedingly difficult to pass judgment upon the intentions of others, it is still more difficult, or even impossible, to tell what share in the initiative of Benedict XV should be assigned to sentiment, pity and Christian charity—elements which surely cannot be pronounced foreign to the acts of the Pontiff—and what share belongs to political considerations. That the latter are wholly absent not even the most devoted admirer could affirm. Benedict XV, with a mind wrought and tempered by diplomatic training, does not seem to aspire to rival his predecessor in good, naive sentiment and simplicity.

What can then be the political aim which induces the Pope to pursue the course he follows? To affirm and impose the Church as a power? Or

has he not some different aim? For my part, I believe that Benedict XV neither lacks the talent nor the ability necessary to make full use of a fortunate opportunity—one historically unique, which the events of the past fifty years have given the Church by despoiling her of her temporal power, a most fortunate opportunity, I repeat, for a genuine and legitimate *revanche*,

neither in the political nor in the territorial sphere, but purely religious and social.

If I am not mistaken, the hour of the Church is approaching. From the period of the Counter Reformation down to the present day she has never perhaps encountered so propitious a combination of circumstances as the present time offers for a spiritual re-birth.

ELIHU ROOT ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL LAW

SOME things that may be done after the war to rebuild the fabric of international law so rudely shaken, if not shattered, by the great conflict, are indicated by ex-Senator Elihu Root, who was Secretary of State in the Roosevelt administration, in the *World Court*, the monthly magazine published by the International Peace Forum (New York).

"When this war is ended," says Mr. Root, "the civilized world will have to determine whether what we call international law is to be continued as a mere code of etiquette or is to be the real body of laws imposing obligations much more definite, and inevitable, than they have been heretofore. It must be one thing or the other. Vague and uncertain as the future must be, there is some reason to think that after the terrible experience through which civilization is passing there will be a tendency to strengthen, rather than abandon, the law of nations."

There is one weakness of international law as a binding force which, in Mr. Root's opinion, can be avoided only by radical change in the attitude of nations toward violations of the law.

Up to this time breaches of international law have been treated as we treat wrongs under civil procedure, as if they concerned nobody except the particular nation upon whom the injury was inflicted and the nation inflicting it. There has been no general recognition of the right of other nations to object. In general, states not directly affected by the particular injury complained of have not been deemed to have any right to be heard about it. It is only as disinterested mediators in the quarrels of others, or as rendering good offices to others, that they have been accustomed to speak, if at all. Until the first Hague Conference that form of interference was upon sufferance.

If the law of nations is to be binding there must be a change in theory. And violations of the law of such a character as to threaten the peace and order of the community of nations must be treated by analogy to criminal law. They must be deemed to be a violation of the right of every civilized nation to have the law

maintained and a legal injury to every nation. Next to the preservation of national character the most valuable possession of all peaceable nations, great and small, is the protection of those laws which constrain other nations to conduct based upon principles of justice and humanity.

Without that protection there is no safety, for the small state, except in the shift-currents of policy among its great neighbors, and none for a great state, however peaceable and just may be its disposition, except in readiness for war. International laws violated with impunity must cease to exist, and every state has a direct interest in preventing those violations which, if permitted to continue, would destroy the law. Wherever in the world the laws which should protect the independence of nations, the inviolability of their territory, the lives and property of their citizens are violated, all other nations have a right to protest against the breaking down of the law. Such a protest would not be an interference in the quarrels of others.

Mr. Root is convinced that codification is especially necessary in the case of the law of nations, because there are no legislatures to make the law, and there are no judicial decisions to establish by precedent what the law is. Students of international law have always had to resort to text-writers and to depend upon a great variety of statements differing among themselves, inconsistent, frequently obscure and vague, capable of different interpretations—in short, without any clear and definite standard enabling one to say unequivocally what the law is on any given point.

Furthermore, so rapid have been the recent changes in conditions and in international relations that they have outstripped the growth of international law itself. Mr. Root's observation and experience lead him to conclude that the law of nations at the present time does not come so near to covering the field of international conduct as it did fifty years ago. The situation, therefore, calls for codification. As Mr. Root puts it, we cannot wait for custom to lag behind the action to which the law should be applied.

A SOLDIER OF "THE LEGION"

MUCH has been written of the famous "Foreign Legion" and its gallant conduct during the war, notably in the Champagne, where it won back more than 400 kilometers of trench line. In the composite of nationalities from which the regiment was made up,—called by the Arabian bugler "The international stew,"—there were a few men of American birth who gave a good account of themselves in the fighting. One of these, a Californian, Mr. E. Morlae, is the son of a French immigrant who served as sergeant in the French army in 1870. Two days after the war began Mr. Morlae left Los Angeles for Paris, where he enlisted in the Foreign Legion. On returning to America, wounded in neck and knee, he came to Boston, where the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly* obtained his story, which appears in the March number of that magazine.

On an August day in 1915, the Foreign Legion was reviewed by the President of France and General Joffre. On that day the regiment was presented by President Poincaré with a battle flag. This ceremony marked the admission of the Foreign Legion to equal footing with the regiments of the line. Two months later (October 28) the remnants of the regiment were paraded through the streets of Paris, and with all military honors this same battle flag was taken to the Hotel des Invalides, where it was decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, and placed between two other famous standards that had been borne by French troops in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Although the flag is thus reverently preserved, the regiment itself may be said to have gone out of existence. The vast majority of its members are lying to-day on the battlefield of La Champagne. They are described by this American survivor as "adventurers, criminals, fugitives from justice, drunkards, thieves," and yet he says: "I am proud of them—proud of having been one of them; proud of having commanded some of them."

It is all natural enough. Most men who had come to know them as I have would feel as I do. You must reckon the good with the evil. You must remember their comradeship, their *esprit de corps*, their pathetic eagerness to serve France, the sole country which has offered them asylum, the country which has shown them confidence, mothered them, and placed them on an equal footing with her own sons. These things mean something to a man who has led the life of an outcast, and the Legionnaires have proved their loyalty many times over.

In my own section there were men of all races and all nationalities. There were Russians and Turks, an Anamite and a Hindu. There were



AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE LEGION REBUILDING GERMAN TRENCHES IN CHAMPAGNE

Frenchmen from God knows where. There was a German, God only knows why. There were Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks, Negroes, an Italian, and a Fiji Islander fresh from an Oxford education,—a silent man of whom it was whispered that he had once been an archbishop,—three Arabians, and a handful of Americans who cared little for the quiet life.

Of the European members of the regiment one had been a professional bicycle-thief, and when he was killed in Champagne he was serving a second enlistment. One, a Frenchman, who is described as a particularly good type of soldier, had absconded from Paris with his employer's money; another was a Parisian "Apache." The Americans in the regiment, however, were of different types. They included a newspaper artist, a negro prize-fighter, a poet, a lawyer, a Columbia professor, and a professional automobile racer. All these had volunteered for the war, but the rest of the section to which Mr.

Morlae belonged were old-time Légionnaires, most of them serving their second enlistment of five years, and some their third. All were seasoned soldiers, veterans of many battles in Algiers and Morocco. The section complete numbered sixty. Twelve of the number survive, and of these there are still several in the hospital recovering from wounds. More than half the section were killed in battle. Mr. Morlae himself saw eighteen of them buried in Champagne.

The record seems somber enough, yet this was regarded as the lucky section in the company. Section III, on the night of the first day's fighting in Champagne, mustered eight men out of the forty-two who had fallen into line that morning. Section IV lost in that one day more than half of its effectives. Section II lost seventeen out of thirty-eight. "War did its work thoroughly with the Legion. We had the place of honor in the attack, and we paid for it."

After the charge had been made with the brilliant success that is now a matter of his-

tory, what was left of the Legion held its ground doggedly under the shell-fire of the enemy. Morlae himself had to be dug out after he had been covered by several cubic meters of dirt thrown on him by the explosion of a ten-inch shell. He was unconscious for a time, but soon regained his strength, and with two comrades succeeded in capturing six German prisoners. Then it was that he had this odd experience:

I wanted to know the time and felt along my belt. One of the straps had been cut clean through and my wallet, which had held 265 francs, had been neatly removed. Some one of my men, who had risked his life for mine with a self-devotion that could scarcely be surpassed, had felt that his need was greater than mine. Whoever he was, I bear him no grudge. Poor chap, if he lived he needed the money—and that day he surely did me a good turn. Besides, he was a member of the Legion.

Our hero then placed sentries and was just dropping off to sleep when two of his comrades brought the Captain's compliments and the assurance of an honorable mention.

DID GERMANY SOLEMNLY PLEDGE HOLLAND'S NEUTRALITY?

A VERITABLE tempest has suddenly broken out in the Dutch press over a question which was asked a short time ago by the Dutch periodical, *Vragen des Tijds*. The daily press first contradicted the periodical, and the government itself has been drawn into the whirl. The question was: "Why has it been kept a secret from the Dutch people, that Germany solemnly pledged herself to respect our neutrality?"

Answering the implied thrust at the government for keeping secret such a vital pledge as this, the semi-official organ, *De Nieuwe Courant* retorts:

It is not true that this pledge has been kept secret; in our issue of August 3, 1914, we said that, "We learn from the best informed authority that Germany has not changed her intention of respecting scrupulously Holland's neutrality." This declaration was given spontaneously, we believe, to Baron Gevers in Berlin by officials of the German Government.

The *Vragen des Tijds* asks very pertinently since when "according to best informed authority" and "intention to respect" are equivalent to "solemnly pledged her word."

But why did Minister Cort van der Linden dodge the clear answer to the question, by saying "No secret treaty between the two countries exists!" When von Jagow used the expression in his telegram, why did not the government protest? Of course, the Dutch government is not responsible for the phraseology of an official German telegram, but why did it permit the country to get the idea as if Germany had made the pledge, referred to by von Jagow? And now that the government knows what doubts and perplexities the expression has raised in the Dutch nation, why does it not take the trouble to remove the doubts by a plain statement? What secrets of state can be violated if Minister Cort van der Linden speaks out freely? Why did he say when he was asked if the "solemnly pledged word" was a new promise or merely another version of the German promise of its intention to respect Holland's neutrality—"There is no secret treaty!" Why did he not say: "Holland has not alone no secret treaty but has retained its full freedom of action in all questions connected with the present war, not only in regard to Germany, but also the other warring powers!"

We still believe that such an answer would serve to remove this legend of a secret German treaty in the quickest manner.

The government is to be interpolated in the Chamber of Deputies concerning Minister van der Linden's dementi—now that a hint from this side is coming, perhaps the government will discover that in this case "Silence is silver, and talking is gold!"

THE CRY OF UKRAINE

UKRAINIA, or "Little Russia," is a territory that at present is divided between Russia, Hungary, and Austria, the bulk lying in Russia on either side the River Dneiper. To the west it stretches to the Carpathians, to the east to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The inhabitants of this country—the so-called Little Russians of Russia, and the Ruthenians of Austria-Hungary—remember their self-government of long ago, and consider themselves a distinct race entitled to their own preferred form of government, "a language, a history, and a future." An appeal on behalf of the thirty-five million Ukrainians has been compiled from articles by members of the National Ukrainian Association. It includes papers by Edwin Björkman, Simon O. Pollock, Professor M. Hrushovsky, and Professor O. Hoetzsch.

Mr. Björkman states that Ukraine means "borderland"; and that the name was first applied to the steppes along the southern Polish frontier, where the Tartar was a constant menace:

Large numbers of the peasants fled to these steppes to escape the tyranny of the Polish *pans* or Russia *boyars* and there they began to form nomadic organizations with a minimum of discipline.

As they grew in numbers and became hardened by their strenuous life, their former masters conceived the idea of granting them land and a large degree of self-government under elected *hetmans* on condition that they should furnish an ever-ready force of defense against the marauding Tartar.

The land and the semi-freedom of these frontiersmen have long since been taken back by the Russian Government, but the seed of freedom has not perished. Ukraine still hopes for an independent national existence, and the Ukrainians are exerting themselves to give to the world the knowledge of their persistence as a separate racial group, and their desire for self-government.

The European territory where the Ukrainians constitute an overwhelming majority or a considerable percentage of the population is larger than Germany and twice as large as France.

The original and principal home regions of the Ukrainians are among the richest known to man. Since the days of ancient Greece, they have been one of the world's main granaries. They com-

prise the better part of the black-earth belt (*chornozem*) which reaches from the foot-hills of the Carpathians to the Ural Mountains. The peculiar color and almost unequalled fertility of the soil are caused by the presence in its upper layers of an unusually large proportion—from five to seventeen per cent.—of humus or decaying vegetable matter. As the climate is milder, too, the Ukrainians are able to harvest immense crops of every sort of grain, of Indian corn and beet-root, of watermelons and pumpkins, of tobacco and grapes. And their territory is also rich in mineral resources. Left to themselves, they would be wealthy as Iowa farmers. Instead they are poor—beyond description in some districts—and getting poorer every year.

The Ukrainian people are described as naturally intellectual, possessing taste and poetic fancy, and of gayer and gentler natures than the Great Russians.



HEAVY BLACK LINE OUTLINING UKRAINIAN TERRITORY IN RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

(From the Bulletin of the Anthropological Society of Paris)

Art, poetry, and music and craftsmanship have always been at home among them—in so far as their rulers have permitted. They love the theater. Their folk melodies are admired throughout Russia and ought to be known everywhere. They are good workmen, too, and great gardeners. Even a very poor Ukrainian home looks like a house rather than a hut, is kept scrupulously clean, contains some touch of beauty, and possesses a garden patch that yields flowers as well as vegetables.

The Ukrainians were always far in advance of the Great Russians in their learning. When Peter the Great tried to turn Russia into a civilized country, he took his assistants almost entirely from the Ukraine. The names of the novelist Gogol and the poet Taras Shevchenko are associated forever with Ukrainian nationalism. Gogol immortalized the hatred of the free Cossacks for their Polish oppressors in his great novel "Taras Bulba" and Shevchenko, who was at the heart of the whole movement to—

ward freedom, Mr. Björkman writes, is acknowledged to be Ukraina's "foremost prophet, martyr, and genius." Shevchenko was born a serf and set free by Russian literary men who admired his gifts. But he devoted his whole talent to arousing the latent nationalism among the Ukrainians, and was sent by the Czar to Orenburg, Siberia, where for ten years he was not allowed to paint or write. He returned to his native land a wreck of his former self and died at the age of forty-seven in the year 1861.

But his work had been done. His name had already become the rallying cry of his people. On the banks of his beloved Dneiper they raised a simple monument in memory of his faith, his martyrdom and his achievement.

Professor Michael Hrushevsky, Professor of History at the Polish-Ukrainian university at Lemberg, writes of the Ukrainian fitness for self-government:

The widely circulated opinion that the Ukrainian nation is ill-fitted for self-organization is contradicted by historical facts. . . . An immense country, with inexhaustible natural resources, though being exploited in a very disastrous manner, with indications of a future highly developed state of factory and mill industry, and a commerce possessing very important transit facilities and the proximity of the sea, Ukraine has every

chance for material, and subsequently for spiritual, development.

The great fear of Ukraine is that it may be included in the territory of an autonomous Greater Poland. Otto Hoetzsch, Professor of History in Posen and Berlin, writes that the years 1907-1914 have brought about marvelous changes in the Ukrainian national life, that their "nationalistic point of view has been strengthened immensely," and that the "ranks of Ukrainian patriots have grown continually."

In all fields of public life, of political, literary and economic activity, we see everywhere alongside of the representatives of the old generation swarms of young, active Ukrainian intellectuals who have already passed through periods of adherence to the school of the Ukrainian revolutionaries and that of the Ukrainian Democratic Workingmen's Party. Efforts to organize and consolidate are apparent everywhere. The Ukrainian emigrants, in predominant numbers, belong to the young intellectuals. These emigrants were and are still in close relation to the Russian Ukrainians, with whom they are intimately connected by purely personal ties and those of organizations for spiritual advancement. Among the young generation of Ukrainian intellectuals the idea of founding a society for the liberation of the Ukraine originated in 1912. Now in the turmoil of present occurrences, this society, uniting all the parties working for the independence of Russian Ukraine already appears as a serious national-political factor.

MENTAL EFFECTS OF HUNGER

THE driving force that rules the bulk of humanity, in common with the rest of the animal world, is hunger. And Mother Nature has doubly emphasized the necessity of satisfying the appetite by providing pangs of punishment for the neglect of this duty, and the immediate reward of agreeable sensation for its fulfilment. The very obviousness of these physical effects of hunger may explain why the associated effects on the mind have been but little regarded, or at least imperfectly studied, till a comparatively recent date. The mental phenomena resultant on prolonged hunger, are, however, exceedingly interesting, and even important in their bearing on such sociological questions as municipal feeding of school-children or of other wards of the State. A writer in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Umschau* (Cöthen) gives a résumé of these effects as noted by various scientific and other observers, introducing his article by remarking that in war it is not always possible to feed all the troops regularly,—for example, victorious regiments

may pursue a retreating enemy so hotly that the commissary department cannot keep up with them. He continues:

On this account it is at present of double interest to know the consequences of hunger. In scientific investigations of the mental conditions particularly, which follow complete or temporary deprivation of food, care must be taken to distinguish among different sorts of food-deprivation: voluntary abstention for exhibition purposes as in the case of hunger-artists; compulsory abstention in cases of illness, such as acute fevers, hysteria, and acute mental maladies; hunger caused by poverty, high prices, shipwreck, entombment in mines, etc., the rare examples of abstention with suicidal intent; and finally fasting on religious grounds.

One of the most interesting chapters under this theme is the study of the temporary delirium due to prolonged abstention, as in cases of shipwreck.

The author remarks that cases of shipwreck have furnished unusually reliable data upon this subject, since in many instances there have been included among the castaways physicians, who would naturally be

both interested in making such observations and capable of accurate observation. As a result of such observations it is stated that abstention of food, when not of too long duration, and when voluntary and accustomed, results in stimulated activity of the intellect, and particularly of the imagination. But if this deprivation is too long continued there occurs a singular alteration in the character and behavior of the subject, finding expression in "peculiar irritability of temperament, in extraordinary egoism, and even in frightfulness." The writer proceeds thus:

At the same time unmistakable disturbances of the intellect appear, partial loss of memory, of will-power, and of self-control, and a tendency to obey sudden and irresistible impulses which arise quite instinctively. In more serious cases the mental disturbances become especially marked at night, being exhibited in sleeplessness, startling dreams, oppressive nightmares (alp drücken), sensory illusions, wild visions (Wahnvorstellungen), and dangerous impulses. If such mental disturbances appear also by day a very serious condition is indicated, which may become exceedingly dangerous.

The writer here raises a vitally important point in regard to the legal responsibility for shocking deeds known to have been committed by men who had been suffering from prolonged hunger. The victim of such a condition may suffer both from advanced hallucinations and from ungovernable impulses, so as to be morally unaccountable for his acts. Here is a delicate matter for judicial decision, since it is often impossible to determine subsequently just what the degree of delirium and irresponsibility at the time of a criminal action was. Most curious of all, there is said to be a well-established analogy between the delirium induced by prolonged fasting and that resulting from alcoholic excess, strange as it may seem.

In the mental states consequent on hunger and on drunkenness we find the same disturbance of the intellect, of the moral sense, and of conduct. Both clinical and experimental observations have proved that the phenomena due to over-indulgence in alcohol and those due to deprivation and lack of nutrition are somewhat extensively in correspondence.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN CHINA

THERE are people in English-speaking countries who consider the question of English spelling an acute one! There are nations of continental Europe in which perpetual dissension reigns with regard to the use or non-use of particular languages or dialects for particular purposes. In short, almost every country has its language question. If, however, linguistic troubles sometimes assume serious proportions in the Occident, they rise to the level of a national curse of the first magnitude in China.

That her language is the most formidable obstacle to China's progress, and hence is the problem that most urgently demands attention on the part of her government, is the theme of a contributor to the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai and Manila), who signs himself "Sams Grent."

China is disunited because of her many spoken dialects; the bulk of her population remains in dire ignorance, because only the fortunate few can find time to acquire a competent knowledge of the written language; and, lastly, linguistic difficulties impose a stupendous burden upon business of all kinds, including that of the government.

If all the officials of the United States had to send in their reports to their superiors in Greek

and Latin, or even in the old English of the time of Chaucer, we would find, as in China, thousands of stylists and copyists in each and every office of the government. This is true in China to-day. The present official class is supposed to be the educated class, but rarely is an individual found who can compose a report or a petition in the proper style, and if he happens to be able to

啓者本行與華俄道勝銀行代匯中國與各國匯兌各國各埠有分行接理匯單交銀快捷本行並接積貯及赤部來往積貯香港年息四厘半六個月四厘北京上海省城香港日本皆有分行代理

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代理人楊樂謹啓

do that much, it is more than likely that he is unable to write the characters in such a form as to present the requisite appearance of neatness.

It has been estimated that from 15 to 20 per cent. of the expenditure on the upkeep of a staff in any office of the government is absorbed on account of the employment of stylists and copyists. One who issues an order or a request is compelled to wait for hours before the stylists and copyists are able to turn it out in the proper form.

If this state of affairs is true of government circles, how much more true is it of the man in business. In nearly every shop of any size in China there will be found a stylist and a copyist. The little shop on the corner or in some side street must seek a public writer or the secretary of some customer to write for him. The immense amount of time and money wasted daily in China in the cause of the style of writing and the making of neat characters is not only appalling but entirely useless.

Out of the approximately four hundred millions of dollars expended every year in China in the administration of the government, it will be found, after deducting the expenditure for the army and navy, that from twenty-five to thirty millions are spent in the upkeep of stylists and copyists. The hundreds of clerks found around the average government office are merely there to write. It would not be an exaggeration to state that 30 per cent. of the total number of employees in the various boards in Peking are there solely as penmen.

No wonder that the Chinese way of expressing the idea that a government office is particularly hard-worked is to say that there are many "documents."

In most of the documents so prepared it is not the idea that has first place. It is first the style, second, the form of the character, and last the idea to be conveyed.

There is much talk in China of establishing compulsory education, but the writer believes that the first step in such an undertaking must be the simplification and unification of the language. Style and calligraphy must be sacrificed to a great extent, before the written language can really become the common possession of the Chinese people.

In spite of the educational movements of recent years, the government is now spending fifty times as much upon the army and navy as upon education. Yet the money devoted to military purposes is largely thrown away, because the army and navy are hopelessly inefficient. The writer believes that the education of the people would, in the long run, contribute vastly more to the building up of a virile nation, able to defend itself against foreign aggression, than the maintenance of an ignorant and essentially unpatriotic army, such as, in his opinion, China now has.

He urges that as soon as possible the government appoint a board of scholars to undertake sweeping reforms in the language. As to the written language:

It has been stated by many that from thirty-five hundred to five thousand Chinese characters are sufficient for the daily needs of expression, no matter what the subject may be, and it should be the first duty of this board to make up the vocabulary of the language. That is, a simple and concise vocabulary, covering the characters that are in ordinary and constant use in the spoken Mandarin, which is very direct and clear, should be first considered. There should be a Chinese dictionary for the man in the street, and this should contain the most useful of the characters. There should be a regular course of study covering a definite period of time that will be consumed in the mastering of this vocabulary. All text-books should be compiled from it, and the dictionary should be able to explain any and all words used the first five years of the school life of the average pupil. In other words, the primary school education should be such as to give the pupil the use of these characters.

This is in sharp contrast to the immemorial custom of having children of all classes, in case they get any education at all, devote their early years to the study of "classics," having little relation to modern life.

The telegraph code alone is a fair example of the average limit of Chinese expression, and that code, we believe, does not contain over five thousand characters. A complete canvassing of the language for those words found to be most often used, and most expressive of meaning, would evolve a most complete vocabulary for daily use. No text-book should be allowed in schools of certain grades unless it used the words that occur in this vocabulary. . . . For higher education, and purely literary courses, there should be further compilations of dictionaries, vocabularies, etc.

Finally, the writer proposes the abolition of the so-called "correct" character, now used, in favor of the "grass" character, which is much easier and quicker to write. Newspapers should be required to use type corresponding to this simpler form, and it should be employed in all official documents.

With regard to the more difficult problem of unifying the spoken language, the author urges that every effort be made to spread the use of the Mandarin dialect.

In the supplement to the *National Review* (Shanghai) for January 29, will be found an address by the Minister of Education on the subject of the newly invented Chinese alphabet designed to simplify the written language and standardize the pronunciation.



DR. ABRAHAM FLEXNER

(Author of "The Modern School" (Who pleads for revolutionary changes in our secondary schools) —see page 495)

DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT

CHAIRMAN FREDERICK T. GATES,
OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION
BOARD

SENSE-TRAINING IN HIGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT'S latest contribution to educational discussion is a plea for the training of the senses in our secondary schools. His argument appears in "Occasional Papers No. 2," one of the publications of the General Education Board.

Beginning with the observation that the best part of all human knowledge has come to us through the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch, and that the most important part of education has always been the training of the senses through which that best part of knowledge comes, Dr. Eliot points out two results of this training in the individual besides the faculty of accurate observation,—one, the acquisition of some sort of skill, the other the habit of careful reflection and measured reasoning which results in precise statement and record.

The illustrations of sense training, including the baby's first efforts in observation and experimentation; the opportunities enjoyed by the boy on a farm for training eye, ear, and hand; the discipline of the fundamental trades, such as those of the carpenter, mason, blacksmith, wheelwright, tinker, hand leather worker, and shoemaker, are familiar and obvious. Dr. Eliot's proposition that the training of the senses should always have been a prime object in human education at every stage from primary to professional, seems almost axiomatic, and yet there will be no one to dispute his contention

that this form of training has never in the past been a "prime object" in our educational systems, and is not to-day.

Literature, as he shows, was the chief basis of the education that our modern world has inherited from ancient times. These were its principal materials: Elementary mathematics, sacred and profane writings, both prose and poetry, including descriptive narrative, history, philosophy, and religion, and the study of the fine arts. This latter form of culture has survived in some parts of Europe in far greater vigor than in England or America. In Dr. Eliot's opinion the varied skill of the artist in music, painting, sculpture, and architecture "has been a saving element in national education, although it affected strongly only a limited number of persons."

Since England was less influenced by artistic culture than the nations of the continent, and American secondary and higher education copied English models, being also affected by the Puritan, Scotch Presbyterian, and Quaker disdain for the fine arts, very little time was given in our secondary schools to the cultivation of the perceptive power through music and drawing. As a rule, says Dr. Eliot, "the young men admitted to American colleges can neither draw nor sing; and they possess no other skill of eye, ear, or hand." As far as athletic sports are concerned only exceptional persons acquire a

high degree of skill, which is itself of a coarser kind than the skill required by the artist and the skilled workman.

In only one profession does Dr. Eliot find that educational processes have been changed as a result of the revolutionary developments of the past fifty years in physical, chemical, and biological science. The medical student now receives individual training in the use of his senses, and this training is given by experts in the use of their own eyes, ears, and hands in diagnosis and treatment. It is Dr. Eliot's conclusion that what has already been done in medical education needs to be done in all other forms of education, whether for trades or for professions, whether for occupations chief in manual or for those chief in mental.

The changes which, in Dr. Eliot's opinion, ought to be made immediately in programs of American secondary schools are chiefly these:

The introduction of more hand, ear, and eye work—such as drawing, carpentry, turning, music, sewing, and cooking, and the giving of much more time to the sciences of observation—chemistry, physics, biology, and geography—not political, but geological and ethnographical geography. These sciences should be taught in the most concrete manner possible—that is in laboratories with ample experimenting done by the individual pupil with his own eyes and hands, and in the field through the pupil's own observation guided by expert leaders. In secondary schools situated in the country the elements of agriculture should have an important place in the program, and the pupils should all work in the school gardens and experimental plots, both individually and in cooperation with others. In city schools a manual training should be given which would prepare a boy for any one of many different trades, not by familiarizing him with the details of actual work in any trade, but by giving him an all-around bodily vigor, a nervous system capable of multiform coordinated efforts, a liking for doing his best in competition with mates, and a widely applicable skill of eye and hand. Again, music should be given a substantial place in the program of every secondary school, in order that all the pupils may learn musical notation, and may get much practise in reading music and in singing. Drawing, both freehand and mechanical, should be given ample time in every secondary school program; because it is an admirable mode of expression which supplements language and is often to be preferred to it, lies at the foundation of excellence in many arts and trades, affords simultaneously good training for both eye and hand, and gives much enjoyment throughout life to the possessor of even a moderate amount of skill.

In order to introduce these new subjects in the existing secondary schools of the United States, Dr. Eliot proposes, first, that the memory subjects and mathematics shall

be somewhat reduced as regards number of assigned periods in the week; secondly, that afternoon hours shall be utilized, or, in other words, that the school day shall be lengthened; and, thirdly, that the long summer vacation shall be reduced. There is no good reason for turning city children into the streets for more than two months every summer, and since the new subjects all require bodily as well as mental exertion, they can be added to the memory subjects without risk to the health of the children; provided that the shops, laboratories, and exercising rooms be kept cool and well ventilated. In rural schools, a good part of the new work in sowing, planting, cultivating, and harvesting must be done out of doors.

Dr. Eliot is convinced that every school plant, whether in the city or country, should be used not only by the regular pupils during the hours from eight to half-past eight, and four to half-past four, but by older youths or adults at hours outside the working time in the prevailing industries in the town or city where the school is situated. The efforts to introduce continuation schools and to develop evening schools should, in his opinion, result speedily in a large extension of the American public school system.

Institutions like Hampton and Tuskegee, which show how to learn by actual seeing, hearing, touching, and doing, instead of by reading and committing to memory, point the way for the improvement in secondary schools which Dr. Eliot advocates. "They have proved that the mental powers, as well as the bodily powers, are strongly developed by the kind of instruction they give; so that nobody need apprehend that reduced attention to memory subjects, with increased attention to the training of the senses, the muscles, and the nerves, will result in a smaller capacity for sound thinking and for the exercise of an animating good-will."

The Country School of To-Morrow

AN earlier paper published by the General Education Board, written by the chairman of the Board, Mr. Frederick T. Gates, pictures a country school "in which young and old will be taught in practicable ways how to make rural life beautiful, intelligent, fruitful, recreative, healthful, and joyous."

For this ideal school, serving a township containing 150 families or more, Mr. Gates requires a group of school buildings to be placed as near the center as possible, and for the more distant pupils he would arrange

daily conveyance in groups. Everybody will be included in the aims of this township school, old as well as young.

Every industry in the district finds place in our curriculum. Every kitchen, barn, dairy, shop, is a laboratory for our school. The growing crops, the orchards, the vineyards, the gardens, the forests, the streams, the domestic animals, nay, even the tools of every farm, are part of our scientific equipment. The horizon forms the walls of our museum of natural history and the sky its roof, and all the life within is material and specimen for our study.

The school would minister to the needs of the community in the matter of health, housing, clothing, and food. Ample school grounds would be necessary for the school itself is to be within the limits of child life, a microcosm of the life of the whole community. On these school grounds the community of children would have a common social and perhaps a common manufacturing and commercial life of its own. Under the guidance of skilled instructors, the children

would conduct farming operations, as well as cooking, sewing, and all the industries existing in the township.

As to the essential features of the old curriculum, the teaching of the three R's, Mr. Gates has this to say:

The moment we cease to pursue the three R's as abstract ends, disassociated with anything which the child has experienced, and bring them forward only when and as the child needs to use them in his business, he will pick them up as readily as ball and bat. We are under no extreme necessity of penning children in a room and chaining them to a bench and there branding the three R's upon them. The difficulties of school life, disciplinary and otherwise, are of the teacher's making. They belong to a false method that has become traditional. How do we teach children to use carpenter's tools, for illustration? By studying pictures of these tools in books or by putting the tools themselves into the hands of the children, with material to work upon, and things to make? Precisely so with the three R's. They are nothing in the world but tools. Give them to the children as tools that they now need in something definitely put before them, and they will learn to use them easily and naturally.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND PREPAREDNESS

THE opposition of the American Federation of Labor, and especially of its president, Samuel Gompers, to the development of militarism in this country has been made known on more than one occasion. There is more than ordinary significance, therefore, in the fact that the opening article of the *American Federationist* for March is contributed by Mr. Gompers himself, under the title "Justice and Democracy, the Handmaids of Preparedness." This utterance may be taken as a representative statement of the attitude of organized labor in this country toward the current discussion on national preparedness.

Considering preparedness as an economic as well as a civic and military problem Mr. Gompers insists that the principles of human welfare can no more be ignored in military matters or in plans for national defense than in commerce or industry. "National policies, whether political or military, must be in accord with broad, democratic ideas that recognize all factors and value each according to the service that it performs. There is a human side to all of our national problems, whether industrial, commercial, political or military."

One of the demands emphatically asserted by Mr. Gompers is that all policies and plans for national defense shall be determined by representatives of all the people. Thus the organized labor movement, which holds itself to be the only means for voicing the will and desires of the great masses of American citizenship, asserts its right to representation in all committees, commissions, or bodies that decide upon preparedness for and the conduct of military defense.

The working people of all nations, says Mr. Gompers, are always those most vitally affected by military service in times of peace or war. Since they have been the chief sufferers from evils of militarism, they should be the most interested in safeguarding our own national defense plans from dangers and from evils of militarism, such as have overtaken other nations.

Mr. Gompers distinguished sharply between preparedness and militarism. Both, he says, leave an indelible impression upon the nation, one for freedom and the other for repression. Militarism is a perversion of preparedness.

The labor movement, according to Mr. Gompers, is itself militant. "The workers

understand the necessity for power and its uses. They fully appreciate the important function that power exercises in the affairs of the world." They believe, too, that the very existence of power and ability to use it constitute a defense against unreasonable and unwarranted attack. So there should be ability and readiness for self-defense as safeguards against unnecessary and useless wars.

Among the pernicious results of militarism have been the building up of a separate military caste and the subordination of civic institutions to military government and military standards. It is contended by Mr. Gompers that when military institutions and military service are separated from the general life of the people they tend to subvert the ideals of civic life and to that extent become dangerous to the best interests of the nation. Mr. Gompers, therefore, would democratize thoroughly all military service.

The rights and privileges of citizenship impose a duty upon all who enjoy them. That duty involves service to the nation in all relations of the common life including its defense against attack and the maintenance of national institutions and ideals.

There are no citizens of our country who are more truly patriotic than the organized wage-earners—or all of the wage-earners. We have done our share in the civic life of the nation as well as in the nation's wars. We have done our share to protect the nation against insidious at-

tacks from within that were directed at the very heart of our national life and would have inevitably involved us in foreign complications. The wage-earners stood unflinchingly for ideals of honor, freedom and loyalty. Their wisdom and their patriotism served our country in a time of great need. No one can question that the wage-earners of the United States are patriotic in the truest sense. No one can question their unwillingness to fight for the cause of liberty, freedom and justice. No one can question the value of the ideals that direct the labor movement.

Though we may realize the brutality of war, though we may know the value of life, yet we know equally well what would be the effects upon the lives and the minds of men who would lose their rights, who would accept denial of justice rather than hazard their physical safety. The progress of all the ages has come as the result of protests against wrongs and cruel conditions and through assertion of rights and effective demands for justice. Our own freedom and republican form of government have been achieved by resistance to tyranny and insistence upon rights. Freedom and democracy dare not be synonymous with weakness. They exist only because there is a vision of the possibilities of human life, faith in human nature and the will to make these things realities even against the opposition of those who see and understand less truly.

Very little progress has been made in the affairs of the world in which resistance and insistence are not involved. Not only must man have a keen sense of his own rights, but the will and the ability to maintain those rights with effective persistence. Resistance to injustice and tyranny and low ideals is inseparable from a virile fighting quality that has given purpose and force to enabling causes—to all nations.

TAKING STOCK OF OUR NATIONAL VITALITY

THE March number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS contained a brief account of the scheme of compulsory health insurance which it is proposed to inaugurate in the State of New York. The promoters of this project hope to induce other States, and ultimately the whole nation, to adopt similar schemes. In connection with any general system of health insurance it is essential to know how much sickness normally prevails in the community. Comparatively little information has been gathered under this head in the United States. A recent number of *Public Health Reports*, in presenting the results of a community sickness survey made last year in Rochester, N. Y., points out the desirability of having such surveys carried out on a national scale in connection with the decennial censuses, and remarks that "the life-conservation movement of to-

day, as a basis for a constructive program, has a deep need for a scientific and accurate measure of sickness and its effects."

The same need was emphasized by Mr. E. E. Rittenhouse, in his address as chairman and retiring vice-president of Section I, American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the recent meeting in Columbus. This address is published in *Science*. Taking as his point of departure the present agitation in behalf of national defense in a military sense, the author urges that the health and vitality of the nation is a factor of capital importance in the problem of preparedness for war, and that for this reason—if for no other—it behooves Congress to establish a "national vitality commission."

Such a commission should be authorized by Congress and appointed by the President and consist of, say, fifteen members selected from a

list of our most eminent authorities in this field of science.

An official body of this character would command attention and confidence. It would not only enlighten the public, but it would stimulate to action our school and health officials, and the appropriating authorities back of them, in spreading knowledge of individual hygiene and healthful living generally. This would help to check both communicable and degenerative affections which are causing such an excessive drain upon national vitality.

If the State can teach us how to combat germ diseases (which it is doing), why not organic diseases, which are virtually all preventable or deferable?

Modern progress has freed us from many mental and physical burdens. It has given us wealth, comforts, luxuries, pleasures, and opportunities for gaining knowledge far beyond the dreams of our forefathers. It has removed many dangers from our paths and lengthened the average years of life, all of which we gladly acknowledge.

But we must also recognize that while American life strain has decreased in some respects it has increased in others. We must admit that our civilization, in addition to its blessings, has brought us habits and hazards of life and degenerative influences which promote physical deterioration.

One reason why we have been altogether too complacent regarding the health of the nation is that our vital statistics, such as they are, have led to misconceptions.

For instance, the average person interprets the declining general death rate and the increase in the average years of life as a sign that the race is growing stronger, that its capacity to stand the stress of modern life is increasing. The fact is overlooked that the decline in the death rate in recent years is almost wholly due to the saving of lives in infancy, childhood, and early adult life from the germ diseases. These diseases are really accidents. They are not the result of the wear and tear of life. The declining death rate means, then, not that we have grown physically stronger, but that we have learned to step around certain dangers.

Two points of ominous importance in this connection are, first, that "the death rate in middle life and old age from the degenerative diseases has increased steadily for years," and, second, that our population now includes an immense number of physically sub-standard people who, but for modern methods of dealing with germ diseases, would have been eliminated in early life. Science is responsible for "the survival of the weak."

The decline in physical activity has had an important bearing upon national vitality. We have millions of people, mostly bred from generations of outdoor or unusually active ancestors, who are now working in offices, stores, and the

industries where little or no physical exertion or even concentration of mind is required.

Mr. Rittenhouse draws up, in the form of a "bill of particulars," a long list of "the conditions and reasons justifying the appointment of a scientific commission to investigate and report on the trend of national vitality," including such details as that

A marked increase has occurred in the death rate from diseases of the nervous and digestive systems, heart, and arterial system, kidneys, and urinary system—19 per cent. in ten years.

At least 8,500,000 men (of total 28 million), age eighteen to sixty, have evidences of approaching organic disease or already have it in one or more forms.

Health and life waste from tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and other germ diseases is still excessive; about 350,000 deaths annually.

The mortality from cancer is rapidly increasing. Annual deaths about 75,000.

Accidental deaths have steadily increased and now number nearly 90,000 annually.

Four out of every ten deaths (all causes) are preventable.

Two billion dollars is the estimated annual economic waste due to preventable sickness and preventable deaths in the United States.

The birth rate is steadily declining—especially among the well-to-do classes—and at least 200,000 babies die every year from preventable disease.

There are 9,000,000 unmarried women and 8,000,000 unmarried men in the United States.

The divorce rate is increasing. In Chicago one suit is filed for every six marriage licenses issued.

Not less than 75 per cent. of school children need attention for physical defects or impairments prejudicial to health.

The large number of mental defectives and backward children in our schools presents a serious educational problem.

Idiocy and insanity are apparently increasing.

An enormous number of people are suffering from drug habits and alcoholism.

Medical men claim that victims of venereal disease are rapidly increasing.

Suicides continue to increase and have now reached the enormous total of over 15,000 annually. In ten years, 42,000 people have taken their lives in 100 cities.

America's murder rate is extraordinary. About 30 per million as against 7 to 20 for other nations.

Undoubtedly the Government should be firmer in dealing with the perennial problem of public health—a problem involving far graver conditions than any to be apprehended from inadequate military resources—but Mr. Rittenhouse hardly makes it clear why this cannot be done by strengthening existing official agencies, especially the national Public Health Service, rather than by creating a new one.

THE WASTE OF MONEY FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS

AT this period of each year, Congress spends most of its time framing and debating appropriation bills. Some of these measures relate to the vast governmental organization centering at Washington, and others to national services, such as the postal system and the army and navy. Still others appropriate money from the federal treasury for expenditure in the various States. In this class are bills for pensions, river and harbor improvements, and public buildings.

Under our present system, the requests or proposals for these local expenditures originate in the States; and pressure is exerted upon Congressmen and Senators from their home districts. Each one is tempted to get as much federal aid as he can for his district. The individual harm through such a system is slight, but the cumulative effect is often appalling.

In the *World's Work* for February, Mr. Burton J. Hendrick describes one of these "pork" bills and its journey through Congress. He chooses as a specimen the Public Buildings bill of 1913, which, while typical, is described as "the most odious bill of its kind." He tells us how it was prepared:

The Committee on Public Buildings receives about 5000 bills a session. It decides how many each Congressman and Senator is to have. The favored bills—usually between three and four hundred—are then converted into one great omnibus measure. The omnibus bill contains many needed buildings; with them, however, there are scores that are simply criminal waste. Congress has to accept or reject the bill as a whole. Nearly every Congressman has his favorite item, but he cannot get it passed without voting for all the others. In order that he may go back and face his people, he votes for about 300 post offices—good, bad, and indifferent—in order that he may land his own particular prize. As one Congressman said of the 1913 bill, "it ties together everybody with an item in it." "I understand," said another, "that it has been so scientifically prepared that it cannot be defeated." What the speaker meant was that the items had been so wisely distributed that everybody was bound to vote for the whole bill.

That particular bill was debated in the House for only forty minutes, and passed. It was sent over to the Senate carrying appropriations of \$25,000,000. The Senators added so many items of their own that the completed measure cost the country \$45,000,000.

The bill then went to the President; and

we quote Mr. Hendrick's account of "the final act of this drama":

As his signature is necessary to make the bill a law, Mr. Taft, in accordance with American legislative methods, is entitled to a "slice of pork." Indeed, his power is greater than that of any Senator or Congressman—as great as that of both Houses combined. Mr. Burnett and Senator Sutherland accept this situation. This is pure Congressional logic. Mr. Taft in a few hours will leave the White House and become a professor at Yale, in New Haven, Conn. New Haven, the President's future home, demands a new post office and court house; in fact, to be entirely fair, it sadly needs one. A previous Congress has set aside \$800,000 for this enterprise—a sum large enough to supply all this city's legitimate requirements. I tell the rest of the story in Congressman Burnett's words, from the *Congressional Record*: "President Taft stated to us," said Mr. Burnett in a speech to Congress, "that he would stand for a bill of a certain size and that he was interested in a building he would very much like to have us make an appropriation for, which, as I recollect, we had already agreed upon, which building was in a city where he was expecting to be professor in a college." To which Mr. Austin, of Tennessee, another member of the committee, added: "I said, 'Let us offer him something and get him interested in it and get as large a bill as we can.'" So the New Haven appropriation is increased from \$800,000 to \$1,200,000.

Many specific instances of extravagance are cited by Mr. Hendrick. Utah was "recognized" (Mr. Sutherland of that State having charge of the bill in the Senate) to the tune of \$50,000 post-offices at Eureka, Vernal, and Spanish Fork. One of these towns has a population of less than 900.

Jasper, Ala., with 2500 population, was given a post-office to cost \$107,000. Altus, Woodward, Shawnee, and Durant—all in Oklahoma—were voted post-offices or court-houses costing from \$80,000 to \$125,000.

In all, 303 buildings and sites were provided for in the single year 1913. It has been said that 250 of the items constituted an absolute waste of public funds. Besides the initial cost, Mr. Hendrick holds that each building will be a perpetual drain on the public treasury. The fixed charges on a \$50,000 building investment he figures at \$3500 a year; and in most cases the former cost, under a rental system, was about \$300.

Mr. Hendrick blames the system, not the individuals, and offers a remedy—to take from Congress the power to initiate appropriations for local purposes. Let the Post

Office Department say whether Vernal, Utah, needs a \$50,000 building to carry on a \$6000 business; and let the Department of Justice say whether Texarkana, Tex., needs a \$110,000 federal court-house for use only three or four days each year. Let such appropriations as are deemed necessary be recommended to Congress by the Departments, not by the local Representatives and Senators. Once started, probably no one would be more pleased with such a system than the Congressmen themselves.

MAYOR MITCHEL'S ADMINISTRATION OF NEW YORK CITY

VIEWING the Mitchel administration in New York, not as an episode, but as the logical outgrowth of ten years' rebuilding of city government and education of the New York public in the merits of better government, City Chamberlain Henry Bruère, formerly director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, contributes to the *National Municipal Review* a valuable survey of the constructive achievements that mark the first half of the four years' term of office for which Mayor Mitchel was elected in the fall of 1913. During this period, as Mr. Bruère aptly says at the beginning of his article, "Mr. Mitchel has not electrified New York with revolutionary changes in the organization and character of its government. He has gratified New York by his exceptional success in doing the right thing in the right way, both at the outset of his administration and as each successive emergency has arisen."

In this time his administration has demonstrated its character and quality, and given assurance of the permanent contribution it will make to the city's welfare. It has given the city a government of a non-partisan character. It has emphasized the professional character of municipal administration by seeking qualified experts for executive positions. It has brought to the forefront the social welfare aspects of government activity, and given emphatic and continuing emphasis to economy and efficiency.

The administration has not had presented to it, nor has it created an opportunity for general popular appeal. It has kept itself in the position of recognizing from week to week and month to month the obligation it assumed on entering office to conduct the affairs of the city government with efficiency and devote the resources of the city exclusively to public welfare.

New York, accustomed for years to political pharisaism, has responded with remarkable enthusiasm to political sincerity. Unanimously, the disinterested press of the city has stood squarely behind the administration, no scandals having arisen to shake the public faith in the purposes of the administration as a whole. Public opinion steadfastly has been inclined to assist in the solution of administrative difficulties rather than to adopt an attitude of hostile criticism.

Mr. Bruère emphasizes the advance made by this administration in the character of the appointees for heads of city departments. Prior to Mayor Gaynor's time, it was almost the invariable custom to appoint to these commissions either "district leaders," in the New York political sense of the term, or business men with political proclivities. While Mayor Mitchel did not assume that a political leader was necessarily disqualified for public office, he chose wherever he could find them men best qualified, by reason of training and experience, for the particular jobs to be filled. In the departments of Charities, Correction, and Health, the person chosen in each case was one whose training, experience, temperament, and availability made him professionally the best qualified person for the department to which he was appointed. In this sense Mr. Bruère regards the appointment of Commissioners Kingsbury, Davis, and Goldwater as epoch-making in that this was the first definite recognition of special professional training for public service outside the fields of engineering and law.

From a group of men who had chosen public service as a vocation appointments were made to several important public works departments,—Water Supply, Street-Cleaning, and Parks. Appointments to minor positions were made from the nominees of political organizations, representing the parties combined in the so-called Fusion or anti-Tammany campaign of 1913, the mayor having taken the position publicly that wherever he could name men to subordinate positions who were acceptable to the political groups, he would do so, provided they were reasonably competent.

Mr. Mitchel entered the mayor's office after seven years of continuous public service in the city government, and several of his colleagues in the Board of Estimate have had similar careers. This administration, therefore, has identified city government

work as a distinct profession in itself, and, as Mr. Bruère remarks, it will be difficult in future for New York "to accept the familiar official hack who has customarily occupied, but rarely filled, public office" in that city.

Thus far, the administration's most conspicuous constructive work has been done in the fields of social service. Commissioner of Charities John A. Kingsbury has not only advanced the efficiency of his department in routine matters, but has introduced a social welfare point of view as opposed to a public relief purpose.

He is remodeling the aim and method of the city's contact with upwards of 23,000 dependent children, cared for at the city's expense in private institutions. He has organized a department of social investigations to reconstruct disrupted families through social advice and public and private assistance, and to base the aid offered by the city upon a knowledge of family and social conditions, heretofore lacking. He is developing an internal organization taught to view the problem of administering public charities in New York from a public and social community standpoint as opposed to the habits of narrow institutionalism.

Mr. Kingsbury has encountered more opposition, had more battles to fight, and has been subjected to more attack than has any other member of Mr. Mitchel's administration. He inherited traditions of management and service more obsolete than those prevailing in any other department, except in the department of correction. Despite these handicaps the progress which he has made and for which he has paved the way, will make it possible for Mayor Mitchel to leave to the city of New York at the end of his administration a public welfare department brought forward almost a generation's measure of progress during his four years' period of service.

Dr. Katherine B. Davis, the first woman head of a department in the great city to receive appointment, was put in charge of the city's 5600 prisoners. To her were assigned the tasks of providing the facilities for correctional work, of transplanting juvenile delinquents from a crowded city institution to a farm colony, of putting the idle in the work-house to work, of stamping out the drug evil, and "converting a moral shambles into a moral sanatorium." Dr. Davis is now planning and setting in motion a parole system which will deal with prisoners according to their experience, record, and need, rather than the statutory definitions of their crime.

In the health department, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, an expert in administration, has transformed a department of medical avocation to a department of professional public health service. He has placed the heads of divisions, formerly prac-

tising physicians, on full-time service. He has related medical inspection and sanitary inspection to health conditions in workshops, factories, stores, restaurants, as well as in the proverbial back-yard, manure-pile, and slaughter-house of the usual sanitary control. Dr. Goldwater, in two years, has brilliantly demonstrated how to utilize public funds efficiently for social service work, and taught a personnel whose administrative leaders are chosen not from administrative fields but from the proverbially "business-interest lacking" medical profession how to conduct administrative affairs effectively. Effectiveness in the organization of the public health service, and the literal, matter-of-fact application of accepted principles of public health standards to the varied phases of city life are the principal contributions made during the Mitchel administration by the health department. Thus, subway and street-car crowding has been fought not as an infringement of human rights but a peril to human health, unsanitary work-room conditions not as injustice merely to workers but as a menace to citizen health, deceptive patent-medicine traffic not as questionable business but as an obstruction to proper health education.

The Department of Street-Cleaning is planning the widespread introduction of automobile equipment and a more extensive use of mechanical devices in cleaning the streets. Commissioner Fetherston had been trained in the street-cleaning service prior to his appointment, and had been sent by the city to study the street-cleaning practise of European municipalities.

One thing is especially significant in Mr. Bruère's review of the Mitchel administration,—namely, the relatively small amount of space devoted to the police department. Under Commissioner Arthur Woods, who had been trained in police work as a deputy under former Police Commissioner Bingham, the police department is less in the limelight than for many years, but according to Mr. Bruère is rapidly gaining in efficiency and discipline.

The task of police administration in New York is the task of all large city police administrations in America, namely, the transformation of detective work from the shrewd sleuthing of the speak-easy, gum-shoe method to the scientific investigation of the criminal investigator; the transformation of the stick-swinging, amiable doorstep-chatting variety of patrol to the studious observation of neighborhood conditions affecting crime and calling for police action. This, with the training of the police force, not only in the school of recruits at the time of entrance but throughout the period of service, in deportment, in physical condition, in esprit de corps and the varied phases of modern police work, are the preliminary tasks upon which Mr. Woods has been engaged during the eighteen months of his service, while carrying on at the same time the enormous routine duties of administering the metropolitan police service.

GOVERNORS WHO CANNOT GOVERN

OUR readers will remember Mr. Root's severe arraignment of the "invisible government" which rules our States, in an address delivered in the New York Constitutional Convention and printed in the REVIEW for October, 1915. During the greater part of forty years of his acquaintance, he declared, the State was ruled, not by elected officers but by party leaders at the head of "the system."

The amendment for which Mr. Root was pleading, centralizing authority and responsibility, was adopted by the convention, although as part of the complete constitution it was rejected by the voters. But the movement has not been abandoned.

In an article published in the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), Mr. Edgar Dawson tells of the conditions which make possible such a situation as that described by Mr. Root. The specific references are to New York, but similar conditions exist in almost all of our States.

First, Mr. Dawson reminds us of the executive power and responsibility concentrated in the President. He alone is elected; and he appoints not only the heads of the ten departments but the principal assistants, deputies, and bureau chiefs as well.

The Governor, on the other hand, is only one of a group of public officials elected at the same time. They are not his aids, and are frequently out of sympathy with him. There is no organization of the work of the State into great departments. The work is distributed (in New York) through more than 150 separate units of administration. Duplications and inconsistencies must necessarily abound. As an instance of overlapping authority: six commissions, forty boards, and four other departments exercise supervision over State institutions for defectives and other dependents.

Mr. Dawson compares the State administration to a corporation which spends forty millions of dollars and employs fifteen thousand servants, but which has no head, no manager, no directing will.

The power of appointment would seem to place at least initial control in the Governor's hands, and thus make him in some

degree responsible for the conduct of the work done by these appointees. But many, if not most, of such officers enjoy a term longer than that of the Governor. They are in office when he comes on the scene, and live after he has departed. Moreover, their removal is hedged about with so many difficulties that it is practically impossible for anyone to control them except the power which can control the legislative as well as the executive force.

Such a power resides in the "invisible government."

Here is leadership, here is a directing will, here is organization in such perfection that it is commonly spoken of as "the organization," "the machine," and these terms are descriptive. It is not elective, it takes no oath of office, it is unknown to the law or the constitution; yet its works are manifest in all parts of the government, its hand guides every public act. . . .

In the State there are two highly developed political parties. In these parties there are no loose ends, no irresponsible agents, no scattered bureaus and commissions. From the head downward, authority is clearly defined, obedience is punctiliously exacted; the hierarchy is closely interlinked, complete, effective.

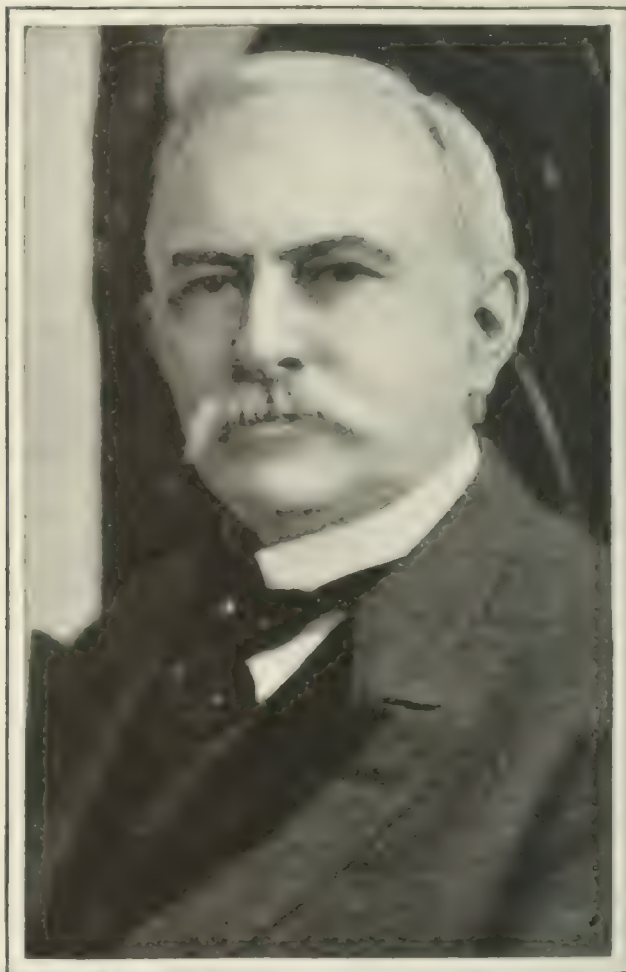
The purpose of each organization is to control the affairs of the State. At the head of each of these parties there has generally been a man of great intellectual power and imperious will. . . . The minor officials know where the seat of power is. They know perfectly well who placed them in office and who will keep them there. They observe the directions taken by the wires which lead to the real master.

It is manifest, declares Mr. Dawson, that the Governor does not govern, that he cannot govern, however serious his intention to do so may be; that the constitution and statutes were drawn with the clear intent that he should not govern.

Mr. Dawson would give the Governor power to control public affairs through appointment and removal, in order that responsibility may rest on his shoulders. He would reduce the number of administrative departments from 150 to ten or twelve, and place each department head under the direction of the Governor. The civil servants, from top to bottom, would then assume a different attitude. Instead of looking to party organizations for encouragement, they would look to the Governor, whose future career depends upon securing efficient service.

THE NEW BOOKS

AMERICAN POLITICAL CAREERS



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HON. JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER

Notes of a Busy Life. By Joseph Benson Foraker. 2 vols. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 1095 pp. Ill. \$5.

It is characteristic of Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, that he should have given us his own review of his public career, instead of leaving the task to be performed by a biographer after his death. His two volumes, entitled "Notes of a Busy Life," form a most valuable and welcome addition to the political literature of our own times. He was born on July 5, 1846, and will therefore be seventy years old three months hence. He has been in Republican politics for sixty years, having taken his boyish part in the Frémont campaign of 1856.

Although barely sixteen years of age, Joseph Benson Foraker entered the army in July, 1862, where he made a good record as a young officer, and in due time was distinguished as a member of General Slocum's staff, with the rank of Captain. He served three years in the war, and was mustered out just before his nineteenth birthday. In September of '65 Foraker was at

school again, and a year later entered the freshman class of the Ohio Wesleyan University. His last college year was taken at Cornell University, New York; and within a few months after graduation he was admitted to the bar, in the fall of 1869, and began practising law in Cincinnati.

He has remained a Cincinnati lawyer for nearly forty-seven years, during most of which time he has been a prominent figure in the Republican politics of his State and of the country. With his various political campaigns, his service as Governor of Ohio, his conspicuous record as United States Senator, his relations to half a dozen Presidents and many other public men, and his part in the treatment of numerous problems of statesmanship, these two large volumes of "Notes" concern themselves in the most frank and unreserved way. The contemporary politician will be interested in all that Mr. Foraker says about the periods of Taft and Roosevelt. Upon certain subjects, such as Panama and the Philippines, Mr. Foraker's chapters are important as contributions to history. In his treatment of those to whom he found himself opposed in political and personal controversies, he shows for the most part a very generous spirit.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Logic of his Career. By Charles G. Washburn. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 245 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The author of this biography, a Harvard classmate of Colonel Roosevelt, was himself in public life for several years, having represented one of the Massachusetts districts in Congress. He has differed with Colonel Roosevelt on various matters of public policy, but has his own views as to the true meaning of the Roosevelt contribution to American public life. Both friends and opponents of the ex-President will find Mr. Washburn's analysis and comments entertaining and thought-provoking.

The Life of Andrew Jackson. By John Spencer Bassett. Macmillan. 766 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A new single-volume edition of a life of Jackson that has taken its place as on the whole the best and most serviceable of a long line of biographies.

William Branch Giles. By D. R. Anderson. Menasha, Wis.: Banta Pub. Co. 271 pp. \$1.50.

The life of a Virginian who achieved greatness in an era of great Virginians,—Representative, United States Senator, and Governor, a friend of Jefferson, and an enemy of Monroe, becoming at last a supporter of Andrew Jackson and a bitter foe of John Quincy Adams. Professor Anderson has written a careful and at the same time readable account of this interesting career.

BIOGRAPHY

Michelangelo. By Romain Rolland. Duffield. 189 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The life of Michelangelo, by one of the most famous of modern French writers. This work is here translated into English for the first time and is entirely distinct from a study of Michelangelo by the same writer which appeared some time ago. The present volume is illustrated profusely.

Delane of the "Times." By Sir Edward Cook. Holt. 319 pp. \$1.75.

A life of the preëminent English journalist of the Victorian era, the editor of the London *Times*, from 1841 to 1877, the period covering the European revolutionary movements of 1848, the Crimean War, the American Civil War, and many other historic episodes. Sir Edward Cook's study of Delane as a personal editor of a type now almost extinct outlines for the benefit of the present generation of readers an unfamiliar conception of journalistic responsibility. Delane, in a very real sense, was a maker as well as a writer of history from day to day in the height of the Victorian era. It is almost the irony of fate that the British Censor-in-Chief should have written this life of the one great British editor who consistently refused to be censored.



JOHN F. DELANE
Editor of the London
Times, 1841-77

A Life of William Shakespeare. By Sir Sidney Lee. Macmillan. 753 pp. Ill. \$2.

The best life of Shakespeare was published only seventeen years ago. It was written by Sir Sidney Lee, who little thought that before the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death should arrive so many new facts about the poet's career would be discovered that a thorough, even "drastic," revision of his book would be demanded. Shakespearean research has been busy in these recent years, as this work shows.

William Rockhill Nelson. Edited and published by members of the staff of the Kansas City *Star*. 374 pp. Ill.

William R. Nelson, who died last year, was the most representative man of Kansas City, and as owner and editor of the *Star* was one of the foremost leaders of American public opinion. He had made his mark as a young business man and Democratic leader in Indiana, and turned to journalism and to Kansas City in 1880 as the deliberate choice of a man of thirty-five who meant to make a great career through sheer courage, energy, and a sense of personal power. The members of the staff of the Kansas City *Star* have prepared an excellent biography of him as

a fitting tribute and memorial. His ample fortune will ultimately provide Kansas City with a museum of art.

Francis Asbury, the Prophet of the Long Road. By Ezra Squier Tipple. The Methodist Book Concern. 333 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A sketch of the first great bishop and prophet of American Methodism. A facsimile reproduction of a letter of John Wesley to Asbury is one of a group of documentary illustrations that add interest to the text. As the country matures and we study its pioneer history, we give ever higher place to the great teachers and leaders who gave America its moral and religious tone. Asbury, as a mere boy, began preaching in England about 1766, and at once came to the United States. He died in 1816. While Dr. Tipple's excellent book will appeal especially to Methodists, it has permanent value as a contribution to the history of American religious life and development.

A Painter of Dreams. By Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling. Lane. 365 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

This book, written for the English-reading public and dedicated to William de Morgan, the novelist, has one chapter,—“A Favorite of Destiny,”—that concerns America quite as much as England. It has to do with the Baltimore girls known as the American Graces who won social triumphs in the early years of the nineteenth century in England and on the continent. One of

these young women, Elizabeth Patterson, married Jerome Bonaparte. Her sister-in-law, Mary Patterson, became the wife of Lord Wellesley, and Emily, the sister who remained with her parents in Baltimore, married the British consul there, Mr. John A. MacTavish. Mrs. Stirling also refers to Charles Carroll, the famous Maryland Senator and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and to John Frederick Herring,



ELIZABETH ASBURY

the realist, who was an American by birth.

Julia Ward Howe. By Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott. Houghton, Mifflin. 2 vol. Ill. 326 pp. \$4.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's daughters, Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott and Laura E. Richards have made a two-volume record of their mother's life which is wisely autobiographical. After the first chapter, Mrs. Howe tells the story of her life by means of letters, extracts from her writings, and intimate settings from her diary. It is her purely personal interests, the story of her life as a wife, home-keeper, and mother, the actual tangibility of her presence, that we find embodied in these volumes.

HISTORICAL WORKS

A Thousand Years of Russian History. By Sonia E. Howe. Lippincott. 432 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The author of this book, a Russian by birth, the wife of an English clergyman, reviews Russian history from the standpoint of popular progress. Although the book was addressed to the British public, because the author believed that great ignorance about Russia prevailed in Great Britain, it is quite as well adapted to meet the needs of American readers. The English of the book is excellent and the illustrations are all derived from authentic Russian sources.

The Real Story of the Whaler. By A. Hyatt Verrill. Appleton. 250 pp. Ill. \$2.

The records of a bygone American industry have been ransacked by the author of this book, and the result is the thrilling narrative of old-time Yankee enterprise and daring, with many illustrations of whaling ships in line and half-tone.

Adventures in Mexico. By George Frederic Ruxton. Outing Publishing Co. 292 pp. \$1.

A reprint of a narrative of travels through Mexico from Vera Cruz to the northern boundary, at the time of the Mexican War. It is interesting to note the close correspondence between people and conditions as described in 1846 and those of the present day. The author, who was a noted traveler in his time, was held up by bandits, deserted by his guides, nearly captured by Indians, and saw some of the minor incidents of the war with the United States. He seems to have been on some secret mission, in which Great Britain was concerned, although the reader of his book is not enlightened as to the precise object of his quest.

The Century of the Renaissance in France. By Louis Batiffol. Putnam. 429 pp. \$2.50.

One of the volumes published in the series appearing in English as "The National History of France," edited by Dr. F. Funck-Brentano. Titles of other volumes to appear in this series are as follows: "The Middle Ages," "The Great Century," "The Eighteenth Century," "The French Revolution," and "The Empire."

Crises in the History of the Papacy. By Joseph McCabe. Putnam. 459 pp. \$2.50.

A study of twenty famous popes by a former Catholic priest who left the Church some years ago.

General Pichegru's Treason. By Sir John Hall, Bart. Dutton. 363 pp. Ill. \$4.

The story of the French general who in 1795 entered into a conspiracy for the return of Louis XVIII to power, and who has been shown by French historians to have had a part in the plots fomented by the British Government at that time against Bonaparte.

Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. Scribner. 487 pp. \$3.

This volume is made up of a series of original narratives of explorers, priests, and officials, translated from the Spanish, and accompanied by editorial introductions and notes. These contributions to early American history, under the general editorship of Professor J. Franklin Jameson, are reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association. The manner in which this work is performed is distinctly creditable to American historical scholarship, as well as to those who have the details of publication directly in hand.

Backward Glances. By Thomas Floyd-Jones. Published by the author. 275 pp. Ill. \$4.

Entertaining reminiscences of old-time New York City sports, including horse racing and the rivalries of the volunteer fire companies, together with descriptions of famous buildings, theaters, etc.

The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, 1861-1865. By Alexis Cope. Columbus, Ohio: Published by the author. 796 pp.

Gen. Alexis Cope, who was a Captain in the Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and has long served his State in important capacities, has produced a regimental history that is immediately recognized by military authorities as something far more than a mere record, to gratify the descendants of the members of a particular organization. It is an original and remarkably able contribution to the military history of the Civil War, especially in the Southwest, and will have its permanent recognition both in America and in Europe as a work of great authority.

History of Education in Iowa. Vol. III. Clarence Ray Aurner, Iowa City, Iowa: Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

As a part of the great work carried on by the State Historical Society of Iowa in producing a comprehensive library covering all phases of the State's development, there now appears the third volume in a well-planned "History of Education in Iowa." It deals with secondary schools, and is devoted principally to the public high schools, while also recounting all the voluntary and private efforts at secondary education in the entire history of the State. Mr. Clarence Ray Aurner has prepared this volume. Professor Shambaugh, in his editor's introduction, calls attention to the fact that "the high school in Iowa has developed without legislative direction: it is a product of experience and experiment." The tendency in Iowa is toward flexibility in high-school work, and doubtless the teachers of that State are prepared to discuss and even to apply some of the principles laid down by Dr. Abraham Flexner in his paper on "A Modern School," published in this number of the REVIEW.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Japan and America. By Carl Crow. McBride. 316 pp. \$1.50.

Japanese Expansion and American Policies. By James Francis Abbott. Macmillan. 261 pp. \$1.50.

Current and rumored movements on foot in China, Japan, and the Far East at large are resulting in the production of many books and articles. Those who take the Chinese side of controversies between China and Japan are showing much more eagerness to seek American readers than are the defenders of Japan. Mr. Carl Crow and Mr. James Francis Abbott are the authors of new books on the relations of Japan and America in view of Japan's ambitions. Both of these men have lived and labored in Japan and write from a standpoint very different from that of the casual traveler who has been courteously entertained and comes home to praise what he has seen. Mr. Crow regards the intentions of Japan as adverse to American interests. Mr. Abbott is not so outspoken in criticism of Japanese policy. Whether one agrees with them or not, both books are worthy of very careful reading, for the reason that it has become necessary for Americans to have some viewpoint as a basis for our future policy in the Pacific. Mr. Abbott's review of Japanese history seems to us to be both illuminating and entirely fair in its explanation of Japan's past relations with China and of Japanese policy in Korea and Manchuria.

Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico. By William R. Manning. Johns Hopkins Press. 406 pp.

An understanding of the Mexican questions of our own day will be greatly assisted by a study of Mexican history and diplomacy, especially with reference to the United States. The latest issue in the volumes appearing at Baltimore in the series entitled "The Albert Shaw Lectures on

Diplomatic History," in the Johns Hopkins University, is upon the "Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico." The author is Prof. William R. Manning, of the University of Texas. It deals principally with the period from about 1820 to 1830, and presents in an admirable way the notable diplomatic events of the decade in which the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated. The previous volume in this series was Professor Updyke's, on "The Diplomacy of the War of 1812," which appeared last year and expounds situations remarkable for their similarity to some of those produced by the present war.

Rights and Duties of Neutrals. By Daniel Chauncey Brewer. Putnam. 260 pp. \$1.25.

This volume discusses a number of questions that have arisen during the present war, especially the rights of non-combatants on merchant ships, the belligerent use of neutral flags, effectiveness as a requisite of blockade, the British Order in Council of March 1915, the law of contraband, and the problem of aliens and hyphenated citizens in neutral states. The author's conclusion is that non-belligerent nations will never secure their full rights under international law until they are themselves prepared single-handed or in company to fight for the vindication of the principles to which they are committed.

The Challenge of the Future. By Roland G. Usher. Houghton Mifflin. 350 pp. \$1.75.

An attempt to formulate an American foreign policy by the author of "Pan-Germanism." This writer is convinced that our continued national isolation is inexpedient and that our present interests can be advanced only by foreign alliance, Great Britain being, in his opinion, the only power with which we can at present ally on favorable terms.

BOOKS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

West Point in Our Next War. By Maxwell V. Z. Woodhull. Putnam. 266 pp. \$1.25.

General Woodhull, in his book entitled "West Point in Our Next War," very justly shows that the plan of a volunteer army as a means of national defense is hopelessly obsolete. He would have a system of universal training and national service, which would keep 200,000 men as an active army with the colors and have at least 500,000 in a reserve that could be mobilized promptly. Realizing that trained officers are essential, he would greatly enlarge the scope of the military academy and create a cadet corps of 10,000. Regardless of exact details, every book of this kind is of great value because it helps to create the conception—grasped everywhere except in the United States and China—that national security nowadays requires efficiency on the part of every young citizen, as well as a

Government capable of understanding the problems that face the nation.

Self-Help for the Citizen-Soldier. By Capt. James A. Moss and Capt. B. Stewart, U.S.A. Menasha, Wis.: Banta Pub. Co. 239 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

Something of what military preparedness means to the individual citizen soldier is clearly outlined in this little book, which does not pretend to be a manual of military training, but is intended to serve as a guide by means of which the civilian may inform himself concerning military matters sufficiently to enable him to understand in a general way what will be required of him when he is called upon to learn the soldier's trade for the defense of his country. The authors are both captains in the regular army and are fully conversant with the requirements of efficient military service. General Wood supplies an introduction to the book.

An Army of the People. By John McAuley Palmer. Putnam. 158 pp. \$1.

A detailed description of national military system for the United States. The author has chosen to adopt the fiction that Congress has passed a National Defense Act embodying his ideas.

Submarines: Their Mechanism and Operation. By Frederick A. Talbot. Lippincott. 274 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

This book is neither a history nor a technical treatise, although it attempts to answer questions which are most frequently asked about the development, the attacking power, the defensive capacity, the mechanism, and the handling of submarines.

The Story of the Submarine. By Farnham Bishop. 211 pp. Ill. \$1.

Another book that brings out very clearly the

credit due to the inventive genius of America for the development of the submarine. The pioneer work of David Bushnell, Robert Fulton, Simon Lake, John P. Holland, and others, is described in detail, but in a graphic, non-technical style. The priority of American submarines as demonstrated in Mr. Bishop's book will be a surprise, we imagine, to most readers. The fact, too, that the Confederate "diving-boat" *Hundley* was the only submarine to sink a hostile warship before the outbreak of the present war is of special interest when we consider that a period of fifty years elapsed between the Civil War achievement of 1864 and the German submarine operations of 1914. Mr. Bishop's book is appropriately illustrated and is attractively written throughout.

Submarine Problems and Torpedo Defense. By Joseph A. Steinmetz. Philadelphia: Published by the Author. 96 pp. Ill.

A reprint of articles from technical journals and popular magazines.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

A Frenchman's Thoughts of the War. By Paul Sabatier. Scribner. 164 pp.

In this little book an eminent French writer interprets the spirituality of his people, in relation to the great conflict. There are chapters on "Religious Union and Revival," "Alsace," and "Public Feeling in France."

The War Thoughts of an Optimist. By Benjamin Apthorp Gould. Dutton. 200 pp. \$1.

Mr. Gould, who is an American citizen residing in Canada, discusses in this book the value of American democracy to the world, Canada's loyalty to the British cause, the volunteer armies of the British Empire, and many other topics relating to the war.

European War. Vol. II. Handbook Series. Edited by Alfred Bingham. H. W. Wilson Company. 304 pp. \$1.

The second volume of the "Handbook of the European War" contains articles by prominent statesmen, publicists, and economists of the several countries involved. While the first volume dealt largely with the events that led up to the struggle, its successor is concerned more particularly with the effects of the war as reflected by the speeches and writings of statesmen and authors.

The Diplomacy of the Great War. By Arthur Bullard. Macmillan. 344 pp. \$1.50.

This is an introductory text-book—as the author calls it, "a first-year course in European diplomacy." It is addressed to those American readers—and most of us are in the category—who have not in the past been especially interested in European diplomacy and have not familiarized themselves with its details. The modest purpose of the author is to help the American reader "to understand the moves on the diplomatic check-board after the war."

Great Russia. By Charles Sarolea. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 252 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Sarolea is a Belgian who has lived for a dozen years in Great Britain as head of the department of French in the University of Edinburgh and as a Belgian consul. He writes brilliantly and suggestively as a journalist on all international and political topics. His present book on Russia carries praise of that country beyond all limits of judgment or discrimination. It is a part of that flood of literature of "mutual admiration" among the Allies, which present conditions render inevitable. Its best pages form the brief chapter called "The Geographical Foundations of Russian Politics." But even this part, like all the rest, is casual and slight.

Day by Day with the Russian Army. By Bernard Pares. Houghton, Mifflin. 287 pp. \$2.50.

The diary of the official British observer with the Russian armies in the field, from the beginning of the war to June 19, 1915. An appendix contains the diary of an Austrian officer during the Austro-German re-conquest of Galicia.

Roadside Glimpses of the Great War. By Arthur Sweetser. Macmillan. 272 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

The story of a bicycle journey from the Belgian border to Paris, relating many exciting experiences on the road.

The First Hundred Thousand. By The Junior Sub (Captain Ian Hay Beith). Houghton Mifflin. 342 pp. \$1.50.

This is an account of the experiences of some of the first hundred thousand of Kitchener's army. It is written by Captain Ian Hay Beith, the author of "The Right Stuff," "A Man's a Man," and other popular novels. The story was originally contributed in the form of an anonymous narrative to *Blackwood's Magazine*.

Socialism and War. By Louis B. Boudin. New Review Publishing Association. 267 pp. \$1.

An interpretation of the great war from the Socialist viewpoint, together with a discussion of the general problems of Socialism and War, Nationalism and Internationalism.

Italy and the Unholy Alliance. By W. O. Pitt. Dutton. 224 pp. \$1.

The story of Italy's century-long quarrel with Austria, related for the purpose of showing its bearing on the attitude taken by Italy in the great war.

The Blackest Page of Modern History. Armenian Events of 1915. By Herbert Adams Gibbons, Ph.D. 71 pp. 75 cents.

An account of the Armenian massacres in Turkey, suggesting in conclusion the question whether neutral nations have any responsibility in regard to the Armenians.

Towards a Lasting Settlement. Edited by Charles Roden Buxton. Macmillan. 216 pp. \$1.

Discussions by eminent English writers of the problems of nationality and territorial re-ar-

rangement, the revision of maritime law, and of a general international guarantee against war. Among the contributors to the book are G. Lowes Dickinson, J. A. Hobson, and Vernon Lee.

The War Plotters of Wall Street. By Charles A. Collman. The Fatherland Corporation. 140 pp. Ill.

A pro-German statement of American operations in war finance.

The Way They Have in the Army. By Thomas O'Toole. Lane. 263 pp. \$1.

A handbook of information, formal and informal, about the daily life and duties of the British soldier. "The New Recruit," "Officers' Badges of Rank," "The Commanding Officer," "Tommy's Grub," "The Soldier's Wife," and "Non-commissioned Officers," are among the chapter-titles.

Joffre Chaps. By Pierre Mille. Lane. 215 pp. \$.50.

In this little book several entertaining stories of the war have been translated from the French. These stories concern not only the French soldier, but the German prisoner of war and various types of French civilians.

FRANCE IN THE WAR

THE spirit that animates France to-day, the courage of her soldiers, the devotion and self-sacrifice of her people, Anatole France has spread before us in his last book, "The Path of Glory."¹ The volume contains a eulogy of King Albert, articles and letters written by the author since the beginning of the war, a dramatic fragment, "After Herodotus," that purports to be a conversation between Nerves and Demaratus, an invocation to America, and a tribute from the pen of Monsieur Edouard Champion to Jean-Pierre Barbier, in whose memory this book is published. Those who have been more or less familiar with the literary style of Anatole France will be surprised at the utter simplicity and pathos of his words in this book. At last this gifted writer has laid aside all the cunning of literary devices and the subtlety of his imagination to voice the very soul of the French nation in its loyalty to liberty, fraternity, and equality. In "Christmas 1913," he invokes the "sacred fire" to succor old and young, the happy children, the toiling mothers, the men at home, and more than all, those who are exposed to the danger of battle. He writes:

O fire, sacred fire, go through the cold, dark night, hear to our soldiers in the trenches thy comfortable warmth and sparkle joyously in their hearts!

¹The Path of Glory. By Anatole France. John Lane. 124 pp. \$1.00.

He encourages the French soldier with this statement: "One great superiority you have over the enemy. Citizens of a Free Nation, you derive your military virtues from your own free spirit, and it is not by order that you are brave."

In one article, "A Little Town in France," he makes the town speak to the Frenchman who gazes down upon it:

"See, I am old, but I am comely; my pious sons have broodered my robe with towers and steeples, fretted gables and belfries. I am a good mother; I teach honest work and all the arts of peace, I exhort the citizens to that scorn of danger which makes them invincible. I nurse my children in my arms. Then their task done, they go one after another, to sleep at my feet, under the grass where the sheep browse. They pass, but I remain to guard their memory. I am their consciousness. That is why they owe everything to me, for man is only man inasmuch as he has conscious memory. My mantle has been torn and my bosom pierced in the wars. I have received wounds men said were mortal. I have lived because I have hoped. Learn of me the blessed hope that is the salvation of our country."



JEAN-PIERRE BARBIER
IN THE PATH OF GLORY

Jean-Pierre Barbier was a young French author who was just beginning military service when war was declared. He was only twenty, but he had written several small volumes which revealed unusual talent. He was killed in battle on December 26, 1914.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION



DR. ZAHM, AUTHOR OF 'THROUGH SOUTH AMERICA'S SOUTHLAND,' WITH COLONEL ROOSEVELT IN BRAZIL.

Through South America's Southland. By J. A. Zahm. Appleton. 526 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

Dr. Zahm has long been known as one of the best informed of American writers on South American subjects. Even before the Roosevelt scientific expedition of 1913 was undertaken, Dr. Zahm had brought out two books (published under the pseudonym of H. J. Mozans) entitled, respectively, "Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena," and "Along the Andes and Down the Amazon." The present work completes the trilogy, and gives an account of the Roosevelt expedition, which Dr. Zahm had an important part in organizing and equipping. The book takes its plan from the itinerary of that expedition. Dwelling on the history, the romance, and the present-day status of Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, it is a vivid picture of the "A-B-C" countries brought well up to date, and including just the detail that is calculated to interest Americans, particularly at the present time. Dr. Zahm's literary style is all that could be desired, and he has exercised especial care and skill in the selection of the illustrations, which surpass those of any account of South American travel that has recently come to our notice, with the exception of Colonel Roosevelt's own work, "Through the Brazilian Wilderness."

Bolivia: Its People and Its Resources, Its Railways, Mines, and Rubber-Forests. By Paul Walle. Scribner. 407 pp. Ill. \$3.

One of the important, although comparatively inaccessible, South American countries, from an

industrial standpoint, is described in this volume. The author served as commissioner for the French Ministry of Commerce. There are sixty-two illustrations and four maps. The new route to Bolivia by way of the Panama Canal is featured.

The Columbia, America's Great Highway. By Samuel Christopher Lancaster. Portland, Ore.: Kilham Press. 140 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

This is far more than an ordinary travel souvenir. The author is the consulting engineer who planned this famous road eastward from Portland. Having himself admired and appreciated the scenic beauties and wonders along the line of this road, Mr. Lancaster has displayed excellent taste in the choice of illustrations, many of which are full-page plates reproduced by the four-color process.

On Alpine Heights and British Crags. By George D. Abraham. Houghton, Mifflin. 302 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This volume might be described as a manual of mountain-climbing, a sport that is said to have been greatly on the increase just prior to the outbreak of the great war in Europe. The Dolomites (the Swiss Alps) and the Welsh mountains are the peaks on which the author had his adventures in rock-climbing.

A City of the Dawn. By Robert Keable. Dutton. 244 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A description of certain regions of East Africa, from the standpoint of Roman Catholic missions.

The Harim and the Purdah. By Elizabeth Cooper. Century. 309 pp. Ill. \$3.00.

A Western woman's unbiased study of the social life, customs, and mental attitudes of her sisters in the Orient. Mrs. Cooper is not disposed to condemn indiscriminately the traditional Eastern attitude towards women. She rather accepts it for what it is, and finds in it some mitigations that Western travelers have not always been able to recognize. She does, however, fully realize the meaning of the transition stage from old to new that has now been reached in most regions of the Orient. Types of Eastern women and varied scenes of Oriental life are reproduced in the illustrations, which are exceptionally good.



MRS. ELIZABETH COOPER
(Author of "The Harim and the Purdah")

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

B OOTH TARKINGTON, who found an exceedingly happy vein in the popular "Penrod" stories, has been not less fortunate in his last work, "Seventeen: A Tale of Youth and Summer Time and the Baxter Family, Especially William."¹ The hero of the "Penrod" stories was a little boy; the hero of this book is quite a big boy, William Sylvanus Baxter, seventeen years old. He is just at the age when the minor considerations of living assume undue importance, when a boy's soul is unduly sensitive, and when his intelligence peers over the dim threshold of life into the great outside world of action, half frightened at its own daring. The book is deliciously whimsical, clever, and filled with innocent fun, but there is an under-current of seriousness that will make every father and mother who reads it more tender toward the boy in his teens, and more intelligent as regards the psychology of those years when a boy has not yet found himself. "Seventeen cannot always manage the little boy yet alive under all the coverings," Mr. Tarkington writes. As sidelights, we have marvelous peeps into middle-class family life. The twelve fine illustrations are the work of Arthur William Brown, who has admirably characterized the novelist's creations.

Gertrude Atherton has turned her fine craftsmanship to the production of a fascinating mystery story, "Mrs. Balfame."² She has presented the psychology of the various characters that surround a modern murder mystery, in which the evidence clearly shows that a cultured society woman planned to murder her husband; and turned all the power and fascination of her mature literary art upon the story of the unraveling of the crime. And Mrs. Atherton has, it seems, a certain end in view in writing this new kind of an Atherton novel: she wishes to show that many so-called criminals are usually just commonplace people trying to do the "right thing" who, for the period of their evil deeds, come under the breaking stress of brief aberration—release under stress of those anti-social instincts that are deep in every mortal and are exhibited by every child that ever lived.³ The solution of the story cannot be guessed beforehand by the reader; it is unexpected and remarkable.



MRS. GERTRUDE
ATHERTON

novels offered this year. Not perhaps since Henry James gave us the inimitable "Daisy Miller," has modern fiction presented the character of a woman so sensitive, so innately innocent in her faults and weaknesses, so inevitably tragic in her fate, as the heroine of this book, Margaret Capel. The story develops in this fashion: A talented woman writer, who is ill and under the influence of morphia, goes to a nursing home where a gifted girl has lived and died. For a year she lives in this home attended by the same physician who had treated the girl. In the "twilight" world, under the influence of drugs, she sees the phantom of the girl, and with the aid of a packet of letters and the confession of the physician, reconstructs the strange, tragic romance of Margaret Capel and her lover, Gabriel Stanton. It is the finest thing Frank Danby has done by all odds. In private life the author is Mrs. Julia Frankau. She has three sons fighting in the British army at the present time.

"Nicky-Nan,"⁴ otherwise Nicky Nanjulian, a middle-aged Cornish bachelor, is the leading character of a most amusing book by Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch. Nicky-Nan is on the reserve list, although he is not entitled to be, and by juggling the doctor's certificate he manages to go on drawing a pension. When the war breaks out his troubles begin, and his mis-adventures make up a thoroughly amusing story, typically Cornish in atmosphere.

May Sinclair's "The Belfry"⁵ is a fine novel written in sprightly, journalistic style. The events lead up to the scenes of the great war. The "Belfry" is the one at Bruges in Belgium.

"Emmeline,"⁶ a timely, appealing story of Gettysburg, by Elsie Singmaster, tells of the adventures of a little girl who was sent out of the town of Gettysburg to her grandfather's farm just before the famous battle. The farm proved to be situated near the conflict; her grandparents had gone, and little Emmeline stays in the farmhouse for three days making biscuits for wounded Confederates and helping "Private Christy" dress their wounds. Emmeline learns that the "enemies of her country" are good men after all; she comes to like them and understand that humanity is the same in both friend and foe.

"Those About Trench,"⁷ by Edwin Herbert Lewis, is an unusual novel of American life that is decidedly brilliant in spots. It is the story of Dr. Isham Trench, of Halsted Street, Chicago, and of various human beings whose influence had part in shaping his life and opinions. Lovers, strange Orientals, odd Americans, factory girls, are thrown together in a jumble that nearly strangles the story, but nevertheless the book is interesting and gives promise by its strong, vivid style.

¹ "Twilight," by Frank Danby, is one of the best

² "Seventeen: A Tale of Youth and Summer Time and the Baxter Family, Especially William," by Booth Tarkington. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

³ "Mrs. Balfame," by Gertrude Atherton. Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

⁴ "Nicky-Nan," by Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

⁵ "The Belfry," by May Sinclair. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

⁶ "Emmeline," by Elsie Singmaster. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

⁷ "Those About Trench," by Edwin Herbert Lewis. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1917, pp. 313.

POETRY

"HIGH TIDE,"¹ a collection of the poems that everybody loves, has been arranged and edited by Mrs. Waldo Richards. The author's sub-title explains her choices of poems: "Songs of Joy and Vision from the Present-day Poets of America and Great Britain." Mrs. Richards believes that poetry must be helpful; it must come close to our hearts and leave with us the gift of enthusiasm and renewed inspiration. The volume is bound attractively in cloth and in limp leather.

We hear very little about the woman-poets of India, but there are many, chief among them the talented Sarojini Naidu, who writes in English. Her latest collection, "The Bird of Time, Songs of Life, Death and the Spring,"² is published with an introduction by Edmund Gosse, and a portrait of the author. Mr. Gosse writes that while Sarojini Naidu's early poetry was largely an echo of the great English bards, her mature work "springs from the very soil of India; her spirit, although it employs the English language as its vehicle, has no other tie with the West." Her folk-songs are rarely beautiful and her serious poems reveal a burning fervency that is fixed upon the pursuit of the Eternal. In her "Salutation to the Eternal Peace," she turns away from the clamor of the world to the wonders of God's manifestation of eternal peace in the soul, and the spiritual universe:



SAROJINI NAIDU,
A WOMAN POET OF INDIA
WHO WRITES IN ENGLISH

SALUTATION TO ETERNAL PEACE

Men say the world is full of fear and hate,
And all life's ripening harvest-fields await
The restless sickle of relentless fate.

But I, sweet Soul, rejoice that I was born,
When from the climbing terraces of corn
I watch the golden orioles of Thy morn.

What care I for the world's desire and pride,
Who know the silver wings that gleam and glide,
The homing pigeons of Thine eventide?

What care I for the world's loud weariness
Who dream in twilight granaries Thou dost bless
With delicate sheaves of mellow silences?

Say, shall I heed dull presages of doom,
Or dreaded the rumoured loneliness and gloom,
The mute and mythic terror of the tomb?

For my glad heart is drunk and drenched with
Thee,
O, inmost wine of living ecstasy,
O, intimate essence of eternity.

Introduced by Mr. Horace Holley, a second edition of Katherine Howard's "Eve"³ comes to us with the stamp of approval from many critics. "Eve" is Woman, who long ago has eaten of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and who hears the voice of the "Inscrutable One" calling her to realize that she is indeed the Tree of Life Everlasting, that upon her devolve the fates of men and races. Therefore she is besought to gird herself with purity, to make choice the strains that she shall bear, in order consciously to evolve the new humanity that shall cleanse the world from sin and error. Mr. Holley writes that Mrs. Howard's poetry is "seized from the arterial experience of the race," and "glows with the reflection of an inner flame."

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

NELLIE M'CLUNG, one of the foremost champions of the cause of women in Canada, dedicates her new book, "In Times Like These,"⁴ first to the "superior persons," who are inhospitable to new ideas, and then re-dedicates it to men and women who love a fair deal and are willing to give it to women. It is a "suffrage" book, entertaining, witty, well-reasoned, and full of common-sense.

"Father Payne,"⁵ a most entertaining and helpful book, comes to us labeled "A. C. Benson?"; but no one familiar with the limpidity of Arthur Christopher Benson's style could mistake the

authorship. "Father Payne" was a layman who had a little money and an old house in Norfolk and maintained there a brotherhood of men who were trying to learn to write. His advices to his friend-pupils form little essays on various literary matters. There are fervent appreciations of the universe and mankind, sermons of loving kindness, and admonitions of practical ways and means to literary success.

"Escape and Other Essays,"⁶ by A. C. Benson, consists of meditations and impressions written before the war. Walt Whitman and "The New Poet" are among the subjects of his facile pen.

"More Jonathan Papers,"⁷ by the philosopher-essayist, Elisabeth Woodbridge, is one of the books that put happiness into life. The "Papers"

¹ High Tide. Edited by Mrs. Waldo Richards. Houghton, Mifflin. Cloth, \$1.25, limp leather, \$1.75.

² The Bird of Time. By Sarojini Naidu. John Lane. 102 pp. \$1.

³ Eve. By Katherine Howard. Sherman, French. 49 pp. \$1.

⁴ In Times Like These. By Nellie McClung. Appletons. 218 pp. \$1.

⁵ Father Payne. By A. C. Benson. Putnam. 422 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ Escape and Other Essays. By A. C. Benson. Century. 202 pp. \$1.50.

⁷ More Jonathan Papers. By Elisabeth Woodbridge. Houghton, Mifflin. 210 pp. \$1.25.

are sparkling essays on out-of-door life. All the pleasant labors and distractions of life in the real country, the spell of woodland and meadow, gardens, sugar-camps, and trout streams are woven in a light-hearted fashion into these charming papers.

Four essays that in different ways amplify one theme—the moral utilization of our intelligence to render our loyalties more sensible and noble—are gathered in one volume by their author, John Erskine (Associate Professor of English at Columbia University), under the title, "The Moral Obligations To Be Intelligent."¹ They show us that it is useless for us to continue to develop our intelligence unless it proceeds to high vision wherein the "gods will walk with us." A helpful and stimulating book.

"John Wesley's Place in History,"² an address delivered by Woodrow Wilson at Wesleyan University on the occasion of the Wesley Bicentennial, presents a sympathetic character study. It is highly interesting aside from historical and literary values, as a bit of perspective on Mr. Wilson's feeling for a certain kind of executive efficiency. He admires Wesley's spiritual statesmanship, the enormous development of his will. He writes: "All that was executive and fit for mastery in the discipline of belief seemed to come to perfection in him. He dealt with the spirits of other men with the unerring capacity of a man of affairs—a sort of spiritual statesman, a politician of God, speaking the policy of a kingdom unseen, but real and destined to prevail over all kingdoms else."

"True Ghost Stories,"³ by Hereward Carrington,

deals first with the question, "What is a ghost?" and then discusses phantasms, haunted houses, ghost stories of a dramatic order, historical ghosts, and the phantom armies seen in France. The stories are founded on incidents that have been thoroughly investigated and possess more than usual interest.

Five books that the student of literature will find exceedingly useful and of great interest are: "The Rise of English Literary Prose," by George Philip Krapp (Columbia University Press); "Incense and Iconoclasm," by Charles Leonard Moore (Putnam); *Reticence in Literature and Other Papers*, by Arthur Waugh (Dutton); "Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature," by Lane Cooper (Ginn); and "Carlyle: How to Know Him," by Bliss Perry (Bobbs, Merrill).

Maude Morrison Frank has swept all the charm of fledgling genius into a generously illustrated volume, "Great Authors in Their Youth."⁴ The book gives a most sympathetic account of the youth of Scott, Stevenson, Thackeray, Dickens, Tennyson, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Lamb, Charlotte Brontë, Jane Austen, and Ruskin. An excellent book for young people.

Frederick Rowland Marvin, poet, essayist and scholar, publishes "Fireside Papers,"⁵ a group of essays. The best of these, and the most comprehensive, are those entitled, respectively, "Human Derelicts" and "Minor Poets." Into the latter the author has gathered—with memories of their song—the circle of minor poets who have come close to our hearts with their minstrelsy, but who have failed to win the bays of greatness.

ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY, CIVICS

Land Credits. By Dick T. Morgan. Crowell. 299 pp. \$1.50.

Congressman Morgan, of Oklahoma, has recently written a very keen and discriminating book on the subject of land credits for American farmers. He argues in favor of the kind of legislation that will produce uniform conditions throughout the country, as against rural credit bills that would subject farmers to money-lenders on a basis of local interest rates. As a result of the work of men like Mr. Morgan, the bills now pending are greatly improved over those of last year that Mr. Morgan's book analyzes and condemns.

Principles of Labor Legislation. By John F. Commons, LL.D., and John B. Andrews, Ph.D. Harper. 174 pp. \$1.

Labor legislation is no longer a matter of merely academic interest in this country. Workmen's compensation, social insurance, and regula-

tion of the hours of labor have become vital issues in many of the States, and there is a demand for some authoritative statement of the principles on which such legislation is to be based. In the present volume Messrs. Commons and Andrews treat the subject from the standpoint of the student and citizen. Professor Commons has for many years given special attention to the administration of labor laws in the State of Wisconsin. His familiarity with the details of administration makes all the more valuable the conclusions that he has reached regarding the principles of labor laws in general. Although these details are not set forth elaborately in the present work, the author's grasp of them and his sure knowledge of the limitations of all legislative effort in this direction tend to enhance the reader's confidence in the soundness of the principles that he enunciates.

Law and Order in Industry. By Julius Henry Cohen. Macmillan. 292 pp. \$1.50.

This book relates five years' experience with "the Protocol," so called, an arrangement by which peace has been maintained between the employers and employees in the garment trades of New York City. The author was closely identified with the Protocol from its inception, and is able to give a vivid picture of its work-

¹ *The Moral Obligations To Be Intelligent*. By John Erskine. Dutton. 107 pp. \$1.

² *John Wesley's Place in History*. By Woodrow Wilson. The Atlantic Press. 10 pp. 10 cents.

³ *True Ghost Stories*. By Hereward Carrington. S. C. Apple. 100 pp. 25 cents.

⁴ *Great Authors in Their Youth*. By Maude M. Morrison Frank. Dutton. 100 pp. \$1.

⁵ *Fireside Papers*. By Frederick Rowland Marvin. Thomas. 100 pp. \$1.

ings in reconciling clashing interests. The experience of the New York clothing trades is not without its suggestions to other organizations of employers and employed.

Selected Readings in Rural Economics. Compiled by Thomas Nixon Carver, Ph.D. Ginn. 974 pp. \$2.80.

Material that was originally published in widely scattered places, and hence has heretofore been more or less inconvenient of access, is here brought together in a single volume of less than one thousand pages. Considerable space has been given to historical matter, all of which, however, has a direct bearing on present-day conditions and problems in agriculture. Such topics as "Farm Credits," "Rural Marketing," "Agricultural Labor," "Tenancy and Ownership," are represented by excellent articles.

Railroad Valuation and Rates. By Mark Wymond. Chicago: Wymond & Clark. 344 pp. \$1.50.

This book is intended primarily as a treatise on the principles of rates and their relation to valuation and rate regulation. The author introduces his discussion by chapters on promotion, construction, and capitalization of railroads. The author, as an engineer in the service of railroad corporations, has had thirty years' experience in connection with financing or investigating railroads in the interest of banking institutions, and in dealing with other aspects of the transportation problem.

Holders of Railroad Bonds and Notes. By Louis Heft. Dutton. 419 pp. \$2.

A useful compendium of information regarding the rights of security holders in reorganizations, consolidations, receiverships, foreclosures, and other proceedings.

Civics for New Americans. By Mabel Hill and Philip Davis. Houghton, Mifflin. 178 pp. Ill. 80 cents.

It would be desirable if a copy of "Civics for New Americans," by Mabel Hill and Philip Davis, could be presented to all immigrants who have learned to read English, and placed in the hands of everyone who desires to teach good citizenship. It is a valuable handbook, published to the end of developing "better standards of living and a clearer understanding of the opportunities of democracy and the higher ideals of citizenship. It is arranged in the form of lessons, with lists of questions. The appendix contains "A Final Word to New Americans," information as to how to become a citizen of the United States and other useful matters.

America's Coming-of-Age. By Van Wyck Brooks. B. W. Huebsch. 183 pp. \$1.

A brilliant, freshly phrased discussion of American life. The author divides the material into two so-called trunk lines—the pursuit and

analysis of Mr. Highbrow, his aims and intentions and the national life produced by his type of mind, and the minute dissection of Mr. Lowbrow and the probable manner of life his ideals shall bring forth. Puritanism, Transcendentalism, Opportunism, Culture, Poets; Emerson, Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, and William J. Bryan serve in turn to point the author's theories. He calls attention to the view of American life as a whole—"a vast Sargasso sea—a prodigious welter of unconscious life, swept by ground swells of half-conscious emotion." He writes that American society is "filled with groups which do not stand for living issues. . . . The most striking American spectacle to-day is a fumbling about after new issues which no one has yet been able to throw into relief."

Socialism in America. By John Macy. Doubleday, Page. 238 pp. \$1.

Mr. Macy assumes that we can best estimate the strength of the socialistic movement in its present state of confusion, when it is caught unawares and stripped of padding and non-essentials; that in the moment of its seeming failure we can safely estimate its strength and weakness. This book is readable because the author does not obtrude propaganda into his exposition of the status of Socialism in this country. The chapters discuss: "Socialists and the War," "Economic Classes," "Some American History," "The Socialist Party and Its Program," "Trade Unions," "The Industrial Workers of the World," "Internationalism and Militarism," and "Production and Property." Mr. Macy wishes us to see the inter-relations between the various groups that compose the party, their opinions and points of difference. Also that we should look out into the world and see the working of socialistic thought in every department of human activity, rather than the confusion caused by the present political ferment of the Socialist party.

City Planning. Edited by John Nolen. Appletons. 447 pp. Ill. \$2.

There have been many books in recent years devoted either in a descriptive way or from the more technical standpoint to the better planning of our cities and towns. It was something of an achievement, twenty years or more ago, when American city officials, social reformers, engineers and architects were made to entertain the conception that cities were permanent entities which were the result of modern conditions of transportation and industry, and that the life of people in cities could be made healthful, safe and agreeable by improving all kinds of appointments and services, and by providing in a proper way for future growth through a good street system, parks, public buildings, and the various common services. The most practical and helpful of the books that have been appearing is a new one in the National Municipal League series, edited by Mr. John Nolen, the well-known landscape architect, and written by a number of experts in the fields of landscape art, of architecture, and of engineering.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

A-B-C of Vegetable Gardening. By Eben E. Rexford. 116 pp. 50c.

A manual for beginners prepared by a veteran in the field.

Our Early Wild Flowers. By Harriet L. Keeler. Scribner. 249 pp. Ill. \$1.

A study of the herbaceous plants that bloom in early spring in the region roughly defined as extending between the parallels 40° and 50° north-latitude and westward from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi Valley up to about the 95th meridian. Thus a very large proportion of population in the United States will find virtually all the early wild flowers of their neighborhood listed in this little book, which contains also excellent illustrations of the leading species.

Who's Who. Macmillan. 2452 pp. \$4.

"Who's Who," of London and New York, has become an indispensable dictionary of contemporary biography. The issue for 1916 contains more than twenty thousand sketches of living men and women, and in the list are included Americans and persons of eminence in Europe. This work has the advantage (which is a very real one in any book of reference) of annual revision.

The American Whitaker Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1916. Macmillan. 552 pp. Ill. \$1.

This edition, especially prepared for circula-

tion in the United States, summarizes facts concerning the trade, production, population, government, and general statistics of every State in the Union. Besides a special section relating the history of the great war to date, and a chapter on the relations of the United States with the belligerent powers, there are statistical summaries for all the principal countries of the world, together with much general information.

Why We Punctuate. By William L. Klein. The Lancet Publishing Company. 224 pp. \$1.25.

"Why We Punctuate," or "Reason Versus Rule in the Use of Marks," by William Livingston Klein, has been entirely rewritten for the second edition. In 1896, when the first edition was issued, the REVIEW OF REVIEWS stated that Mr. Klein's manual presented the best American usage of the day. The same praise is due the new edition, together with admiration for the author's new mode of treatment and his well-reasoned discussions. He considers all the various marks together, instead of one at a time, and shows us that the study of punctuation is in reality the study of language, since the position of punctuation marks is determined by the sense-relationship between words, and by the consequent grouping. Once this is made plain, the student automatically determines the proper punctuation and avoids the inconsistencies of an arbitrary system. This book is exceedingly valuable to every student of language and will receive instant appreciation.

PHYSICAL TRAINING FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Ideas for Boys. By Walter W. Ross. Chicago: Tucker-Kenworthy Co. 219 pp.

Chapters of advice to boys from a grown-up who felt the lack of a father's guidance during the formative years of his life.

How to Get Strong. By William Blaikie. Harper. 293 pp. Ill. \$1.

Two generations of Americans have read and profited from this book. For boys and girls growing up in our great cities, Mr. Blaikie has a special message. The greater portion of it is as helpful and stimulating as when it was written.

Keeping Physically Fit. By William J. Cromie. Macmillan. 146 pp. Ill. \$1.

Exercises for every member of the family described and pictured.

Keeping in Condition. By Harry H. Moore. Macmillan. 137 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

This is a concise hand book on training for boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. It is not merely a manual of physical exercise, although it gives many valuable hygienic suggestions, but it aims to prevent to boys an ideal of manhood and show how the proper training of

their bodies has a direct relation to the welfare of the race.

Child Study and Child Training. By William Byron Forbush. Scribner. 320 pp. \$1.

This book is intended to serve as something more than a mere school text-book. It may be used as a practical manual for parents, and contains much material that may be employed to advantage by all who have to do with children.

The Child; His Nature and Nurture. By W. B. Drummond. Dutton. 223 pp. Ill. \$1.

An introduction to the study of the physical and mental development of the child. This work, written by a Scottish physician, is now in its seventh edition. There are two new chapters: "Children Who Never Grow Up," and "The Montessori Method."

Being Well-Born. By Michael F. Guyer. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 374 pp. Ill. \$1.

This volume in the "Childhood and Youth Series" gives a popular exposition of the latest pronouncements of science on the vexed question of heredity. Professor Guyer takes occasion to dispel some of the illusions that have persisted regarding this subject.

FINANCIAL NEWS

1.—SHORT-TERM SECURITIES

THE popularity of "short-term" securities, so-called, has never been greater than it is to-day. Difficulty now is to obtain them at prices giving a satisfactory yield to the private or institutional buyer. So carefully have they been gathered in and so closely held by the buyers that an order for a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of the old established issues can only be filled after much investigation and long bartering.

The two elements of short-term securities appealing to the investor are their ready convertibility into cash on quick notice and the evenness of their price which the quality of semi-demand paper gives them. Formerly "short-term notes" were exclusively those notes maturing within a year or two, but to-day maturities of 1920 to 1925 are also included in the term. Probably the most popular maturity is that of 1921. That is not too long a time to cover in a judgment of banking and industrial prospects. A bank wishing to take immediate advantage of a broader demand for commercial paper and unwilling to run any risk of selling below its cost price would prefer shorter maturities even, say twelve to eighteen months.

RAILROAD NOTES: A BAD PRACTISE

The supply of "short-term" notes has, in the past, been largely created by the railroads. Unable by reason of many closed mortgages and unwillingness of bankers to underwrite or of the public to buy junior mortgages except at a rate of interest prohibitive to the borrower, to finance on a permanent basis, the transportation companies adopted the vicious policy of selling notes, most of which matured in two to five years. With the proceeds of the notes they bought equipment, added to the general physical plant, and then paid off other maturing obligations. In the five years from 1910 to 1915 hundreds of millions of new money were raised in this way and thousands of investors in this country and in Europe become holders of corporation promises to pay.

With long-term bonds falling almost constantly from 1910 to the autumn of 1915, notes as they matured had to be renewed,

usually at a rising rate of interest. When holders would not renew there came receiver-ships. These were precipitated in the case of the St. Louis & San Francisco, Missouri, Kansas & Texas, and Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific by holders of notes. Holders of Boston & Maine, and Minneapolis & St. Louis railroads repeatedly extended their notes at a rising cost to both companies, rather than bring on bankruptcy. The vicious element of the short-term note has been that it matured either at some critical political juncture in the country's affairs, or when earnings were poor and not conducive to improving credit, or when the money market was against the issue of any form of security at any price. When one considers that as much as \$400,000,000 notes have been maturing in one year alone, with the New York Central itself, in 1915, having to take care of \$100,000,000, some idea of the size of this proposition is obtained. For years to come many corporations will be paying interest charges on junior securities that were sold to refund notes which themselves never should have been issued on the basis demanded.

The writer believes that the day of such financing is behind us and that when the remaining railroad notes are taken up none will be sold in the future except in rare cases. This statement does not refer to short-term financing, such as equipment notes, which are quite different in their security and position, and, in fact, one of the most desirable forms of investment in existence.

The railroad note just described was in most instances secured by collateral, frequently the treasury stocks or unissued bonds of the companies or their subsidiaries. Obviously, as the credit of the issuers of the notes declined, so did the value of the collateral depreciate, and it was necessary at times to "sweeten" the issue by increasing the collateral. In more than one case the market value of collateral, if it had been possible to liquidate, which it was not, sank well below the par of the notes outstanding. The danger of such a condition must be apparent to everyone.

ADVANTAGES OF EQUIPMENT NOTES

Now a railroad equipment note is an entirely different obligation. It is directly secured by the equipment purchased from the proceeds of sale. Next to its rails the most indispensable part of a transportation system is its cars and locomotives. The owner of an equipment note, therefore, possesses a part of the organism of the property and one that will be studiously protected against any sort of violation.

Supposing the A., B. & C. Railroad needs 1000 coal cars to satisfy the mine operators who use its service. These cars cost roughly \$1000 each. The total outlay, therefore, is \$1,000,000. The company does not wish to use current funds or to pay for the equipment from proceeds of long-term bonds, for cars wear out quickly, become old-fashioned, and accounting rules demand that a depreciation fund be set up against them.

A DESIRABLE FORM OF INVESTMENT

The process of financing is, therefore, as follows: From 10 to 20 per cent. of the cost of the cars is paid in cash to the manufacturer. At once there is established a note-buyers' equity. Then serial notes are issued maturing semi-annually in fixed amounts, for a period of years. In the case cited, we will say that cash paid in was 20 per cent., or \$200,000. This would leave a debt of \$800,000 to be considered. Say payment is required in twelve years. This is the estimated period of fairly efficient life of a car. It may last, with good luck, for fifteen or twenty years. So twice a year, in January and July, or May and November, the railroad obligates itself to retire \$33,000 of notes. When one buys such notes one first decides on the series one wants, possibly that of July, 1918, when one has need of ready funds, or January, 1920. The price of these series varies a fraction according as the yield is regulated by early or late maturities of the notes.

Roads with good credit are now selling their notes bearing 4 to 4½ per cent. interest on a basis of 4.25 to 4.40 per cent. yield. Of twenty-five issues now actively quoted none is above a 4¼ per cent. basis. A year ago the situation was quite different. Then

as high as 5¼ per cent. was demanded and Canadian systems of normally high credit had to borrow on a 5½ per cent. basis. While equipment issues have all been equalized by rising prices of long-term bonds and easy money rates, their own market has been peculiarly benefited by the small addition to supplies, the railroads buying less equipment in the past two years than ever, and by the desire of national banks especially to have quickly marketable securities of the very best type in their portfolios.

There have been almost no instances of default on equipment issues. Should default occur and the note-holder take his security, in this case cars and engines, the railroad would be greatly embarrassed. Naturally the last thing to be desired is an equipment-note default.

WAR LOANS

The supply of short-term securities has been increased since the war in the form of one-, two-, and five-year borrowings of Canada, and countries in Europe and South America. Including the Anglo-French loan there has been created of such securities nearly \$1,000,000,000 in the past twelve months. The Dominion of Canada notes have had a good market and such other issues as Swiss Government 5's, Swedish 6's, and the three issues of Republic of Argentina notes have gone well. Italian one-year 6 per cent. notes were mostly all placed with bankers. It may be said that the government note is primarily a bankers' investment. The Anglo-French 5's were probably 85 per cent. placed with banks and with manufacturing concerns that were profiting from the war. How many of the original underwriters intend carrying the notes to maturity in 1920 it is difficult to say. That will depend on the fortunes of war. Certain it is that if the practise inaugurated by the Du Pont Powder Company of declaring dividend in the bonds is very generally carried out present holders of the loan 5's will face a considerable depreciation. And the general impression seems to be that other disbursements similar to that made in February will take place. The bonds have recently been selling on a 6½ per cent. yield basis.

II. INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 718. WESTERN MORTGAGES THIRTY YEARS AGO AND NOW

THIRTY or thirty years ago a great many people lost money in Western mortgages. I would like to know if you can explain the causes, and whether, in your opinion, conditions have changed so as to make such investments safe, if made through a reputable banking firm. I have a few bonds of public utility corporations. Recently I have seen a number of notices of reorganizations of different corporations, and I have become uneasy about my investments. They are nearly all long term bonds, and I fear there is a risk of conditions changing before they mature in such a way as to affect their value. If I could sell part of them, I think perhaps Western mortgages might suit me better on account of the fact that their shorter term lessens this risk of changed conditions. But I want safety of principal first.

It is possible to refer here only in a very brief and general way to the causes for the losses that were suffered in the early 90's on investments in Western mortgages. The principal cause was that the mortgage business had been tremendously overdone. Investors generally knew little in those days about how to judge underlying values in this field of investment, and in the East especially there had been so much indiscriminate buying of mortgages that many of the reputable loan agents became careless, while scores of unscrupulous adventurers were tempted into the business. The result was a condition which precluded even slight resistance to the financial panic that came along in 1893. There was a great scramble to withdraw funds from the West, accompanied by a pretty general collapse of land values, and, of course, disaster followed, not only for the lenders, but also for the borrowers.

But conditions have changed to such an extent as to make it difficult to conceive of a repetition of widespread disaster in this field of investment. Land values have been stabilized, and the development of mortgage banking along scientific lines may be said to have been both the cause and effect of the growth of a highly discriminating class of investors in mortgages during the last few years. Among the mortgage bankers of recognized standing nowadays, one finds a very high average sense of responsibility toward both lenders and borrowers, and it is rare that, even in cases of difficulty—which are, of course, bound to arise occasionally in spite of all the precautions observed—satisfactory adjustment is not found possible ultimately.

This is to say that if you were to start right with the selection of a trustworthy and experienced banker, you could very confidently enter the field of mortgage investment. But in circumstances like those to which you refer, we believe it would be prudent to subject your holdings of utility bonds to careful analysis before making the change suggested. It is quite possible that your uneasiness may be wholly without justification. Taking the public-utility field as a whole, reorganization and capital readjustment has not been frequent,—in fact, it is an investment field in which this kind of risk has been extremely small. Moreover, it is quite likely that even if, with all the facts before you, it still seemed desirable to make the change, you might find that by waiting a while it could be made on somewhat more advantageous terms.

No. 719. BUYING STOCKS FOR INCOME

I have been considering the question of investing in high-grade railroad stocks. My attention has been called to the fact that even the best of such issues fluctuate considerably in market value from time to time, and I have wondered whether it would not be possible for me to take advantage of these fluctuations,—to buy when prices are comparatively low and to sell when they are comparatively high, and thus make an additional yearly income. Is such a course advisable, or is it more advisable to purchase such stocks to hold for income return only?

For the average investor, with neither the time nor the proper facilities for keeping in touch with developments in the affairs of the companies whose securities he holds, or for studying and interpreting the multitude of extraneous developments which influence the course of prices in the market as a whole, we think it unquestionably the wisest thing to buy such stocks to hold for income return alone. We mean that we believe this should be the underlying purpose in making such investments. It is so difficult even for the shrewd traders to judge accurately the times when the active stocks are standing at their lowest or highest levels, that the undertaking becomes practically an impossibility for the man who has other affairs to attend to.

No. 720. SIX PER CENT MUNICIPALS

Can you recommend a few good municipal bonds yielding 6 per cent. interest?

The fact that municipal bonds, as a class, and especially those offered at the higher rates of interest, are handled privately by the specialists in such investments, and seldom become known in the general market, makes it difficult to recommend specific issues in this category. We think it would be best for you to communicate directly with some of the well-established and reputable dealers in municipal bonds, asking them what they now have on their lists to yield as much as 6 per cent. It is not very common to find municipal issues of the highest quality available at this rate of income, but at the same time it is not impossible to get such a rate with safety, particularly if the circumstances surrounding the investment do not call for a security of quick convertibility into cash.

No. 721. CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC

What is the reorganization plan of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway? Do you think there are any possibilities in the stock at present prices?

As yet no definite plan of reorganization and capital readjustment has been worked out for the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway. There seems to be a considerable difference of opinion as to how much new capital is going to be required to put the property on its feet and this question is, of course, the important one which will determine in the end many of the essential terms of the readjustment plan. It is possible merely to suggest at this time that it appears to be a practical certainty that any reorganization plan must call for a cash assessment on the old Rock Island Railway stock. This assessment, however, will probably not be as large as was once thought necessary.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

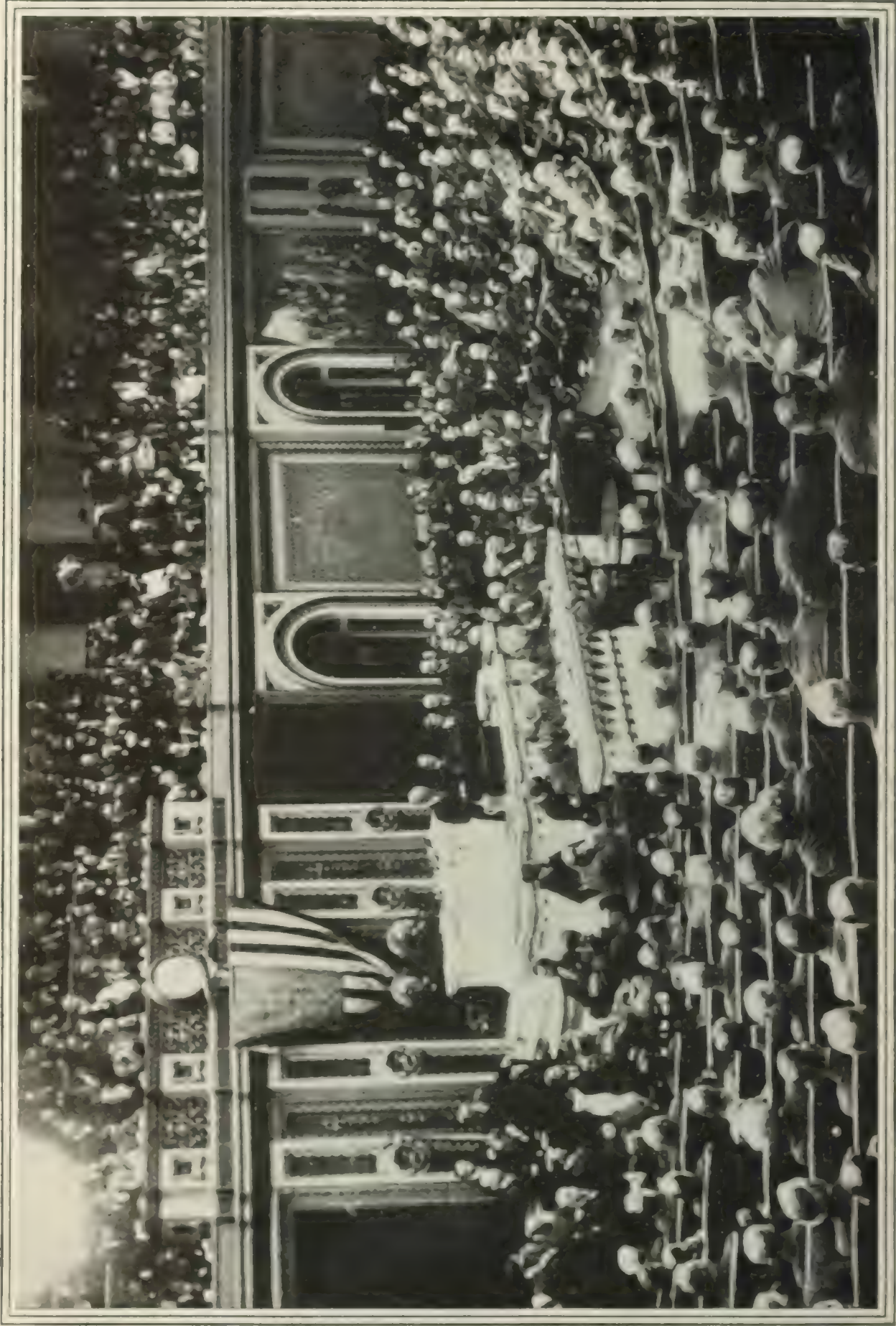
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PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING THE CONGRESS IN JOINT SESSION ON APRIL 19 ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SUBMARINE
CONTROVERSY WITH GERMANY

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*An Ultimatum
to Germany*

On April 19, President Wilson sent an ultimatum to Germany. It took the form of an extended letter signed by Mr. Lansing as Secretary of State and cabled to our Ambassador, Mr. Gerard, at Berlin, with instructions to deliver it to the German Foreign Minister, von Jagow. The occasion for this note was the arrival by our Government at the firm belief that the French passenger boat *Sussex*, injured in the English Channel on the afternoon of March 24, was hit by a torpedo discharged from a German submarine. The note alludes to other instances in the German "U-boat" campaign, but develops the *Sussex* incident as the climax and the crowning horror. Although, as we have said, the letter is an extended one, its purport is entirely summed up in the concluding paragraph which reads as follows:

Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

*Germany
ought to
conform*

There can be no question among clear-headed and temperate-minded people as to what ought to happen as a result of this note. Germany ought at once to abandon the practices justly complained of, and ought to conform her submarine methods in the North Sea and the waters about the British Islands to the methods that she and Austria had agreed early in January to employ in the Mediterranean. Germany's submarine commanders have been running amuck in the most shocking way, all under the pretext of "reprisal," and not under the countenance of international law as interpreted by anybody. This

policy has hurt the Allies appreciably, but it has hurt Germany a great deal more. A change of method would help Germany to an extent far beyond any loss to her naval efficiency. As a matter of fact, she has been exceptionally careful to avoid direct injury to American ships or passengers, but has been careless of the rights of Dutch, of Danes, of Swedes, and of Norwegians. These smaller neighbors of Germany have had vastly greater ground for complaint and challenge than we have had. But their circumstances have not permitted them to resort to extreme measures in defense of their rights.

*Submarines
Can Be Used
Legally*

As we have repeatedly stated, we do not approve of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers. But this practice cannot be stopped just now. Russian, French, and British submarines, operating in the Baltic, in the Mediterranean, in the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora, and in the Black Sea—and to a limited extent elsewhere—have been acting as commerce destroyers against Germany, Austria, and Turkey. The submarine is an established naval instrumentality. The foremost pacifist editor in America, who speaks and writes against big navies and against preparedness, openly favors the construction of a great number of submarines by the United States. Our State Department, together with our naval authorities, has studied the submarine problem carefully, and is on record in the most formal way as supporting the use of submarines by Germany in the present war, provided certain methods be followed. The President's demand, therefore, of April 19, taking the form of a note to Germany signed by Secretary Lansing, must be read in relation to the entire discussion, which has extended over about fifteen months. The doctrine of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing is that merchant ships ought not to arm and ought not to try to escape when they have been fairly

warned to submit to visit or search. In their note to the Allies of January 18, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing said that they were "impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of underseas craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government." This shows plainly enough how far our authorities have been from espousing the doctrine that Germany should give up her use of submarines against British and French commerce. Our doctrine has been simply that Germany should observe the time-honored rules of humanity, and should not lawlessly imperil the lives of non-combatants who have a right to sail the high seas.

But, many puzzled citizens were inquiring on the twentieth of April, why break with Germany now if our official recital of reasons be sincere and just? Why should we have waited more than a year to enforce a position that was as obvious early in 1915 as it is to-day, and that could have been met much more safely at the very outset? These are questions that we are not able to answer. They have to do with nothing whatever but the psychology of the present Administration—

Why a
Whole Year's
Delay?



From the *World* (New York)

"HOW COULD YOU THINK I DID IT?"

(The feeling on account of shocking incidents in Germany's recent submarine policy had been much more intense in Holland where the *Talisman*, *Palomares*, and other cases had stirred up national wrath—than in the United States. It is similarly true that Spain and the Scandinavian countries had been enraged by the lawless sinking of their merchant ships.)

unless with that of American public opinion. President Wilson has greatly desired to maintain peace, and has evidently thought that his methods toward both belligerent groups were in accord with the preponderance of the best American sentiment. It has not been possible for him to act otherwise than in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment. The point of view editorially expressed in this REVIEW during more than a year and a half of diplomatic discussion between the United States and the belligerent powers has been in almost every particular in full accord with the doctrines laid down by the President and the Department of State. But we have frankly differed, during all this period, as to the nature of the action that should be taken in the face of those doctrines. Inasmuch as the Government has been right in its positions—as we have believed and constantly asserted—it has seemed to us that the safer course would have been to enforce those verdicts without a moment's shrinking or hesitation.

Mistaken
Forbearance

In the early period of the war, American commerce suffered a good deal through British Orders in Council that our State Department declared to be wholly illegal. A series of alleged offenses culminated in the seizure of the American ship *Wilhelmina*, carrying a cargo of wheat for civilian use to Germany, at a time when there was no blockade and when wheat was no more contraband than water or air. This seizure was not an act against Germany, but an act against the rights and the sovereignty of the United States. Our State Department made protest in the form of writings which were transmitted to England and which received only perfunctory attention, because England was at war and was intensely preoccupied. It was for us to stand up for our own rights; and it was quite too much that we should ask England to pause and consider our rights with impartiality, as she would willingly have done in normal times. What this Administration seems never to have understood is that our rights would have been respected instantly if we had asserted them. This would have required no legal arguments to be transmitted to England. It was obvious that the British Orders in Council were illegal so far as we were concerned. If we were willing to waive our rights, well and good. But in that case we should not have made the written arguments, and entered into controversial discussion with England. A

confidential whisper to the British Ambassador, as to our definite attitude, would have secured observance of our rights within forty-eight hours without the slightest breach of the perfectly friendly relations that both nations desired to maintain.

*A Bit of
Last Year's
History*

In his recapitulation of the submarine controversy with Germany, President Wilson does not bring out with sufficient clearness the situation that actually existed in February, 1915. The Germans had threatened to make a war zone about the British Islands and to strike at commerce by the use of submarines, if the British did not cease their illegal interference with neutral trade in foodstuffs to German ports. On February 20, 1915, our Administration sent an "identic note" to the British and German Foreign Offices. We set forth certain rules of conduct that both sides should observe in common, and certain others that Germany should observe on her part, with still others that Britain should observe. Our position was fair and reasonable. We asked the one belligerent to agree on condition that the other should do the same. Germany replied courteously within ten days, and accepted our proposals. England waited twenty-three days, and declined the proposals in a note that was not as courteous, as just, or as intelligent as the German note. If we had taken a firm stand at that moment, there would have been no illegal submarine campaign on Germany's part, for she expressly agreed not to enter upon any such course of action. England was wrong, and we were in position to set her right by a firm word that meant "business," without controversy but without delay. It was our own Hamlet-like lack of promptitude and firmness, at that moment of rare opportunity, that has been a contributory cause of all the unfortunate incidents of Germany's ill-conceived form of reprisal through the long and painful period that has ensued. We, too, have been making history.

*Policies,
Not
Incidents*

Many times during last year it was pointed out in these pages that the thing to be faced as regards Germany was not the incidents but the policy itself. Even though our tolerance of England's illegal acts against our commerce lent the Germans their excuse for reprisals, there was never a moment's justification for the form of reprisal that was adopted by Von Tirpitz and the German party that favored terrorism by means of



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ, WHO HAD ORGANIZED AND DIRECTED THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN

(The resignation of Admiral von Tirpitz, several weeks ago, was regarded as a virtual concession to protests of neutral nations against the policy of which he was regarded as the chief advocate. This policy has shared with the subjugation of Belgium the most emphatic disapproval of the world's best opinion)

Zeppelins and submarines. The waters in which Germany proposed to commit submarine depredations were parts of the high seas where neutral ships and passengers had a right to move in safety. Calling their submarine campaign a blockade did not make it a blockade in the legal sense, for it was nothing of the sort. A wrong policy was sure to involve wrong incidents. There was no reason to wait for overt acts. Gradually the British high-handedness, as regards neutral commerce with Germany, took on some aspect of legality through the declaration of a blockade. This, though novel in method, was efficient enough in results to make it at least permissible for our Government to countenance it, and thus we ceased to argue for the right of an American ship to sail into the port of Hamburg with a cargo of wheat. A more correct British policy had been substituted for unlawful incidents. There was, indeed, much difficulty in making the actual blockade methods conform to any sort of legal theory.

*Our Case
Against the
Allies*

There were, however, many subsequent interferences by the Allies with American trade, against which our State Department rightly continued to protest. These had to do with the increasingly arbitrary regulation of our trade with neutral countries. Again, we should either have waived those rights or we should have taken means to enforce them. The means lay fully within our power. We chose, through the industry and legal skill of the State Department, to set forth our case in terms so unanswerable as to leave the whole world, in blinking wonder because, having stated it, we seemed forthwith to abandon it. The fact that unofficially this country was financing and supplying the Allies on so prodigious a scale made it the more necessary that officially at Washington we should maintain a correct neutrality. It is unthinkable that we would have tolerated for a moment, from Germany, such interferences with our commerce as those on the part of the Allies that we condoned in fact, after having condemned them on paper. Herein lies the difference between the methods of the present Administration and those that certain critics have been advocating. They declare that if Roosevelt were President and Root Secretary of State—and were of the same opinion that is now held at Washington on the overhauling of our mails at sea—something would happen.

*As to American
Mails at
Sea*

They would not write diplomatic notes, nor send international-law memoranda to London. They would merely tell the British

Ambassador, in the friendliest way, and also in strict confidence, that our mails must be respected in accordance with the postal treaties. They would expect an assurance to that effect within twenty-four hours, by cable, in failure of which they would doubtless send a cargo of outgoing Scandinavian mail on a battleship, as a mere object-lesson. But it would never come to the use of the naval vessel; because the mere private and confidential statement of a determination to maintain the inviolability of American mails on neutral ships would be sufficient. The British may, indeed, be right in their contention that parcel-post is freight, and that their object has been merely the seizing of contraband, or the enforcement of blockade on the principle of "continuous voyage." We are not raising this question of the mails in order to state an opinion as to its merits. It is a wholly different point that we are discussing. We are taking the expressed views of our State Department, and are asking what the Government ought to do to support our rights after it has defined them for itself.

*What Would
John Bull
Do?*

Of one thing we may be quite sure: England would never say to another country that her mails were being unlawfully pillaged at sea, and then wait around, with the indignity repeated day by day, doing nothing about it at all. Everybody in the world respects John Bull because he never permits trifling of that sort. He has not permitted it in three hundred years. He would immensely respect us, and would not quarrel with us for a half-minute, if we showed decisiveness in protecting our own mails on the high seas. Meanwhile, John Bull is at war with Germany and is going to take every liberty that he possibly can in pursuit of what he deems to be his righteous cause. We have no business to ask him to respect our mails. He regards us as strong enough to attend to all that for ourselves. These are not matters about which countries like ours are accustomed to write diplomatic notes. In such cases strong countries simply assert and obtain their rights—and that without delay, discussion or publicity. Stiff and elaborate notes make negotiations difficult.

*Safety
in Vigorous
Action*

America has no peculiar ground of quarrel with any European nation. Neither Germany nor England has said or done a single unfriendly thing against this country since the war broke out. They have merely violated international



BRITISH MOP. ROBERT. "Neutral mails? Private letters? Out with them! Nothing's private from me!"
From Continental Times (Zurich)

law, and disregarded the rights of neutrals, in their eager endeavor to get at one another. If we had called the neutrals together at once, and decided upon the reasonable minimum of public and general right which we would not permit any belligerent to trespass upon, we could have enforced our positions from the start with entire ease—provided we had shown swift courage, and had not stopped to argue or to write diplomatic notes. An embargo in Jefferson's time found the conditions unfavorable. The very whisper of an embargo in Wilson's time would have brought the Allies up standing, while a contemporary hint to Germany could have made the submarine campaign impossible and might also have prevented "fearfulness" as practised in the Zeppelin raids.

The Administration has protested in vigorous language against the seizure and forcible removal from American ships of German citizens who, our Government holds, have as much right to be safe on those ships as upon our neutral and hospitable soil. If Mr. Wilson were as prompt to enforce our rights as he and Mr. Lansing are convincing in their statement of them, we should have been led into no relations of unfriendliness with the Allies, while we should have had an enormous moral leverage by means of which to secure compliance at Berlin with our wholly correct demands that illegal submarine methods should be abandoned. Mr. Bryan thought that "sauce for the goose should also be sauce for the gander." Unfortunately for the success of his policy, he failed to apply his principle with due vigor in February and

What Might
Have Been



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THE NEUTRAL BREAD-LINE
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

March. He signed the "strict accountability" note, and then waited to see what would happen, when dire disaster seemed inevitable. Illegal submarining did not begin with the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, but had been going on for more than two months previously. It was well known that attempts had been made to submarine the *Lusitania* herself on several voyages previous to the fatal one; and she was loaded with American passengers on all those previous voyages. Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, should have met the emergency squarely in February or March, or else should have resigned as a token of disagreement with Mr. Wilson. The previous attempts to sink the *Lusitania* were notice enough. Since we were destined to make it our affair, the ultimatum should have been early last year, in consequence of an illegal policy, rather than this year in exasperation over an incident in pursuance of that policy.



THE ATROCITIES STILL GO ON
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

The *Succox*
as an
Exhibit

The *Succox* was a shocking case, but not quite as clearly one for American interference as some others. She was a passenger boat plying between Folkestone and Dieppe. At first it seemed likely that she had struck one of the British floating mines, which are planted to protect the guarded lanes between Great Britain and France. There had been ten



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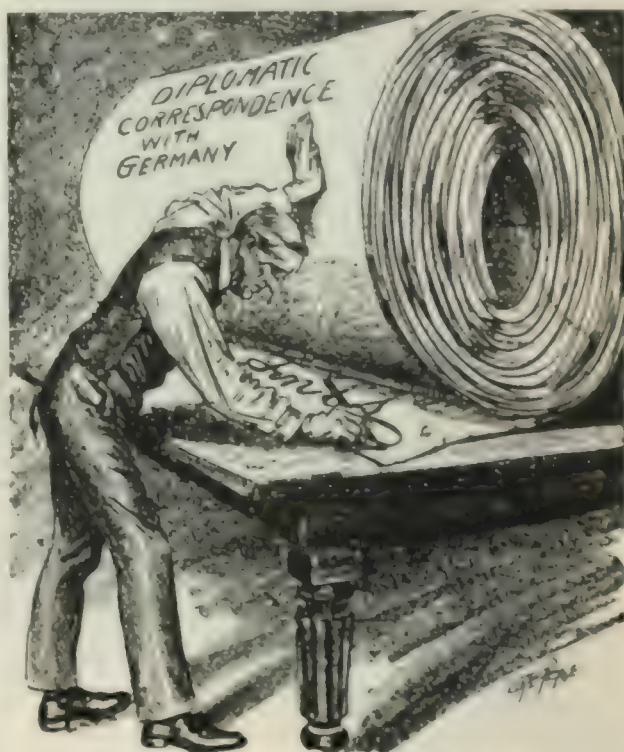
THE "SUSSEX" ON HER ARRIVAL IN THE HARBOR OF BOULOGNE AFTER SHE HAD BEEN TORPEDOED ON MARCH 24

rible storms, and reports had come from France that many of these anchored British mines had been washed from their places of moorage and had become a menace to shipping. We had been assured that these lines of ferriage across the Channel were protected in such a variety of ways that German submarines could not possibly enter them. The British Channel is a part of the open seas, belonging of right to all nations. Its closing by the English and French for their own purposes—however understandable—is illegal. The planting of mines has also been illegal, and has been bitterly protested against by the Government of Holland and by other Governments. The British authorities would not permit an American ship, under our flag, to exercise its legal right of passage through those waters. There is hardly any place on land or on sea that the English have so completely transformed into a military zone as certain parts of the Channel. It would seem that an American passenger choosing to cross the Channel on a French or English boat must therefore rely upon the protection of the Allies, since he is within their own militarized territory. Technically, it would not seem that our Government could well be in a position to extend its protection to an American traveler on a belligerent ship in waters from which we have ourselves submitted to the exclusion of the American flag. But many lines of proof converged to indicate that the *Sussex* was struck by a German submarine torpedo, through mistaken identity.

What Will
Germany Do?

The demand upon Germany was for an "immediate" reply. Unfortunately, Germany is not a country where one man makes and unmakes policies, as is the case with us. There are tremendous forces of conflicting power and opinion in Germany; and neither the Emperor nor the Chancellor can play the rôle of an American President, whose arbitrary power is exercised in a fashion that would startle any Czar or Emperor who has lived in our generation. A few weeks ago Mr. Wilson had his own way with a Congress that was at heart ten to one against him on

the question of armed belligerent ships and American passengers. A final break with Germany would be deplorable; and the recklessness of newspapers, whether in Berlin or in New York, should not precipitate it. War would not remedy anything, but would multiply evils a thousand-fold. If the Emperor should cause wisdom to prevail, and keep peace with America, he would have won a great moral victory. After our own vacillations, we can surely grant him a few days to find a way.



SCANT ROOM FOR POSTSCRIPTS
From the *News* (Newark)

*The President
and
Congress*

The note to Germany bears the date of April 18th, although it seems to have been sent on the 19th and received at Berlin on the 20th. President Wilson, on April 19th, at 1 o'clock, appeared before the two houses of Congress sitting together, and delivered a formal address which, when compared with the German note, proves to have been identical with that document in great part. No reason was given for this appearance before Congress, inasmuch as nothing was laid before that body for its action or its consideration. The concluding paragraphs of the address were as follows:

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

It was not apparent that members of Congress were strongly impressed by the action that the President had taken, but it was plain enough that they were prepared to support their own Government at all hazards. It was commonly supposed that the President's action was largely influenced by his confer-

ences with Colonel House, who had recently visited Germany, France, and England as Mr. Wilson's confidential emissary, and who is recognized on all hands as the President's principal adviser. Colonel House had been the President's most efficient campaign director and political pilot in 1912. Congressman Mann, the Republican floor leader, was so cynical as to declare on the day of the President's speech that it was a political move in the face of the approaching campaign. But Mr. Mann—who is always outspoken re-

gardless of the proprieties—was much rebuked by the newspapers for being so flippant and disrespectful at a time of such gravity. At least Mr. Wilson's bold move had the effect to divert attention from the Mexican border for a few days, and to reconcile everybody to what seemed the likelihood of our being obliged to withdraw at once from Mexico, regardless of Villa's fate.



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THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON, ON OCCASION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE D. A. R. AT WASHINGTON ON APRIL 17

made the following remarks pertinent to the existing situation, and of vital meaning to-day to every American citizen:

One of the greatest of the President's powers I have not yet spoken of at all: his control, which is very absolute, of the foreign relations of the nation. The initiative in foreign affairs, which the President possesses without any restriction whatever, is virtually the power to control them absolutely. The President cannot conclude a treaty with a foreign power without the consent of the Senate, but he may guide every step of diplomacy, and to guide diplomacy is to determine what treaties must be made, if the faith and prestige of the Government are to be maintained. He need disclose no step of negotiation until it is complete, and when in any critical matter it is completed the Government is virtually committed. If hereafter its disinclination, the Senate may feel itself committed also.

In his last important book, published just eight years ago, on "Constitutional Government in the United States," Woodrow Wilson

"Absolute"
for War or
Peace

*Democrats
and Second
Term Politics*

But for foreign situations, the aspects of American politics as we approach the opening of the Presidential campaign would be wholly different. In normal times it is likely enough that the declaration of the Democratic convention of 1912, in favor of a single term for the President (a principle to which that convention solemnly pledged its candidate), would have been taken seriously. There happens to be no law against second terms or any number of terms whatsoever; neither is there any law against changing one's mind. Grover Cleveland was first elected President in 1884, with a statement to the country that he would not be a candidate for a second consecutive term, having observed the manifold evils growing out of second-term politics. After the middle of his term, however, he changed his mind, and all the recognized methods for procuring a second term were put into service to that end. He was renominated, but defeated at the polls. When, however, without the aid of White House patronage and the army of Federal office-holders, he was accorded a third nomination, in 1892, he was successful at the polls, and his second term as President was better than his first, chiefly because of his entire independence of machine politicians and his devotion to high public ends regardless of party. Mr. Bryan was the candidate in 1896, again in 1900, and for a third time in 1908. On each of those occasions, as the leader of the Democratic party, he announced his determination to serve only one term, if elected. In 1912, Mr. Bryan again controlled the Democratic convention, and he secured the insertion in the platform of the one-term plank, which for many years had been regarded as party doctrine.

*Wilson the
Only
Candidate*

If, then, the conditions had not been unusual, it is probable that Mr. Bryan and many others in his party would have insisted this year upon the observance in practise of the single-term idea by nominating a new candidate. As matters stand, however, there is no Democratic candidate but Wilson; and he will be renominated by acclamation at the convention which meets in St. Louis on June 14. The Democratic primaries this year have had no significance, therefore, as regards the selection of a candidate. It does not follow that Presidential primaries are to have no future influence; for whether Wilson should be elected or defeated next November, the

primaries of 1920 will probably be of intense interest and significance. It might be fortunate for Wilson if he were defeated. His talent is not for armies, navies, and diplomacy. He has shown great talent, on the other hand, for bringing about important things in the field of domestic policy. If the Republicans were made to shoulder the responsibility of adjustments of all kinds for the next four years, Wilson would naturally be the foremost candidate at the Democratic primaries of 1920.

*Future
Leadership*

Mr. Bryan would also be a leading candidate at that time. Mr. Judson Harmon and Speaker Champ Clark, who were by all odds the foremost candidates at the Democratic primaries in 1912, would probably not appear as candidates in 1920. Because Mr. Bryan has been constantly prominent in national politics for more than twenty-five years, while Mr. Wilson is a wholly new man to the country—having become known in politics only by his election as Governor of New Jersey less than six years ago—it is not generally borne in mind that the Nebraskan is not yet an old man, having just now passed his fifty-sixth birthday, while Mr. Wilson will be sixty this year. Senator Oscar Underwood, who is fifty-four this month, is likely also to be a candidate before the primaries, as against Mr. Bryan, in 1920. Mr. Wilson, of course, will not be a candidate then, if reelected this year. In any case, the Democratic primaries, wholly perfunctory as they are in 1916, will



"NOT FIGHTING THE PRESIDENT"
From the *World* (New York)

have an important part in our political life in 1920, and the politicians are already looking forward to them with the long-headed planning and foresight that belong to the game of politics as played by the ambitious party leaders.

Republican Primaries

It is only less true of the Republican Presidential primaries this year that they are not playing a decisive part in the selection of the candidate. This also is due to unusual circumstances. It so happens that there is no preliminary rivalry of a kind to make the primaries significant. In other words, the Republican party has not one candidate this year whose friends are bringing him to the test of the Presidential primaries, except in a limited and local way. In almost every State the primaries thus far held have been perfunctory; because used merely for the endorsement of a so-called "favorite son." Four years ago the friends of Taft and Roosevelt were engaged in a mighty contest, and the primaries in such States as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Illinois, California, New Jersey, Maryland, and several others, took the form of a direct contest between these two candidates. This year, the three names by far most prominent in the discussion of possible nominees at the Chicago convention are Root, Hughes, and Roosevelt. Yet not one of these three men, who are being talked about as much in California as in Massachusetts, is entered as a candidate at the primaries in a single State.

Three Leading Candidates

Colonel Roosevelt and Justice Hughes peremptorily refused to have their names on the primary voting papers anywhere; and Mr. Root was also unwilling to appear as an avowed candidate. It is plain that Mr. Hughes could not, from his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, enter into a contest for convention delegates. Mr. Root has at no time been an active candidate, although many Republicans have been active in his behalf. Assuming that Justice Hughes holds opinions that would make it consistent for him to accept a nomination upon a platform that would meet the approval of Mr. Root and Colonel Roosevelt, it is not going too far for us to say that Justice Hughes as a nominee would have the strong support of both these other men. If the Republicans should, in their convention, find it desirable to join the Progressives in nominating Colonel Roosevelt, it is equally certain that the ticket would have

Mr. Root's unqualified endorsement and support. If Mr. Roosevelt were elected, he could not fail to remember the matchless record that Elihu Root had made as Secretary of State, and would doubtless in one way or another avail himself of Mr. Root's knowledge, influence, and ability as an international statesman.

Qualities and Tasks

The general duties of the Presidency are very arduous: there is no other high office in the world that subjects the incumbent to so fearful a strain. The exactions of the office are innumerable, and inconsistent in their range and variety. The country has never had a President who was the equal of Mr. Roosevelt in capacity for the prompt dispatch of business. He has also a remarkable talent for working with men, taking expert counsel, apportioning work and responsibility among department heads, and acting with unflinching decision when after due counsel a course has been indicated as best. Mr. Root also has a record for achievement that few Americans of his generation can match. But his talent is a very different one from that of Colonel Roosevelt, and more rare in its kind. Roosevelt is the dynamic executive, with the courage of high ideals and a moral power for decision and action that makes his temperament as unlike that of Mr. Taft as it is also unlike that of President Wilson. One of these has the purely judicial temperament, while the other has the philosophic and historical cast of mind. The habit of writing history—of estimating things after they happen—does not produce the type of mind best fitted to create history.

Mr. Root's Constructive Mind

Mr. Root's great achievements lie in the field of the creative treatment of puzzling questions. It was typically Rooseveltian to see the need of ending Spanish misrule and liberating Cuba. It was typical of Mr. Root to work out methods by which a liberated Cuba could be made safe from outside aggression and internal chaos, while developing as a free and prosperous American republic. Mr. Root is about fourteen years older than Mr. Roosevelt, and if he were elected President he would be inaugurated at the age of seventy-two. Although the new constitution for the State of New York was rejected at the polls in November, Mr. Root never exhibited higher qualities of intellect and of constructive ingenuity than in his efforts as chairman of the convention, through long



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT THE FLOWER SHOW IN NEW YORK IN THE MIDDLE OF APRIL

months last summer, to improve the foundations of government for his State. Every other country in the world, great and small, has during the past year or two been making a demand upon the services of its ripest and ablest statesmen, regardless of party. Other countries look upon Mr. Elihu Root as the most capable and far-seeing of all contemporary statesmen in the field of international relations. It is almost inconceivable to Europe that in the crises of this terrible period the Government of the United States does not even pretend to avail itself of the advice of its best-known and most experienced men.

*Need for
National
Administration*

The next American administration should be broadly national, not partisan. The English Liberals have taken such Unionist leaders as Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law into the innermost governing group. Something of that kind is needed here. If it should happen that Justice

Hughes were chosen at Chicago, his support would not be strictly partisan. Most Republicans and Progressives, and also many Democrats, would vote for him, chiefly by reason of their convictions about pending issues. On the other hand as the issues of the campaign are finally shaped, it is likely enough that some Republicans and some Progressives will support President Wilson as more nearly representing their convictions. The position of Colonel Roosevelt is in no way mysterious or difficult to understand. He is not an aspirant for the Presidency. He is in private life; and he is, like any other citizen, under obligation to his fellow-Americans to serve them in office if called upon. He has not been engaged in any dickering or bargain-making with national or local leaders of the Republican or any other party. He is national, not partisan, in views and methods. If he is voted for by delegates in the Republican convention at Chicago, it will be due to the preference of those delegates and to the sentiment that is behind them. That Mr. Roosevelt is much more popular with the great mass of voters than with the party politicians is evident enough. But the local candidates for offices in many States desire party success, and if they believe that the party can best win with Roosevelt they will not let the convention be dominated by the personal feelings of individuals who have some reason for being opposed to him. The Progressives are to hold their convention at the same time and place as the Republicans. It is understood that they expect to nominate Colonel Roosevelt and to adopt a platform. Their gathering will undoubtedly be harmonious.

*Several
Republican
Favorites*

If times were normal, the issues before the country would be domestic rather than foreign. The foremost Republican candidate would probably have been Senator Cummins of Iowa. As matters stand, he will enter the convention with the delegates from his own State and Minnesota, and a considerable number from other States west of the Mississippi. His great ability and his high qualities of character, together with his firmness of opinion and courage of conviction, have made him representative of what is best in the Senate, as in an earlier period he was a Governor of the finest type. Mr. Burton of Ohio will have the delegation from his own State, and he, like Senator Cummins, stands high as a public man of intelligence and worth.

The only name on the ballot paper of the Illinois Republican Presidential primary held on April 11 was that of Lawrence Y. Sherman, who now holds a seat in the United States Senate from that State. The fact that more than 12,000 Illinois voters took the trouble to write Roosevelt's name in the blank space on their ballots has been regarded as having more significance than almost any other incident in the Republican primaries thus far; while the vote for Mr. Sherman has not been accepted as having any meaning at all, for it is not believed that Illinois Republicans really think of L. Y. Sherman as a serious Presidential candidate this year. Mr. Fairbanks, formerly Senator and Vice-President, has the complimentary vote of his own State of Indiana. Senator La Follette, in the primaries held April 4, was not completely successful in his own State of Wisconsin, but will have more than half of the delegates, and he has also the delegation from North Dakota.

Henry Ford
a Candidate

The so-called "favorite-son" candidates have, as a rule, avoided invading one another's home States. Thus Senator William Alden Smith was expected to have the Michigan delegation, just as Burton, Fairbanks, Sherman, Cummins, and La Follette were expected to have those of their respective States. But the name of Mr. Henry Ford,

the automobile manufacturer of Detroit, was put on the Michigan voting paper, and in the election of April 3 he came out ahead of Senator Smith. The Michigan delegates, therefore, will bring Mr. Henry Ford's name before the National Republican Convention, although nobody had known whether Mr. Ford was a Republican, a Democrat, or a Progressive. It has not been easy to interpret this vote. It was said to be pleasing to the opponents of "preparedness," to the sympathizers with Germany,



SENATOR LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, OF ILLINOIS



THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

and to many people who regarded Mr. Ford as having brought prosperity to Detroit and Michigan and favorable conditions to workmen through his policy of paying high wages. No less a surprise was the success of Henry Ford in Nebraska, over Senator Cummins, the vote on April 18 being very light. The names on the Nebraska ballot included that of Mr. Henry D. Estabrook, for many years a lawyer in New York City, but formerly of Omaha. It was reported, in the middle of April, that an effort was being made to put Mr. Henry Ford's name on the Pennsylvania primary

ballot. It had been expected that Governor Brumbaugh would win the complimentary vote and have the Pennsylvania delegation.

*Republican
Sentiment in
the East*

On the other hand, the movement for Mr. Roosevelt was developing so rapidly among Pennsylvania Republicans that it seemed likely enough that the delegation, whether elected in the Brumbaugh interest or in the Penrose interest, would eventually support the Colonel as Pennsylvania's undoubted preference. The Massachusetts primaries were fixed for April 25, with a complicated situation that turned largely upon a choice between certain delegates avowedly favorable to Roosevelt and certain others unpledged but not unfriendly to Roosevelt. The suggested candidacies of Senator Weeks and Governor McCall had been virtually abandoned. In the State of New York, delegates to the Republican convention were chosen on April 4. The primaries did not give opportunity for the voters to express preference as to Presidential candidates. The delegates-at-large are Governor Whitman, U. S. Senator Wadsworth, State Senator Elon R. Brown, and Mr. Frederick C. Tanner, who is chairman of the State Committee. Messrs. Whitman and Tanner are regarded as Hughes men, while Wadsworth and Brown are Root men. The *New York Tribune*, which is the leading Republican paper of the State, is openly and strongly supporting Roosevelt; and the Republicans of the Empire State have no candidates in mind except the three distinguished New Yorkers.

*Reunion
Probable*

It is a notable fact that as the discussion of candidates proceeded in New York, antagonisms seemed steadily diminishing. Mr. Root's personal readiness to support Colonel Roosevelt had an evidently mollifying effect upon the minds of many politicians and conservative citizens who had previously been anxious to support Root while hostile to Roosevelt. The Roosevelt men and Progressives, on the other hand, were more ready to lay aside the differences of 1912 and to recognize the patriotism, as well as consummate ability, of Mr. Root. The Hughes men, led by Governor Whitman, were in no sense belligerent as regards the other proposed candidates, while, on the other hand, everybody recognized the high integrity of Justice Hughes and his great capacity for the treatment of public affairs. Yet the feeling that Justice Hughes ought not to be urged at the present

time to leave the Supreme Court, where his presence is recognized as especially desirable, was widely expressed last month among men who admire him and who would be glad to support him for President if he were a candidate or should become the nominee of the convention. Thus, while in 1912 the Republican situation tended inevitably toward division, both as respects candidates and in regard to platforms, the tendency in 1916 towards reunion has been almost equally marked. We are not predicting the name of the nominee, but we are justified in saying that the tendency towards harmony in the approaching Chicago conventions has been apparent to all observers.

*Harding as
"Keynote"
Orator*

The Republican National Committee, consisting of one member from each State in addition to the chairman, holds over from one Presidential campaign to the beginning of another. It arranges the time and place of the convention, passes in a preliminary way upon the credentials of delegates, and has various supervisory and preliminary functions, among which is the selection of a temporary chairman subject to the acceptance of the convention itself. This year the committee has chosen Senator Harding, of Ohio. Mr. Harding had come up through the school of country journalism to a place of importance in the politics and affairs of Ohio, and he has recently taken his seat in the United States Senate as the successor of Mr. Burton. He has some of the qualities that made Mr. McKinley popular as well as respected, and is a good platform speaker. He has been quoted as saying that the tariff is to be the principal bone of contention in the coming Presidential election. But he is not a stubborn-minded man, and doubtless before the time comes for striking the keynote in his convention speech he will have obtained a better perspective upon the relative importance of problems that face this country.

*"Preparedness"
as an Issue*

It is likely enough that the chief issue will lie in different specific answers to the question how the United States can maintain its own peace with honor, while playing its necessary and responsible part in a world which will not henceforth allow any nation to live unto itself. President Wilson, in his message to Congress at the opening of the session in December, and in many speeches since then, is on record as believing that "preparedness" is the paramount issue. He has told audi-

ences in the West that the United States ought to have the greatest navy in the world. He had last autumn chosen the occasion of a speech in New York to outline his program and Secretary Garrison's, regarding the training of a citizen soldiery for the nation's prompt defense in an emergency. But when it comes to translating oratory into effective leadership and realized results, President Wilson has not made performance square with promise. In place of the kind of army plans he first had in mind, he has acquiesced in a scheme which includes, along with some good features, some very bad ones. A study of the army bills has convinced experts that their dominating motive is to be found in the provisions for taking a great sum of money out of the Treasury in order to pay salaries to the officers of the State militia.

It is with deliberation that we express the opinion that this payment of Federal salaries to National Guard officers may prove to be one of the most objectionable pieces of log-rolling legislation in the history of the United States. We could readily understand, and could even find grounds for supporting, a bill that provided an equivalent amount of money to be used for paying the privates of the National Guard, if this were done upon a sensible plan. The payment should have as its motive the securing of large numbers of new recruits. Such payment should extend only over a brief period, during which the recruit should be vigorously and intensively



SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, OF OHIO

(Mr. Harding, as temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention, will be an attractive personal figure and may prove to have great influence if it should lie in his nature and mind to ignore narrow partisanship and take broad national views)

trained. As fast as possible these young men should be retired to the reserve class. The officers should be paid nothing at all, or else given the same pay as the privates. There is no analogy between the officers of the National Guard and the professional soldiers of the regular army, whose lives are dedicated to the service of the country. The plan of paying salaries to the officers of the National Guard evidently contemplates permanence in these positions, the only limitation being that the pay ceases when a man is sixty-four years old. The pay will naturally tend to keep the old Guard officers in possession of their honors, titles, and perquisites, which is exactly the thing that does most to make the National Guard a farce. We have now literally thousands of young men, of fine intelligence and physical vigor, coming out of the military schools, the land-grant colleges where military instruction is required by Federal law, and other institutions. These young men would all gladly serve as lieutenants and captains in the National Guard, without any salaries, provided their service was limited to a year or two, so that other young men could succeed them and have the same experience.



SENATOR HARDING PREPARED FOR A GREAT PARTY
QUARTER

From the Star (Washington)

*The Fossilized
State
Militia*

If the military committees at Washington had gone to work to invent the deadliest scheme conceivable for prevention of the training of young citizens to serve their country, they could hardly have hit upon anything so calculated to defeat real preparedness as the payment of salaries to the National Guard officers on the plan of keeping these officers permanently in their places. Already the tendency of the National Guard is too much in the direction of a series of clubs or local social organizations. The State provides at great expense a fine regimental armory, and the United States Government provides equipment and various appurtenances. This combination of State and Federal provision would in any other country but ours be used as the means for training thousands upon thousands of young men, who would be passed rapidly through the regimental organization as a school for physical training, military discipline, and responsible citizenship. But under our system as it actually works, the armory becomes a clubhouse for the companies belonging to the regiment that monopolizes its facilities. Too few are the hours of military training, compared with the hours of dancing and social festivity in the armory. Reënlistment is encouraged on the part of privates, and many of the officers hold their places through long periods of years. It is very much as if the group of masters and pupils enjoying the facilities of a fine boys' school should convert the institu-

tion into a club for their own permanent benefit, graduating no classes and only taking in a new boy now and then when somebody died or departed to another region. Now the tendency of the new scheme for paying salaries to the officers must inevitably aggravate still further the present evils of the National Guard system. Furthermore, it will make reform much more difficult in the future, because this payment of salaries will soon have created a sort of vested interest that will set fires burning behind every Congressman at Washington who tries to do his duty in an intelligent way in the matter of national defense.

*Creating
an Obstacle*

Nobody pretends to say what services the salaries are expected to secure. Everybody in Congress knows that better services could be secured without salaries from a better class of men, than can be secured by payment of salaries to the barnacles who will stick to the jobs. The bright young men who would come forward with enthusiasm, willing to succeed one another in serving for a year as lieutenant or captain, and ready to recruit and help train the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys of the neighborhood as privates, will be kept from rendering this valuable service by the fossils who will draw their few hundreds a year of loot from the Federal treasury, while standing guard against any real scheme for training successive relays of boys as they reach the period from eighteen to twenty-one. Some men may not like these plain words, but everybody who knows anything about the subject is well aware that this is the truth, and that it is spoken only in the public interest. This salary grab has no reference to preparedness, and it has no character except that of a raid upon the Treasury. It represents the weakness of our political system. That things so preposterous as this should be done, throws a light upon the hard path that our democracy must yet travel before it can attain efficiency in the face of public danger. While Republicans have also supported this measure, the Democratic party is responsible for it. Secretary Garrison would not countenance it, and he left the Administration accordingly. It must be admitted that there is one gleam of light shining through this ill-conceived measure. The bill first says the salaries must be paid anyhow. But since the framers of the bill have no idea why salaries should be paid, they proceed to confer upon the Secretary of War the right to prescribe the amount and



HIS FIRST BATTLE
From the State Journal (Columbus, O.)

kind of duties to be rendered as a condition of drawing the pay. It is wholly unlikely, however, that a Secretary of War would ever have enough real authority to enforce unpopular rules. Let officers and privates be paid alike, and let the terms of all be brief.

*Can Recruits
Be Found?*

When it was determined to invade Mexico because Villa and his bandit group had outraged an American border town, the Administration asked to have Congress sanction the immediate enlistment of men enough to bring the existing regiments and organizations of the army up to their maximum numbers. This, as we explained last month, meant the addition of about 20,000 men to the 80,000 then enrolled. Congress acted unanimously and without a moment of discussion or delay. After thirty days of recruiting, however, only 3927 men had been obtained. The House and Senate military bills providing for the future of the army call for a further great increase of regulars, while the National Guard provisions call for a force of about 120,000, to be recruited in a very brief space of time to 480,000. But all parts of the system provided in this pending legislation are so defective that there is no good reason to believe that they will bring practical results, unless an actual war provides the stimulus. There is more to be hoped for from the summer training camps alone, as now undertaken by such exemplary and patriotic officers as Gen. Leonard Wood, than from any of those projects at Washington that will cost the American people unknown millions of dollars. It is entirely feasible to train every young man in the United States, upon the Swiss system or something akin to it, at a very moderate cost. A navy, on the other hand, cannot be built and maintained without large expenditures. The problems of defense are at once so pressing and so difficult that they call for our best talent in some form of a defense council. The collective wisdom of the country on these questions is not at present focused in government circles at Washington. How to secure a national program for the safety and dignity of the country is perhaps the most important of the issues that ought to be faced in the coming campaign.

*Mexico on
the March
Front*

Quite regardless of the episode of the invasion of northern Mexico to quest of Francisco Villa, there is much reason to fear that the Mexican troubles are not to be solved at the hands of

General Carranza. Vast American interests have already been sacrificed in Mexico, including many lives. Large European interests have suffered in a similar way. "Watchful waiting" will no longer satisfy Europe when the British and Germans decide to end their war. They will make quick work of occupying Mexico, restoring its order, reconstructing its railroads, opening its mines, working its oil fields, and protecting its agriculture, in case the United States should hesitate to exercise some kind of neighborly influence to that end. We have not yet found any solution, and the party in power does not suggest any. We have recognized Carranza as in authority, and for some time have been supplying him with munitions of war. Yet his army, though vastly larger than ours, did not seem to show any zeal in trying to exterminate Villa's bandits and to restore order. Doubtless Carranza's good intentions have gone beyond his power to control the situation. He has been dependent upon his military chieftains and has had to appear as if seriously opposed to the presence of United States soldiers in the state of Chihuahua. By the middle of April he decided that Villa's bands having been dispersed, we ought at once to withdraw. There was, indeed, much to be said in favor of a prompt acceptance of his views. It was absurd to be controlled by the fixed idea that we had a feud with "Pancho" Villa himself, which could only be satisfied by putting him to death. The problem to be dealt with is that of chaos in northern Mexico; and as yet we have no policy. Mexico can now derive no arms and ammunition from Europe, and it may be dangerous for us to continue to supply these things unless we see them used swiftly and successfully to restore order, and unless, furthermore, we see every sign of a full appreciation of our amazing forbearance.

*An Army
and a Bandit*

The circumstances of the attack of a band of Mexicans under Villa's lead (then estimated at 1500 men, but probably only a fractional part of that number) were set forth in our April issue. The attack occurred in the early morning of March 9, and was a complete surprise, although there had been several days of rather ostentatious warning. President Wilson and his Cabinet immediately decided to invade Mexico by way of retaliation. "Villa dead or alive" was the cry that went forth from Washington, and this was reported to be the message of the



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THE THIRTEENTH U. S. CAVALRY "SOMEWHERE IN MEXICO" LAST MONTH

Administration to the army on the Mexican border. After nearly a week of preparation, 6000 men under General Pershing's immediate lead and under General Funston's authority entered Mexico in an effort to find the bandit leader. Americans in general and the world at large supposed that the real object of this invasion was to occupy and to pacify northern Mexico. Villa's band had been defeated and scattered on the very day of its attack upon Columbus. There was no danger of its nearing the border again in sufficient numbers to do much harm, without ample notice of its approach. If our military adventure was intended literally to capture or destroy one bandit leader, and was no part of a larger policy to establish law and order in Mexico, it could not be regarded as a well-considered act. Our troops had already, on the day of the attack, chased the bandits several miles across the border, killing a large number of them and dispersing the rest. Since we had recognized Carranza as the ruler of Mexico, and were supplying him with arms, we could well enough have left to him the further pursuit of the Villista following, if we had nothing else in view.

A Futile Expedition

Yet under circumstances of almost incredible difficulty our gallant troops were sent, to the number of 12,000, across the border to hold a constantly extending line that by April 12 had reached Parral, a distance of nearly 400 miles from our boundary line. Villa was reported for a number of days as wounded and carried by his men into obscure parts of a

mountainous region all of whose people were friendly to him. Later on it was announced that he had died; but the evidence was not convincing. Our expedition had accomplished nothing whatsoever except to alarm Mexico and arouse fresh feeling against the "Gringos." We had agreed to keep out of towns and cities, and were not allowed to use the railroad, which had been constructed by American capital and which ran along the hot, sandy route painfully pursued by our troopers, whose supplies were transported by motor trucks. On the 12th of April an American force entered the town of Parral, in alleged violation of the agreement to keep away from towns and cities. A mob was insulting and aggressive, and it is claimed that Mexican soldiers assisted the mob in attacking our troops. The report came that two of our men had been killed, and that we in turn had killed forty Mexicans.

Carranza's Justified Demands

By this time General Carranza as head of the Government and his Department of Foreign Affairs, together with his War Department under General Obregon, were insistent upon the evacuation of Mexico by American soldiers. Our Government at Washington unquestionably believed that prompt withdrawal was the desirable thing, on the ground that Villa's bandits had been duly dispersed. They hesitated, however, to withdraw lest it should seem that we were taking orders from Carranza. As a matter of fact, our extended line was in real danger, and was being maintained without any tangible



GOING FURTHER SOUTH IN THE HUNT FOR VILLA AND HIS BAND

excuse or reason. It is one thing to have 12,000 American soldiers in Mexico at a defensible point, but a very different thing to have them stretched out over a 400-mile line beginning nowhere and ending nowhere, exposed to danger while rendering no service either military or civilian. Common sense called for immediate withdrawal before any great catastrophe should occur. There had been given at least an exhibition of the good qualities of our little army, and there had been a demonstration of our weakness as respects both numbers and equipment. Our shortage of aeroplanes, in view of the expe-

rience of the world during the past two years, was reprehensible in a high degree. Lack of plans for motor transportation was also revealed. Food supplies were precarious.

*"Pride" vs.
Common Sense*

Since our troops were doing no possible good in Mexico, there was every reason for withdrawing them quickly. Carranza was having a hard time to maintain even a semblance of authority, and if he had appeared to be more friendly towards the American invasion than his acts and words indicated, he would have been promptly pushed aside while Obregon,

or some other military leader, would have taken his place and made an attack upon the American troops. The military end of our expedition under Funston and Pershing was well managed. The political control of it at Washington was less commendable because lacking, so far as the public knew, in larger plans and purposes. Once before this Administration had invaded Mexico, seized and occupied its principal seaport, and later on had withdrawn without having contributed towards the settlement of Mexico's troubles. The sharp withdrawal of our men, at the moment when Carranza



THE ROUTE OF OUR TROOPS TO CARRANZA, NEARLY 400 MILES SOUTH OF THE BORDER



Photo by Bain

GEN. ALVARO OBREGON
(Carranza's Minister of War)

definitely requested it, in his extensive note of April 12, would have been an act of obvious prudence as well as of commendable common sense. It seemed like a false and reckless sort of pride, in official circles at Washington, that could have delayed ordering the troops all promptly back upon our own soil.

Waiting—
in San Antonio
Peru.

After the fracas at Parral, on April 12, which was not a Villa affair, things came to a standstill while Washington was turning its attention to Germany. On the 20th it was decided to send the Chief of Staff, General Scott, to San Antonio, Texas, to confer with General Funston and decide what ought to be done.



Photo Underwood & Underwood

GEN. CANTIDO AGUILAR
(Minister of Foreign Relations)



Photo by Bain

JESUS AGÜERO
(Minister of the Interior)

A rumor emanated from Washington that General Scott would enter Mexico to confer with General Obregon, the Secretary of War in Carranza's so-called cabinet. This seemed improbable on its face. Obregon has

been so insistent upon the withdrawal of General Pershing's troops that his attitude has had much to do with inflaming the whole of Mexico against the United States. Meanwhile, our troops had tried to concentrate in small contingents for self-defense, and had entrenched themselves for safety while awaiting—in much discomfort for lack of food and supplies—the expected order to evacuate Mexico. It was not even certain that they would be allowed to ride on the rail-



Photo by Underwood & Underwood

SUPPLIES FOR THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT CASAS GRANDES, UNDER ARMED CONVOY



GENERAL PORRAS OF PANAMA AND HIS CABINET

(Left to right: Ladislao Sosa, Guillermo Andreve, Juan B. Sosa, President Porras, Ernesto T. Lefevre, Aurelio Guardia)

(These gentlemen are administering the affairs of one of the most comfortable, safe, and prosperous little communities in the world. A few years ago their region was subject to every known epidemic malady, including political revolutions. The United States has made Panama a health resort, has given it peace, and has brought commercial and agricultural prosperity. Just now Panama is rejoicing in the fact that the great canal is open again, after having been blocked for several months by "slides." Mexico might be as peaceful and prosperous as Panama but for her hatred of "Gringoes")

road, although a 400-mile journey confronted those who were near Parral. Common hostility to the American invasion had by the 20th almost obliterated distinctions between the Mexican parties. Additional Carranza troops were being massed at Parral, and General Pershing was warned not to move his columns any further south. Meanwhile, we were assembling several more regiments at Columbus, New Mexico, and moving additional men toward the front, as was evidently necessary even though a retreat might soon be ordered.

Latin America Prospering

The visit of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and his party to Buenos Aires to attend the meeting of the high commission on financial and commercial affairs in the Western Hemisphere, which grew out of the notable gathering at Washington last summer, has proved to be important and successful. The South American republics now recognize the large possibilities of their trade with the United States, and are dealing with many questions in a business-like way. They are prospering, and are very hopeful. The meeting at Buenos Aires laid stress upon the need of improved transportation facilities. It also endorsed the plan of a gold standard for all Latin-American countries, based upon a monetary unit having exactly one-fifth the value of our American dollar. Nicaragua has now ratified the treaty with the United States, in accordance with which this country obtains certain naval stations,

acquires control of the right to construct an interoceanic canal, and in return pays Nicaragua a sum of money and presumably protects that country somewhat as we are now under obligation to protect Panama, Santo Domingo, and Haiti, as well as Cuba. It is unfortunate for all interests in Mexico that the inhabitants are unwilling to have peace and prosperity upon any terms whatsoever. They are in sad contrast with all the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

An Era of High Prices

The heavy buying in the United States of the warring European countries, the feverish demand from domestic consumers and the cutting off of trans-Atlantic competition have brought the prices of commodities in this country to figures not seen since the inflation of the Civil-War period. Bradstreet's index number of prices in March shows that ninety-six articles rose 2.1 per cent. in the preceding month, 18 per cent. in the year and 31 per cent. since the beginning of the war. Prices are now 92 per cent. above the average of 1896. In most instances, our dollar has now less purchasing power than at any time since the Civil-War period.

A Hurry of Frantic Buying

The demand from Europe for our metals, textiles, leather, oil, coal, chemicals and many other commodities and articles has frightened American users into bidding what would have been unbelievable prices less than two years ago, offered now in the fear that the

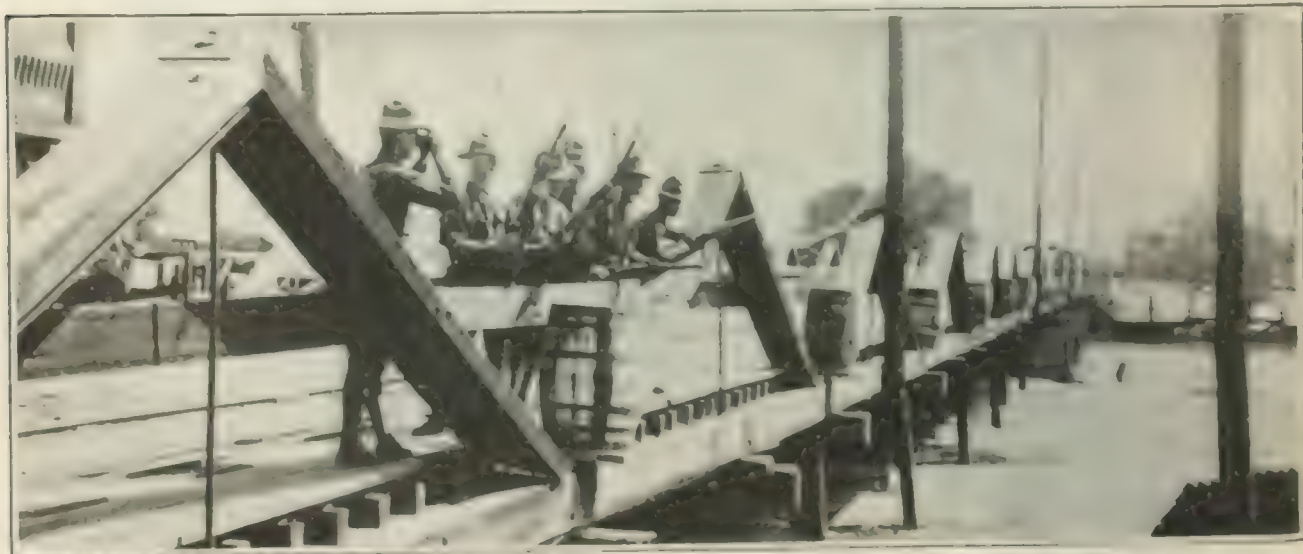


THE BUSINESS SECTION OF EL PASO, TEXAS--A STRIKING CONTRAST TO THE MEXICAN QUARTER



Photo by Associated Press, N. Y.

THE MEXICAN QUARTER OF EL PASO, TEXAS



UNITED STATES SOLDIERS GUARDING THE BRIDGE WHICH CROSSES FROM EL PASO TO JUAREZ, MEXICO

present situation will find them short of stocks which they cannot replenish in time to avail themselves of the current period of trade activity. In most fields of industry there is now undeniably a runaway market, with speculative and competitive buying causing prices to jump overnight. The dangers of such a market are obvious; when prices reach such a level that domestic industry cannot support them, consumers suddenly stop buying at the turn of the tide and there is a perpendicular drop in demand and activity, leaving the overstocked merchants and manufacturers in bad case. Then it is that prices begin to decline so rapidly and so far that business is badly upset.

Copper as an Example

In April, even after enormous shipments of copper to Europe during the past year, the British Government purchased over 200,000,000 pounds of copper from three American interests—the largest single sale of copper ever made in the United States. The cost to Great Britain was, it is said, not far from \$70,000,000. With the cost of producing copper at the mines varying between 5 and 10 cents per pound, and with the price for the metal, before the war, around 12 cents, consumers are now eagerly buying for the rest of the year at 27½ to 30 cents.

Vast Profits for the Mines

The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that with the present rate of output maintained, the year 1916 will for the first time show a production of refined copper in excess of 2,000,000,000 pounds. The increase over 1915 is estimated at 450,000,000 pounds, whereas never before in history has the increase of any one year exceeded one-third that amount. The extravagant profits suggested by the difference between the cost and selling prices we have quoted have brought huge new producers into the field. Of these, the Kennecott, Inspiration, and Chile copper concerns alone are expected to produce this year 252,000,000 pounds. This great production, together with war prices, is expected to show total receipts of \$124,000,000 to \$161,000,000 for the year, compared with a gross value of the 1915 copper output of only \$908,000,000; while in 1914 the figure was \$205,000,000. Allowing for an increase of 10 per cent. in the copper output of other countries, it is found that the United States will contribute 79 per cent. of the world's copper supply this year and is producing more than was mined in the whole world five years ago.

An Even Greater Shipping Boom

Assuming an average cost for copper of 8 cents, it is plain that when the producers are receiving, as now, about 28 cents a pound, they are making a profit 400 per cent. greater on every pound than when copper was at 12 cents; it is also true, of course, that they are mining a great many more pounds. If this is an astounding situation in a basic industry, the rocketing of rates and profits in shipping is even more amazing. Instead of an increase to the consumer of from 12 to 28 cents as in copper, shipping rates have gone up 300, 400, and in special cases as much as 900, per cent., with increases in net profit much larger still. The great shipping combination formed by the late J. P. Morgan, the International Mercantile Marine Company, had never been able to pay a dividend on its capital stock, and at the beginning of the war was about to go into the hands of a receiver, owing to the apparent inability of the concern to meet the interest on its bonds. In the year 1913 the company showed earnings of approximately \$9,000,000 before bond interest and the heavy depreciation charges peculiar to the steamship industry were allowed for. Under war conditions the company is authoritatively said to have earned \$41,000,000 in 1915 and to be currently earning at a rate considerably in excess of this. It is announced that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which sold its trans-Pacific steamers, is going into ocean business again. Ancient steam vessels are changing hands at prices from two to five times as great as their value before the war. With goods to be moved greatly in excess of means of moving them, it is scarcely a question of price of steamers and transportation, but rather a question of whether these can be procured at any price.

Why Ships Are Scarce

British experts have recently investigated the causes of the extraordinary condition noted in the last paragraph, and find that Great Britain has requisitioned for government purposes no less than 80 per cent. of that country's vast merchant fleet. Six per cent. has been destroyed in war by the Germans, and there is a very appreciable loss from normal efficiency in delays caused by war conditions. The net result is, from these estimates, that the British merchant marine fleet is now only available to the extent of 25 per cent. of its strength for the carrying of foodstuffs and like commodities. These facts bear upon the submarine campaign.

*Hurrying
New Ships*

To make up for the great deficiency in the world's merchant fleet, the shipyards of all neutral countries are working with feverish activity. Our Bureau of Navigation reports that on April 1 there were orders for 360 vessels in American yards, totaling over a million tons. About half of these ships were on the seaboard, representing over 800,000 tons of salt-water shipping. This volume of tonnage under construction has increased more than three times over the amount reported as late as July 1, 1915. In the suddenness of the emergency caused by the paralysis of the British merchant fleet it is, of course, quite hopeless to produce new vessels rapidly enough to meet fully the demands of international trade. Nor have the railroads been able to keep the unprecedented movement of ocean-bound freight continuous and free. In the middle of April, the managers of the steamship companies were in a joint conference in New York City with the traffic officials of the trunk-line railways of the country to provide for the closest coöperation possible in dealing with the costly congestion.

*The Railroads'
Dilemma*

While commodities and ocean transportation and the cost of living generally have gone up in such startling fashion, railroad transportation under our system of government control has remained stationary as to the price received for it. The railroads have estimated recently that the general movement upward of prices has increased their cost no less than 53 per cent. for general supplies. Even the important item of steel rails, the cost of which has remained stationary for fifteen years or more at \$28 per ton, is now to move in the direction of the general market, an increase of \$5 per ton having been announced. Thus, when the 400,000 employees in the locomotive engineer, fireman, conductor, and trainman unions presented on March 30 their demand for an eight-hour day and an increase in wages, the railroad managers felt, with much justification, that they were in danger of being ground between the upper millstone of radically increased expenses and the nether millstone of stationary rates. Their answer to the unions was a proposal to reopen the whole question of rates of pay and working rules, though it was contended that the present schedules, having been largely fixed by mediation and arbitration, are already "adequate and even liberal." It is evident that the whole question of railroad rate-making must be reopened.

*Great Britain's
War
Budget*

While the profits of American mines, manufactures, and shipping concerns are shooting upwards, as shown in the preceding paragraphs and in Mr. Speare's article in this issue, the European governments are wrestling grimly with the problem of raising funds for war expenses. Great Britain's budget, published on April 4, was based on new and increased taxes estimated to raise, annually, \$325,000,000 more than the old schedule. Its striking features were new taxes on amusements, railroad tickets, watches, and mineral waters. Added to the earlier war taxes on excess war profits, incomes, sugar, cocoa, coffee, and motor-cars, the coming year should bring the British Government \$2,200,000,000 of income from imposts, if no extension of taxation is attempted. The peace revenues of the country are approximately \$1,000,000,000 per year. It is announced that the government's project for mobilizing American securities held in Great Britain, to be used as the basis of further war loans, has been carried out successfully, the amount of securities obtained being in excess of expectations. A note of optimism was discernible in the announcement of the new budget, Sir George Paish declaring that it made every possible present provision for the payment of the public debt, and proved the country's financial ability to carry the war to a conclusion. It is claimed that trade and industry are proceeding in a remarkably equable manner in Britain, considering the war, and that the 275,000 women said to be working at men's jobs in England have aided the labor problem.

*The War
Debts
Mounting*

Great Britain spent in the year ending April 1, \$8,000,000,000—over four times her income under the new taxes. One-fourth of this expenditure, however, was in the shape of advances to her colonies and allies. The German Treasury announces that the expenditures for last December were \$500,000,000—at the rate of \$6,000,000,000 a year—but that since December the disbursements have been smaller. Germany has just closed her fourth war loan, to which there were subscriptions of \$2,600,000,000, making a total of \$9,000,000,000 borrowed since the war began. The French Minister of Finance states that war expenditures in 1915 amounted to \$4,400,000,000, with estimates of current expenses running somewhat above that rate. In April, France arranged to borrow \$100,000,000 in the United States, all or most of which is to go toward paying



A GERMAN SOLDIER, HARROWING HIS HOME ACRES, WHILE ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Americans for purchases here. Several of our bankers have underwritten this amount as a loan to the French Government, which will deposit with them certain securities to be collateral for debenture bonds offered to the public. Russia has borrowed \$4,000,000,000 since the war began, and is now incurring war expenses at the rate of \$6,000,000,000 per year.

The Allies' Economic Offensives

Following the Paris conference in March of the Allies' military and civil chiefs, began, on April 20, a second conference to discuss specifically what economic measures could be used to hamper the enemy. The movement was heralded as ominous for Germany's trade future. The representatives of three-fifths of the world's population were meeting to arrange the exclusion of Germany from their markets and from all trade intercourse until she should come to terms. The earlier council at Paris had provided for an international bureau of freights at London, had apportioned equitably among the Allied nations charges for maritime transportation, and attempted to check the rise in freight rates. With 980 merchant vessels lost up to April 1, and about half the vessels of the Allied merchant marines requisitioned for war purposes, a chief anxiety is for bottoms to carry

foodstuffs. There have even been hints that the Allies would be complacent if American capitalists should arrange to take over and use the important merchant vessels of German ownership now interned in the harbors of the United States.

Britain Discusses, and Agrees

Last month saw something like a serious crisis in the British Cabinet. In England and Germany people say just what they think on serious matters, whether in cabinets and parliaments or outside. In this country it is not regarded as polite for Congressmen to have an opinion upon a really critical matter, involving life and death, that might seem at variance with the views or policies of a chief executive who, as a matter of fact, is so beset with problems—being simply one human being who happens to have been elected to a high office—that it would be a miracle if he could reach sound conclusions all unaided. Even with their most experienced statesmen of all parties in the British Cabinet, with no elections to think about and no party issues involved, it takes an enormous amount of sharp discussion to reach decision upon matters where opinions may fairly differ. In England there has been much difference about army problems and war efficiency. Financial matters, as we have shown, are



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KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY ON OCCASION OF THEIR VISIT TO THE IRISH GUARDS AT WARLEY BARRACKS
(On the right of the Queen is Lord Kitchener, with John Robb and Ireland last in citizen's clothes)

well managed. Premier Asquith has been reluctant to extend the policy of compulsory military service. Mr. Lloyd George has thought compulsion necessary. The Labor party has been against compulsion. Late in April the cabinet break was averted, both sides yielded something on the compulsion question, and England goes steadily forward with Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Kitchener working in full coöperation.

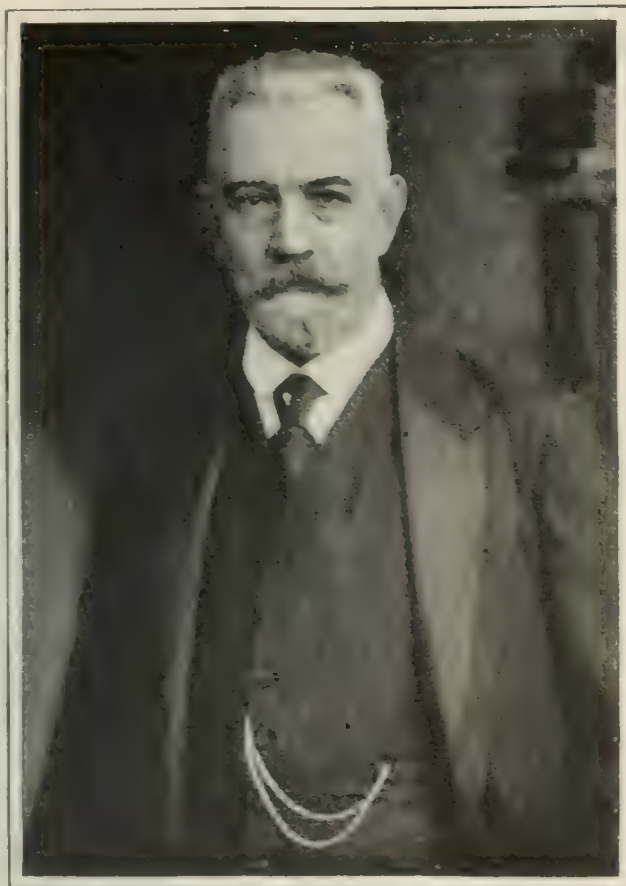
Strict Orders in Council Under the management of Lord Robert Cecil, as the new Minister of Blockade, the British Orders in Council that regulate the use of the high seas by neutral nations have grown ever more stringent. These things do not matter much to the United States, so far as this country's general prosperity is concerned. We have more foreign trade than we can find ships to carry, and all at good prices, without sending anything to Holland or Scandinavia that might be meant for trans-shipment to Germany. Individual Americans have suffered hardship by reason of Britain's arbitrary rules. But this country, as a whole, is unaware of loss or inconvenience on that account. The chief ground

for standing firmly against the illegal aspects of British commercial policy toward neutrals is the indirect harm that comes from failure to maintain neutral dignity and impartiality. Our failure to face the British Orders with vigor is what has made submarine negotiation with Germany so difficult. We seem to the Germans to lack sincerity in our attitudes; and it is because they are themselves sincere, even when misguided, that there is danger of a complete break between Washington and Berlin. Newspaper readers are scarcely aware of the fact, but the composition and dispatch of controversial notes goes steadily on between the State Department and the British Foreign Office, with complete disagreement on every issue (on paper) and the very best of relationships in point of fact.

*Germany's
and Great
Prospects*

The German Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, won a great oratorical triumph in the Reichstag on April 5. If Mr. Asquith may be said to have held his own in England, it is even more true that Bethmann-Hollweg has maintained himself in the midst of the various factions and groups of political and military Germany. It was felt all over

Europe that the Chancellor had done something to advance the cause of peace. He disclaimed conquest as a German motive. He gave no outline of a program that the Allies could approve, yet his suggestions were far from being of the absurd sort made by the Pan-Germanists at an earlier stage of the war. There was poise and confidence in his tone. He declared that the blockade could not starve Germany out, and that the German people could still further reduce their standard of living, which has greatly increased since 1870, without loss of vitality. His view is corroborated by many evidences of an intense, well-organized German agriculture and industry, with thrift and economy put on the basis of science rather than sinking to the basis of poverty. Germany's hope lies in an early peace and a capitalizing of such advantages as she has gained. Some of the British replies were derisive, and in the earlier tone of those who demanded the complete and permanent effacement of the German nation. But Mr. Asquith's reply, made at an important dinner to visiting French Deputies on April 10, was much



VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, WHO IS STRONGER THAN EVER IN THE SUPPORT OF THE REICHSTAG AND THE NATION



MR. ASQUITH, THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, WHO FORMERLY FORMERLY FROM APRIL 10, 1918, THAT THE REPLY TO THE CHANCELLOR

more reasonable. It was quite as firm and even more confident in tone than the German Chancellor's, and it was highly critical. But it was not vindictive. It would almost seem as if the United States, instead of choosing this moment to lock horns with Germany, might with some hope have tried to unite the neutrals in an effort to secure a truce and help the belligerents find the basis for permanent peace. Not one of the great nations engaged in this war is going to be destroyed. But all of them will be bankrupt if the war runs more than a year longer.

During the past month, war interest has continued to center about the colossal struggle at Verdun. Fortunately for the welcome that our readers will give this number of the *Reviews*, Mr. Simonds reached New York late on April 20, direct from a visit to Verdun. His opportunities for seeing and learning from the French standpoint were afforded by the highest authorities of the Government and the army, and could not have been better. His account of the Verdun battle, as seen from the French side, adds the freshness and color of his personal experiences to the resources of general and special

Mr. Simonds
on Verdun



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SCANDINAVIAN PREMIERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERRING AT COPENHAGEN IN MARCH

(Arranged at the table, from left to right, are: Knut A. Wallenberg, Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vilis Claes, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gustav K. Jørgen, Norwegian Premier, C. Th. Ziller, Danish Premier, and Erik Sæviere, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Knut Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, Swedish Premier)

knowledge that he always commands in his war articles. The English troops now hold a much larger part of the entrenched line in the Flanders region than a few months ago. They faced very severe fighting last month. Except for changes that involve no great areas, the war continues to be fought on the east and west European fronts, along the lines established many months ago.

Scandinavian feeling We in America are so remote from the troubled waters in which German submarines make their attacks, and in which the British navy confiscates neutral mails and regulates all neutral commerce, that it is hard for us to realize the intense feeling that these things have aroused in the Scandinavian countries and in Holland. Spain is also deeply offended, and there was never a better cause, or a more fitting opportunity, for joint neutral action than these things have offered, if only the United States had been willing

to organize and lead the neutral group. Several weeks ago the three Scandinavian countries conferred at Copenhagen with the view of advancing their own interests and those of neutrals generally. Sturdy statesmen participated in the conference, and regretted the position of the United States. Norway has been especially incensed over the U-boat attacks which have sunk many of her ships. Feeling in Holland has also been deeply stirred, not only by Germany's reckless attacks upon shipping, but also by England's unlawful restrictions upon her commercial rights. The Dutch are fully mobilized and ready to defend themselves against all comers. The diplomatic energy of Holland in protesting against the seizure of mails, both to England and to France, is spirited and self-respecting, and in contrast with the conduct of the United States Government. Portugal's entrance as a member of the allied group has not as yet led to any movements of importance beyond the initial steps.



KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA, ON A VISIT TO THE AUSTRIAN FIELD HEADQUARTERS

(At the right of the picture is the Austrian Archduke Frederick, and next him is the Bulgarian King. The third figure from the right is Premier Radoslavov of Bulgaria)

*Greece and
Her Neighbors*

The Government and people of neutral Greece continue to find their situation embarrassing. The occupation of the port of Salonica by the Allies, last October, had been followed by the appropriation of the island of Corfu; and on April 11 Allied troops were landed on Cephalonia, the most important Greek island in the Ionian Sea, with the announced intention of creating a naval base there. Premier Skouloudis again strenuously protested to the governments at London and Paris. At about the same time, the Allies announced their intention of transporting the rejuvenated Serbian army from Corfu, on the west coast, to Salonica, on the east coast. They wished to avoid the danger of transportation by water, where Teutonic submarines might be lurking, and they hit upon the plan of sending the troops across Greece by railroad. Germany and Austria immediately entered protest, declaring that compliance by Greece would be regarded as an unfriendly act. But the British minister at Athens is reported as stating that the Allies cannot do otherwise than avail themselves of Greek railways. Meanwhile, ex-Premier

Venizelos continues to be the thorn in the flesh of King Constantine and the leader of those who believe that Greece should enter the war on the side of the Allies and against Bulgaria and Turkey. Venizelos reiterated on April 17 his charge that the present Government does not represent the majority of the Hellenic people, and declared that the time has come to decide whether the divine right of kings shall be accepted. He denied reference to the possibility of a republic, but maintained that the free people of Greece should insist upon their constitutional rights and liberty. With the complete subjugation of Serbia, Bulgaria's active participation in the war came to a standstill, although she is intently watching the Allies at Salonica and preparing for the threatened offensive. In Rumania, those in power have entered into commercial treaties with Germany providing for the sale of grain to the Teutonic powers. This action was widely believed to indicate that Rumania will not—as so often reported—enter the war on the side of Russia and her allies. In this number of the Review (page 611) we print the views of ex-Premier Take Jonescu, the Venizelos of Rumania, who believes that his country should join the Allies.

Another Russian victory
On April 18—two months after the fall of Erzerum, in Asia Minor—came news of the taking by the Russian army of Trebizond, Turkey's most important port on the Black Sea. The Russian fleet cooperated effectively with the army in the taking of this Turkish stronghold, supporting by its artillery the troops operating on the coast. In advancing from Erzerum the Russians had stormed a number of Turkish positions in the vicinity of Baiburt, and it was believed last month by some military critics who had studied the situation that the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia would soon be isolated. Trebizond itself is interesting as the place where the famous Anabasis of the Ten Thousand ended (400 B. C.) as related by Xenophon.

Kut-el-Amara
All England was keenly interested last month in the attempts to relieve General Townshend's beleaguered force at Kut-el-Amara, where the British had been hemmed in by the Turks for nearly five months. The relieving force under General Gorringe advanced along the Tigris River to within twenty miles of Kut-el-Amara. Serious floods at first hindered the British advance, but later drove the Turks from their trenches, and General Lake reported a successful engagement with the Ottoman troops on April 12. Although the army of relief had met with repeated reverses, this later news somewhat encouraged the English at home who had almost despaired of Townshend's release from a most precarious situation. The position of the British at Kut-el-Amara is compared with that of Gordon at Khartum in 1881, and the siege of Ladysmith in the Boer War. There have been many and serious mistakes in the Mesopotamian campaign on the part of the British commanders, and these have incurred severe criticism at home, but much would be forgiven if General Lake and General Gorringe should succeed in piercing the Turkish lines around Kut-el-Amara.

The New York Legislature
The adjournment of the New York Legislature, on April 20, ended a session as uneventful as any in the recent history of the State. Among the half-dozen measures of general interest that had been enacted, one providing for the introduction of a budget system was to some extent an outcome of the discussion in the Constitutional Convention last summer. The scheme now adopted, however, is a legislative, not an executive, budget.

Along with this bill the Legislature passed a constitutional amendment which, if adopted by vote of the people, will make such a system a part of the fundamental law of the State. The date of the beginning of the fiscal year was also changed from October 1 to July 1, and two other proposed constitutional amendments were passed—Woman Suffrage and City and County Home Rule. Bills were passed for compulsory physical training in schools for all children over eight years of age, and for compulsory military training out of school for all boys except those regularly employed. The Legislature also approved a \$500,000 appropriation for the mobilization of the National Guard, but in defeating the Constabulary bill (after passage by the Senate) it failed to provide the State with a form of police protection that would, if adopted, go far to make service in the State Militia more desirable and popular than it is at present, for within the past few weeks National Guard regiments have been compelled to perform police duty in connection with strikes—a service that could be rendered far more effectively and economically by an organization of State Constabulary similar to that in Pennsylvania.

The Osborne Attack—New York's Shame
The New York prison situation was discussed in committees during the legislative session just ended and a bill was passed providing for a commission to build a new prison. Meanwhile the amazing inability of the State government to maintain its own dignity and protect its own agents has been demonstrated in the case of Warden Thomas M. Osborne, of Sing Sing Prison, who for five months has been taken from his duties as an official of the State Prison Department and subjected to relentless prosecution, at the hands of the Westchester County district attorney, whose jurisdiction includes Sing Sing—i. e., the plot of ground on which the State Prison is situated. By reason of the decisions of the judges, the efforts of this zealous county prosecutor who had secured indictments have thus far availed little except to deprive the State for the time being of the services of one of the great prison reformers of this generation. Two Justices of the Supreme Court have thrown out the principal indictments that had been framed against Mr. Osborne, and it seems unlikely that the case will ever reach a jury. The humiliation that comes from such an unprecedented situation is likely to be visited not on the defendant, but on the State itself.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From March 21 to April 20, 1916)

The Last Part of March

March 21.—Russian armies engage in three violent offensive movements against Germans and Austrians: in the sector from Riga to Dvinsk, in the Narocz Lake region east of Wilna, and in the neighborhood of Czernowitz, Bukowina.

March 22.—The transatlantic liner *Minneapolis*, used as a British transport, is torpedoed by a submarine in the Mediterranean, but remains afloat.

March 23.—The House of Commons is informed that 49,500 British women have lost their husbands in the war to date.

March 24.—The British passenger steamer *Sussex*, engaged in cross-Channel traffic and carrying many American passengers, is struck by a mine or torpedo but remains afloat; fifty of the passengers are killed.

The American State Department receives the refusal of the Entente Powers to accept the proposal of Mr. Lansing, submitted on January 18th, designed to regulate the operations of submarines [German] against merchant ships and to prevent the arming of merchant ships [Allied].

Subscriptions to the fourth German war loan amount to \$2,650,000,000; the total of the four loans is \$9,075,000,000.

March 25.—British aeroplanes attack the German airship shed in northern Schleswig, losing three of their number.

It is learned that the Dominion Line freighter *Englishman*, bound for Portland, Me., has been sunk near the English coast, presumably torpedoed.

The British Admiralty makes known that on February 28th an engagement occurred in the North Sea between the armed German raider *Greif*, trying to run the blockade, and the British armed merchant cruiser *Alcantara*, in which both vessels were sunk.

March 27.—Turkey declares that no Turkish submarine was involved in the sinking of the *Persia* on December 30th; Germany and Austria had previously denied responsibility.

British troops carry by assault 600 yards of German first and second line trenches at St. Eloi, Belgium.

German aeroplanes attempting to reach the Allied fleet at Salonica drop bombs on the city itself, killing twenty Greeks; two or more of the seven German machines are destroyed by French anti-aerons.

Austrian aeroplanes carry out a bomb-dropping raid over the Venetian provinces; the Italians assert that four of the machines were brought down.

March 27-28.—The Premiers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia, and the Foreign Ministers of Russia, together with military leaders, meet at Paris in the most important Allied war conference held since the war began.

March 28.—Great Britain answers the Amer-

ican protest against the seizure of securities in the mails between Holland and the United States upholding the action on the ground that the securities were merchandise emanating from Germany, seized in accordance with the British policy to strike at German credit.

March 29.—General Chouvaiev becomes Minister of War in Russia, succeeding General Polivanov.

March 30.—After two weeks of indecisive though constant struggle, the Germans make further gains at Verdun; an important French position at Malancourt, west of the Meuse, is captured by massed infantry attacks preceded by intense artillery fire.

It is unofficially stated that the British now hold about eighty miles, or one-fourth of the Western front, releasing French troops for the defense of Verdun.

It is asserted in the United States Senate that 203 Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish ships have been sunk by German submarines, mines, or warships since the war began.

The Franco-Russian hospital ship *Portugal* is sunk by a submarine in the Black Sea, nearly 100 physicians, nurses, and members of the crew being lost; the Russians assert that the character of the ship was evident and that the submarine attacked in daylight after encircling the vessel.

British Orders in Council apply the doctrine of continuous voyage to conditional as well as absolute contraband, and declare that being on the way to a non-blockaded [neutral] port shall not in itself gain immunity from capture, for vessel or cargo, for a breach of blockade.

March 31.—In the attack on Verdun, the Germans by night assault complete their occupation of the village of Vaux, in which they obtained a foothold on March 11th.

The Zeppelin airship *L 15* is destroyed by gunfire during a raid over England in which five airships participate; the machine comes down at the mouth of the Thames, the crew being rescued before the vessel sinks.

The First Week of April

April 1.—It is learned that Holland has deemed it necessary to take extra preparedness precautions in view of the increased possibility that it might become involved in the war; it is variously asserted that the measures are anti-German because of submarine attacks on Dutch shipping, and that they are anti-Allies because of a possible invasion of Holland to get behind the German lines in Belgium.

Germany declares that the Russian attacks which began on March 18th have come to an end without success and with a loss estimated at 140,000 men; the Russians are alleged to have used 600,000 men and an unprecedented amount of munitions.

April 3.—Great Britain replies to the American

protest regarding seizure of mails, maintaining right to examine mail sacks and confiscate packages containing contraband.

The first important French counter-attack in the Verdun region results in the recovery of a part of the village of Vaux.

German Zeppelin airships carry out the fourth raid over Great Britain in as many nights.

April 4.—Chancellor McKenna presents to the House of Commons the greatest budget in British history; the total expenditures for the year are estimated at \$9,127,000,000, and the revenues at \$2,545,000,000; new taxes are proposed which will yield \$325,000,000.

An official British report on merchant-shipping losses (to March 23d) states that 538 steamers and sailing vessels of the Allies have been destroyed and 188 neutral vessels; the British and French steamships lost amount to between 6 and 7 per cent. of the number of such vessels in use in those countries.

April 5.—In the attack on Verdun, the Germans capture by storm the village of Haucourt, west of the Meuse.

In the Reichstag, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg delivers a noteworthy address reviewing Germany's present situation; he recounts military successes in all directions, upholds the submarine as a weapon to combat England's starvation policy, and declares that the peace to come must be a lasting one providing for a peaceful arrangement of European questions.

The official French report on the sinking of the unarmed Channel steamer *Sussex* is made public; the captain and several passengers saw the wake of a torpedo, and several pieces of the missile were found on the vessel.

Gen. Paolo Morone becomes Minister of War in Italy, succeeding General Zupelli.

A German official statement tells of the loss of fourteen German aeroplanes during March, but declares that forty-four British and French machines were lost.

April 6.—The Canadian Parliament is informed that the Dominion has raised 300,000 men for overseas service.

The German Federal Council adopts a measure setting all timepieces ahead one hour, lengthening working time during daylight and decreasing the necessity for artificial light.

April 7.—Germany concludes a commercial treaty with Rumania, the purpose of which is to facilitate the purchase of Rumanian grain by the Central Powers.

The Second Week of April

April 8.—In the battle of Verdun, the French are obliged to withdraw from the village of Bethincourt to straighten their lines west of the Meuse.

April 9.—The German forces at Verdun unite in a general attack on a front of more than twelve miles.

April 10.—Germany replies to the American Government's inquiries regarding the sinking of the *Sussex*; the note denies that the vessel was sunk by a German submarine (although an unknown vessel, resembling a warship, was torpedoed at the same time and in the same neighborhood), and mentions that the sea in the vicinity was full of floating mines.

Five members of the Greek cabinet resign.

April 11.—The Allies land troops on Cephalonia, the largest of the Greek islands in the Ionian Sea, with the intention of creating a naval base at Argostoli.

April 12.—Great Britain replies to the American protest against the seizure of thirty-eight Germans, Austrians, and Turks on the American steamer *China*, near Shanghai, maintaining that those seized were plotting against British authority in India.

April 13.—The Dutch Navigation Board, after investigation, declares that both the *Tubantia* and the *Palembang* were torpedoed.

April 14.—An agreement is reached at London between Chicago meat-packers and the British Government, in the dispute over seized meat cargoes; the cargoes are paid for, and the packers agree not to trade in future with Great Britain's enemies.

Three British naval aeroplanes drop bombs on Constantinople, attempting to destroy powder factories and aeroplane hangars; the machines fly 300 miles, the longest air journey in the war.

The Third Week of April

April 15.—In the battle at Verdun, the French attack with large forces the German position at Fort Douaumont.

April 16.—Turkey admits the sinking of the Russian hospital ship *Portugal* on March 30, maintaining that the vessel was without Red Cross mark and was apparently being used as a transport.

April 17.—The Germans renew their assaults on Verdun, after several days' inaction, advancing in deep infantry columns in an attempt to ascend Pepper Hill.

April 18.—The United States Government sends to the German Government a note regarding submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, declaring that unless Germany abandons its present methods diplomatic relations will be severed; an appendix to the note sets forth "authenticated facts" which show beyond reasonable doubt that the unarmed French passenger steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine.

Trebizond, the fortified Turkish Black Sea port, is captured by Russian armies in coöperation with a fleet.

The British House of Commons is informed that 3117 non-combatants (including 1175 passengers) have lost their lives through sinkings by submarines and mines.

The French Chamber of Deputies passes a measure advancing legal time by one hour, to take advantage of daylight and economize on artificial light.

April 19.—The Italians capture the summit of Col di Lani, of strategical importance in the campaign against Austria.

North of Ypres, the Germans carry 650 yards of British trenches.

April 20.—Official announcement is made at Paris of the landing of Russian troops at Marseilles, France, in "a great flotilla of transports."

It is stated at London that the Cabinet has reached an agreement on conscription, and that the threatened crisis has been averted.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From March 21 to April 20, 1916)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 21.—The Senate passes the Tillman bill authorizing the construction or purchase of a Government armor-plate plant, to cost \$11,000,000. . . . The House adopts an amendment to the Hay Army bill designed to create a reserve of officers who receive military instruction in schools and colleges under army supervision.

March 22.—The Senate postpones consideration of army reorganization until the House measure is before it; a bill is passed which doubles the cadet corps at West Point.

March 23.—The House, by vote of 402 to 2, passes the Army Reorganization bill, increasing the regular army to 140,000 men; a proposal to fix the strength at 220,000 is rejected, 213 to 191.

March 27.—In the House the literacy test provision of the Burnett immigration bill is sustained by vote of 225 to 82; a revised Administration measure creating a permanent non-partisan Tariff Commission of six members, is introduced by Mr. Rainey (Dem., Ill.).

March 30.—The House passes the Burnett Immigration bill by vote of 308 to 87; it prohibits the admission of immigrants who cannot read English or some other language or dialect.

April 1.—In the Senate debate upon army reorganization, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) declares that the State militia is inefficient as a national force.

April 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.), chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, declares that the United States is not in a position to enforce with arms any demand it might make upon European belligerents which encroach upon American rights.

April 6.—The Senate, by vote of 36 to 34, retains in the Army Reorganization bill the provision for a federal volunteer army. . . . In the House, the Fortifications bill is reported from committee, authorizing expenditures of \$34,299,050 for strengthening coast defenses and accumulating reserve ammunition.

April 10.—The Senate rejects the proposal of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.), as a rider to the Sugar Repeal bill, to increase the customs rate on dyes and chemicals as an aid to the creation of a permanent American dye industry.

April 11.—The Senate adopts a resolution postponing for four years the admission of sugar to the free list, as provided in the Tariff Law of 1913. The House passes the River and Harbor appropriation bill (\$19,609,410).

April 14.—The Senate adds to the Army Reorganization bill a provision for Government hydroelectric plants to produce nitrate used in the manufacture of munitions of war and as fertilizer.

April 17.—The House passes the bill doubling the cadet corps at West Point.

April 18.—The Senate passes the Army Re-

organization bill without roll-call, after increasing the regular-army provision from 178,000 to 250,000.

April 19.—Both branches, assembled in joint session, are addressed by President Wilson regarding Germany's "relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines"; he informs Congress that he has demanded of Germany the abandonment of its present methods if diplomatic relations with the United States are to be maintained.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 21.—In the North Dakota Presidential primary, Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, defeats Henry D. Estabrook, of New York, in the Republican contest.

March 29.—Ex-President Roosevelt issues a statement at Oyster Bay, criticizing President Wilson's handling of Mexican problems during the past three years.

April 3.—In the Michigan Presidential preference primary, Henry Ford, of Detroit, wins the Republican endorsement over Senator William Alden Smith; President Wilson is the unopposed Democratic choice. . . . Secretary of the Navy Daniels concludes three days' testimony regarding Administration policies and programs, before the House Committee on Naval Affairs.

April 4.—In the Wisconsin primary, Senator LaFollette fails to win more than a bare majority of the contests for delegates to the Republican National Convention; in Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan (Socialist) is elected mayor.

April 5.—Ex-President Roosevelt, in a statement to reporters at Oyster Bay, declares his unwillingness to be nominated as the Republican candidate for President unless the people are "pro-United States first, last, and all the time," and "prepared to take the position that Uncle Sam is to be strong enough to defend his rights and to defend every one of these people wherever these people are."

April 10.—Senator Cummins receives the endorsement of Iowa Republicans in the Presidential primary, without opposition.

April 11.—In the Illinois Presidential preference primary there are no candidates in opposition to Woodrow Wilson (Dem.) and Senator Sherman (Rep.); 12,000 Republican voters write Theodore Roosevelt's name on the ballots.

April 12.—Nebraska Republicans express their preference for Henry Ford, of Detroit, as Presidential nominee, as against Senator Cummins, of Iowa; Mr. Bryan's attempt to have prohibition candidates chosen for various offices is unsuccessful.

April 19.—The President nominates William Houston Ingraham, former Mayor of Portland, Me., as Assistant Secretary of War.



© Paul Thompson

COL. WILLIAM C. BROWN

COL. GEORGE A. DODD

COL. HERBERT J. SLOCUM

THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY DETACHMENTS IN MEXICO

(Colonel Brown, of the Tenth Cavalry, was in command of the troopers who defeated Villa's men in the second engagement, near Aguascalientes, on April 1. Colonel Dodd commanded the Seventh Cavalry, which routed a considerably larger force of Villistas in the first engagement, at San Geronimo, on March 29. Colonel Slocum was in command of the Thirteenth Cavalry, attacked by Villa at Columbus, N. M., on March 9.)

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION IN MEXICO

March 23.—Carranza troops report two skirmishes with the Villa forces near Namiquipa.

March 25.—President Wilson charges that there are persons along the Mexican border engaged in originating and spreading sensational rumors for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties.

March 26.—The punitive expedition establishes an advanced base 120 miles south of Casas Grandes, and 230 miles south of the New Mexican border.

March 29.—American cavalry men under Colonel Dodd come upon a larger body of Villa's troops at San Geronimo, in the Guerrero district; after a ten-mile running fight, in which sixty Mexicans are killed and four United States soldiers wounded, the Villa forces separate into small bands and retreat to the mountains.

April 1.—American troops for the second time come in contact with the Villistas near Aguascalientes, a squadron of the Tenth Cavalry under Colonel Brown surprises one of the scattered bands and in a running fight kills perhaps thirty of the bandits.

April 5.—The Secretary of War purchases additional motor trucks for the transportation of supplies, bringing the total number up to 270, costing \$621,000.

April 7.—Carranza makes inquiry of the United States Government regarding the extent to which the punitive expedition will further penetrate into Mexico and the length of time the pursuit of Villa will be maintained.

April 11.—It is learned that the American forces in Mexico total 12,000 men, with 18,000 others along the border.

April 12.—As United States forces enter Parral, Chihuahua (375 miles south of the border), they for the first time meet with resistance from the Mexican people; two cavalymen and forty Mexicans are killed; the Carranza authorities declare that the populace was indignant at the entrance of American soldiers into a city, and could not be restrained.

Venustiano Carranza, head of the Mexican Government, informs the United States that it is unwise for American troops to remain longer on Mexican soil, as more serious incidents than that at Parral may develop.

April 16.—It is widely reported throughout Chihuahua that Villa is dead from wounds resulting in the amputation of a leg.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 22.—It is officially announced at Peking that Yuan Shih-kai will renounce the office of Emperor and resume the Presidency, the revolution having shown that the demand for a monarchy is not unanimous.

March 29.—Felix Diaz is again reported to have entered Mexico (on the Gulf Coast), at the head of a revolutionary expedition.

March 31.—General Oshima becomes Minister of War in Japan, succeeding Lieutenant-General Uka who resigns on account of ill health.

April 6.—The province of Kwang-tung, China, including the important city of Canton, joins in the revolt against the Yuan Shih-kai government. . . . General Obregon becomes Minister of War in Mexico.

April 8.—The Norwegian Storthing votes to extend to women the right to sit in the Council of State.

April 12.—The province of Che-kiang, China, joins in the revolt against the central government, and declares its independence.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 26.—Costa Rica brings suit against Nicaragua, in the Central American Court of Justice, for infringement of rights through negotiations of the canal treaty with the United States.

April 11.—The Nicaraguan Congress completes ratification of the treaty granting to the United States two naval bases and a perpetual option on the canal route.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 22.—Fire destroys large sections of the business district of Augusta, Ga., and a residential district of Nashville, Tenn.

March 29.—Twenty-six persons are killed in a wreck on the New York Central Railroad, involving three express trains, at Amherst, Ohio.

April 7.—The Government's estimate of winter wheat production indicates the smallest crop in twelve years, due to reduction in acreage and unfavorable weather.

April 15.—The Panama Canal is reopened, having been closed by earth slides for seven months.

April 17.—The Federal Trade Commission, by request of Mexican planters in Yucatan, assumes oversight of the disposition of sisal fibre used in binding American harvests. . . . A rear-end collision in a fog on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, at Bradford, R. I., causes the death of six persons.

OBITUARY

March 19.—Dr. Harry C. Jones, professor of physical chemistry at Johns Hopkins University, 50.

March 25.—Walter Cook, a distinguished New York architect, 69. . . . William J. Kinsley, the handwriting expert, 51.

March 26.—Susan Elizabeth Blow, prominent in the early development of kindergartens in the United States, 73.

March 27.—Thomas J. Pence, secretary of the Democratic National Committee, 43. . . . John B. Elam, of Indianapolis, for many years law partner of President Benjamin Harrison, 71.

March 28.—James Leigh Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. . . . Col. Francis L. Leland, a prominent New York art patron, 77. . . . Edward M. Knox, the hat manufacturer, 74.

March 30.—Wells W. Cooke, an authority on bird migration, 60.

March 31.—Beach Hill, author of school textbooks on mathematics, 76. . . . Prof. Eric Gerard, a Belgian authority on electrical engineering, 58.

April 1.—James Burrell Aspell, president emeritus of the University of Michigan, 87 (see page 613). . . . Saphiah Lucecock, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Montana, 63.

April 4.—George W. Scallies, for many years London correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, 72. . . . Sir John Gort, a distinguished member of Parliament and of several British cabinets, 80. . . . David Douglas, a widely known Scottish publisher, 93.

April 5.—Sir Charles Henry Brownlow, eldest of British field-marshal, 66. . . . Sir Gerald



Photo by American Press Ass'n., N. Y.

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS

(Mr. Davis, who died suddenly at his home in New York on April 11, was one of the most brilliant of American writers. At first especially noted as a master of short-story writing, he later became equally famous as war correspondent during the Spanish-American, South African, and Russo-Japanese wars. His most recent dispatches described the occupation of Salonica by the Allies. Earlier in the present war he had been behind the German lines in Belgium)

Augustus Lowther, prominent in the British diplomatic service, 58. . . . Dr. Nathan Oppenheim, of New York, a specialist in children's diseases, 50.

April 6.—Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Moncrieff, the British authority on irrigation, 80. . . . Sir Alexander Russell Simpson, former Dean of the faculty of medicine at the University of Edinburgh, 80.

April 7.—George R. Colton, recently Governor of Porto Rico, 49.

April 9.—Wilfrid Philip Ward, editor of the *Dublin Review*, the London Catholic periodical, 60. . . . Prof. Charles A. Davis, of Washington, D. C., a noted authority on peas, 55.

April 11.—Richard Harding Davis, the distinguished author and war correspondent, 52.

April 12.—Hubert George de Burgh Canning, Marquis of Clanricarde, one of the great landholders of Ireland, 84.

April 16.—George Wilbur Peck, former Governor of Wisconsin, and author of "Peck's Bad Boy," 75.

April 17.—Dr. Irwin Shepard, for many years secretary of the National Educational Association, 73.

AMERICAN CARTOONS ON UNCLE SAM'S PROBLEMS



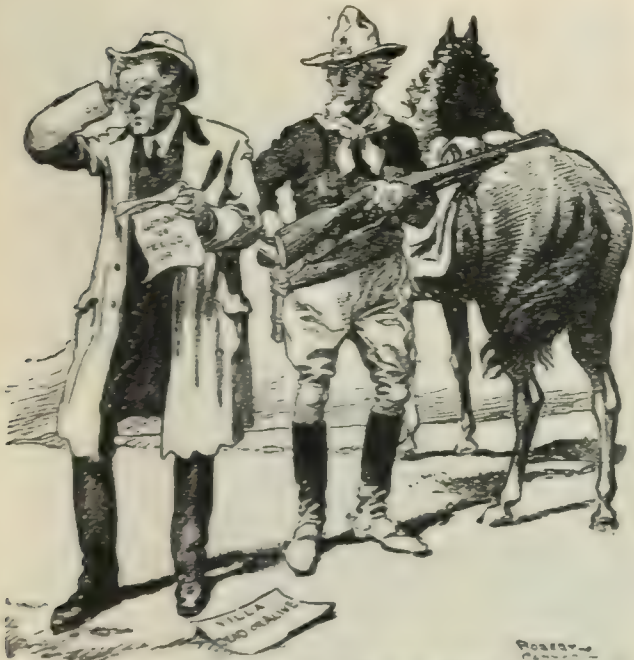
PRESIDENT WILSON, on April 19, despatched to Berlin an ultimatum regarding Germany's submarine warfare, demanding some revision of the methods employed. A full discussion of this subject will be found in our editorial pages.



THE FINAL AMERICAN NOTE
From the *N.Y.* (New York)



THE NEW CARRIER
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



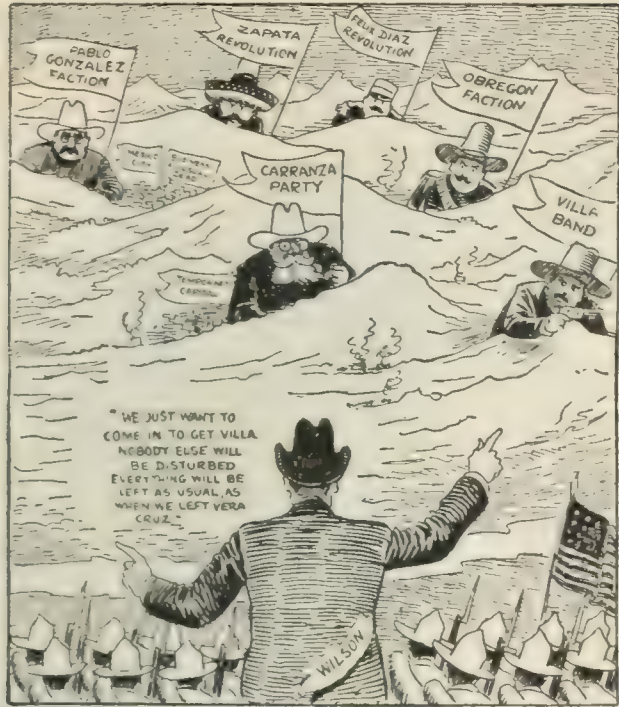
OUR WITHDRAWAL IS UP TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF! From the Sun (New York)



A DIPLOMATIC BURIAL!
From the Ledger (Philadelphia)



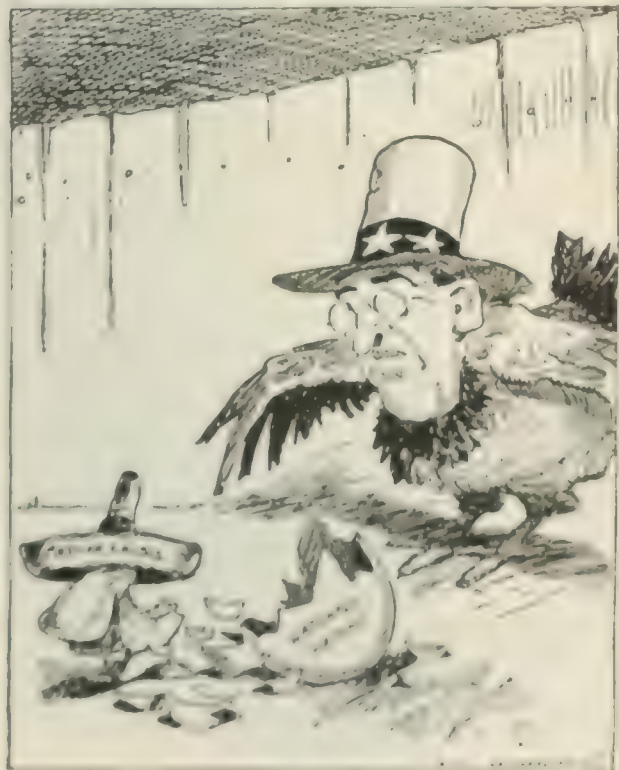
GOOD REASON TO WITHDRAW
From the Tribune (New York)



© 1915 John T. McTutchen

AN INTERMISSION, NOT INTERVENTION
From the Tribune (Chicago)

The expedition into Mexico for the pursuit of Villa has encountered a good deal of hardship. The nature of the country itself, with its deserts and mountains, and its extremes of heat and cold, has not served to make the soldier's task an easy one. The situation has been complicated, however, by the attitude of the Carranza Government. Not only has the use of the railroad been refused for the move-



"I DON'T WANT TO GO TO MEXICO"
From the Mail (New York)



IF YOU CAN'T LOSS A LITTLE WOMAN, TRY A
BIG ONE.

(From the *London Standard*)



HELPING UNCLE SAM CATCH VILLA

(From the *London Post*)



SAY, SENOR, IF YOU'D HELP MORE AND TALK
LESS, I'D SOON GO HOME

(From the *London Standard*)



IF VILLA IS DEAD, WHAT THEN? THERE ARE OTHERS
(From the *Journal* (New York))

ment of troops, but the Carranza Government has asserted that no expression of assent has been given for an expedition so far into Mexico. Rumors of Villa's death have also been circulated, with a view, it has been thought, of persuading the United States to withdraw its troops. (Editorial comment on p. 529.)



THE OPPORTUNITY HE'S BEEN WAITING FOR
(From the *Register* (Los Angeles))



ROMEO AND JULIET REVISED
From the New York Times

The desperate plight of the G. O. P. and its eager turning to Justice Hughes as its only refuge are figured in the two cartoons above. The elephant is represented as playing Romeo to the Juliet Judge on the Supreme Court bench and the Columbus *Evening Dispatch* expresses the Stand-pat horror of the Roosevelt candidacy which threatens to kidnap the Republican lady.



THE APPEAL
From the Evening Dispatch (Columbus)



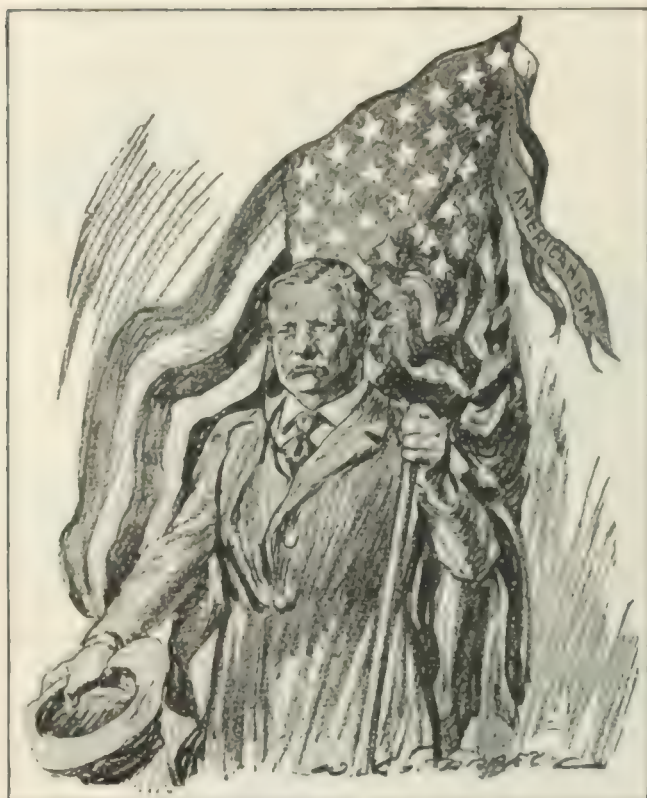
MR. BRYAN ALL READY
From the Evening Ledger (Philadelphia)



TUNE WARMING UP
From the Central Post (New York)



OUR SUGGESTION FOR A POPULAR DRINK
From the Tribune (Chicago)



THE ISSUE AND THE MAN
From the *Tribune* (New York)

The two New York newspapers, the *Tribune* and the *World*, represent the opposite extremes of the popular judgment of Colonel Roosevelt. On the day it declared for him as its candidate for President, the cartoon above, "The Issue and the Man," was published in the *Tribune*. The *World*, on the other hand, pictured the Colonel in the swashbuckler attitude that its editors always impute to him.



(The legend refers to Roosevelt's statement that the country should not turn to him unless it is in a heroic mood) From the *World* (New York)



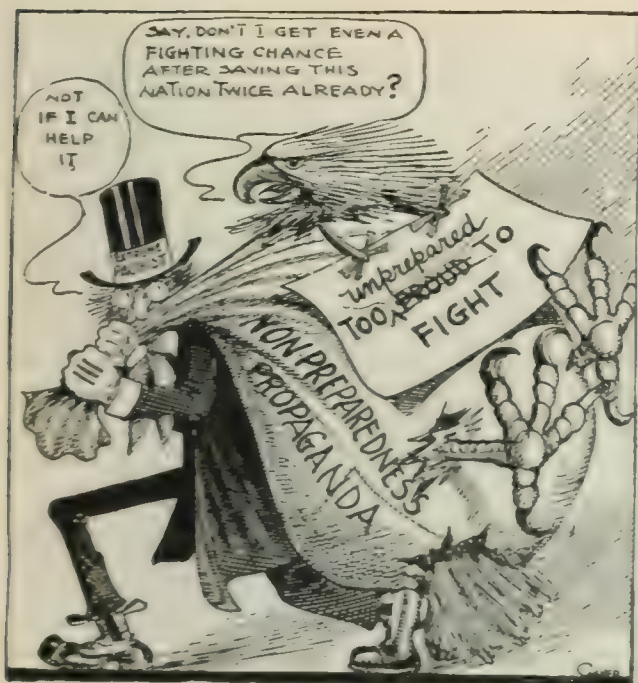
HIS PROBLEM
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)



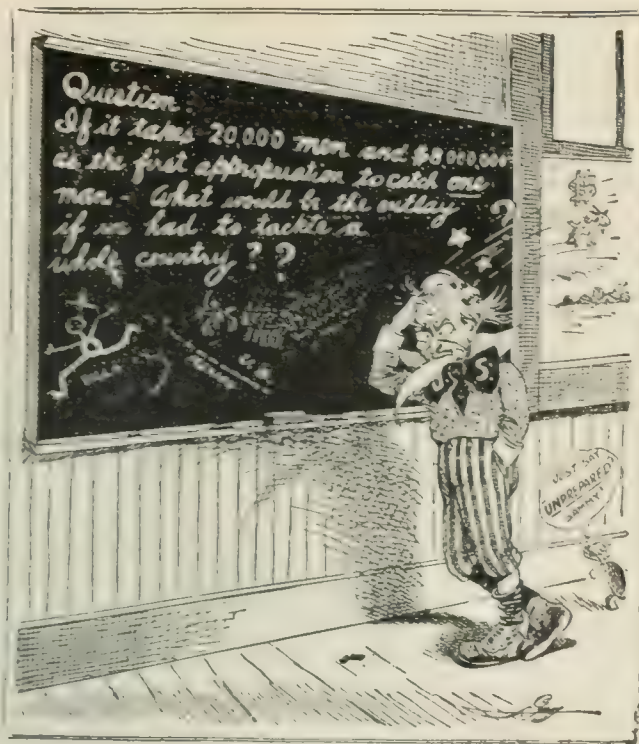
T. R.'S MODEL IS NO CAR FOR A MOLLY CODDLE
From the *Register* (Des Moines)



PREPAREDNESS!
From the *Sun* (New York)



"SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY!"
From the Tribune (Los Angeles)



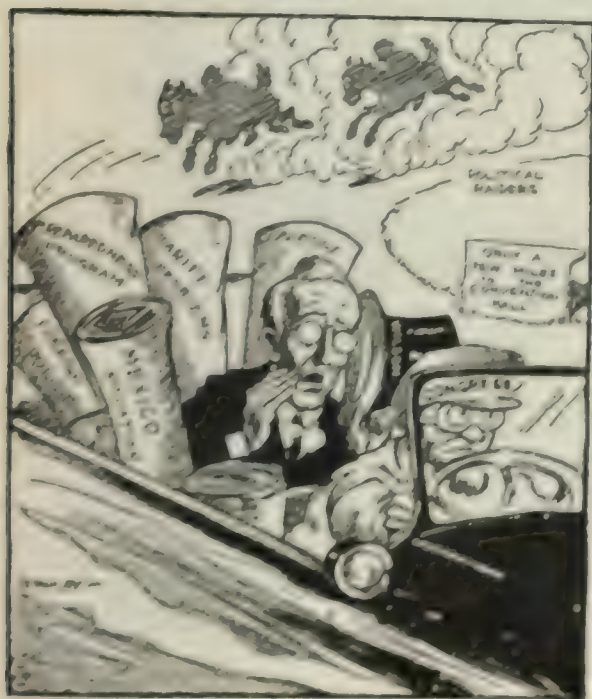
EXAMINATION TIME!
From the Constitution (Atlanta)



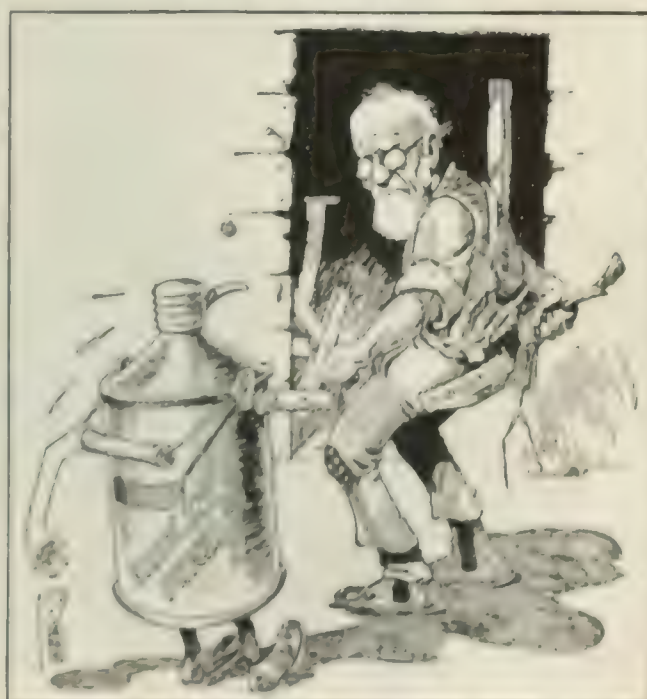
DEFENSE OF THE FARMER'S FORT INDEPENDENCE
From the Commercial Appeal (Memphis)



"IT'S ALL THE RAGE IN EUROPE"
From the News (Detroit)



"MORE SPEED THE TIME IS SHORT"
From the Central Press (Cincinnati)



"COME WITH ME, SONNY, TO THE WOODSHED"
From the Post-Intelligencer (Seattle)

THE AMERICAN ARMY IN MEXICO



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

TROOPS OF THE 11TH CAVALRY PROCEEDING SOUTH AFTER CAMPING AT CASAS GRANDE



© International Film Service

MOTOR TRUCKS WERE IN CONSTANT SERVICE, BRINGING SUPPLIES FROM THE UNITED STATES BASE



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

GENERAL PERSHING STUDYING WAR MAPS OF MEXICO, AT BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS NEAR CASAS GRANDE



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

LT. EDGAR S. CORRELL AND LT. HERBERT A. DARGIE,
ARMY AVIATORS

(The airplanes that were not immediately disabled for one reason or another have done excellent service under adverse conditions, making its search of Villa bands, and carrying dispatches between General Pershing's headquarters and the Army base at Columbus. One of these flights covered a distance of 100 miles.)



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE WIRELESS STATION SET UP IN THE FIELD,
SENDING DISPATCHES BACK TO COLUMBUS



© International News Service, New York

THE 16TH U. S. INFANTRY ON THE LONGEST HIKE OF THE CAMPAIGN, MARCHING "ROUTE STEP"

(On March 21, the "doughboys" covered the 26 miles from Camp Ajone Fredericka to the camp near the famous Cenalitas ranch in Chihuahua)



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE SOLDIERS' EVENING MESS—"SOMEWHERE IN MEXICO"



Photograph by Bain News Service

THE MEXICAN TOWN OF PARRAL

(It was at this place, on April 12, that the American troops under Major Tompkins were fired upon, for some unexplained reason, by a Carranza force. Three United States soldiers were killed, and six injured, including Major Tompkins. From that moment the pursuit of Villa became a secondary matter. The various American detachments that were operating along different routes were immediately concentrated at Santa Cruz, eighty miles distant from Parral, and measures taken against any emergency. Carranza troops were also soon afterward moved toward this region, and the general situation became one of much uncertainty.)



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THE SOLDIERS PLAYING THE WARDS OF MEXICAN PEDESTALS

(The American soldiers spent their funds freely among the Mexicans, bringing into the country a flood of more real money than the natives had seen for some time.)



GENERALS OF THE ALLIES AT THE MEETING OF THE ALLIED COUNCIL OF WAR HELD AT THE FRENCH GENERAL HEADQUARTERS ON MARCH 12-13

The officers—reading from left to right—are: General de Castelnau (France); General Sir Douglas Haig (Great Britain); General Wilemans (Belgium, Chief of the General Staff); General Jilinsky (Russia); General Joffre, President of the Council (France); General Poincaré (Italy, Deputy Chief of Staff); General Dudenov (Serbia). General Pellé is in back, between General Wilemans and General Jilinsky)



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

A FRENCH TRENCH IN THE VERDUN REGION

A German gas torpedo has just burst in back, the smoke being still visible. In the center of the picture a corporal is seen about to fire a machine gun. The German lines are about 200 yards on the other side of the crest. At the left is a French officer giving instructions to the soldiers)

THE BATTLE FOR VERDUN AS FRANCE SAW IT

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[Regular readers will remember that Mr. Simonds' usual monthly war article was missing from the REVIEW last month because of his brief visit to Europe. He arrived in New York on April 20, coming directly from personal observations at Verdun. The present article, written on the 21st, will be especially welcomed by the many readers who have relied upon Mr. Simonds as our foremost historian and interpreter of the great war.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN I closed my last article, two months ago, the Germans were just beginning the operation which was to develop into the Battle for Verdun. The preliminary moves, it will be recalled, were made not about the Lorraine city, but along the Champagne and Artois fronts, and at that time it was still a matter of doubt as to whether a real offensive was to come. The battle that followed, which in a more or less severe form has continued for many weeks, has already been accepted on all sides as one of the three or four great battles of the entire war, ranking with those of the Marne, of Flanders, and of the Dunajec.

While this conflict was in progress it was my good fortune to be in France, to talk with men both in military and civil life, whose views were instructive, and, finally, to visit Verdun itself and, from one of the forts above the town, to see the battle-lines and hear from the lips of the soldiers who were fighting this tremendous struggle their views of its meaning and their accounts of its various phases. In the very brief time that there is allowed me for writing this article I shall attempt to tell very briefly the point of view of France and the opinion that the French themselves had of the great battle, of the reasons for the German attack, both in the larger way and in the narrower field; that is, both in the general strategy of the war and in the restricted area of the actual fighting ground.

I. WHY THE OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST?

The German attack upon France, after more than a year and a half of relative calm in the West, the renewal of the attempt to obtain a decision, or at least a really important success, between the Rhine and

the sea, was accepted in France as the evidence that the Germans were convinced that France was weary of the war, that the failure of the Champagne offensive in September, the continued absence of effective British co-operation, the disappointments and the strain of the war had produced a weariness in the French mind, and that, if Germany could take Verdun and, having taken Verdun, should offer France easy terms of peace—*status quo ante*, perhaps—the French would give over the battle, which had taken so frightful a toll of French manhood, of the youth of the country.

Read the German official and the German semi-official statements, the things printed in German comment or transmitted from Germany by American correspondents and the same note will be detected in all the outgivings. Germany was satisfied that France was ready—not to surrender more territory—perhaps not to pay an indemnity, but to accept peace on terms that left her intact. Germany knew that Great Britain was not yet ready to render efficient aid to her French ally and she reckoned that France, defeated in a great battle, deprived of a famous fortress, and once more lacking real aid from her British ally, would become disheartened, disgusted with a struggle in which she alone bore the brunt.

Germany knew, also, that Russia, because of the condition of the Eastern battle-front, incident to spring thaws, could not lend a hand to France, that, on the contrary, it would be possible to transfer from the East to the West some divisions of veteran and victorious troops, and, for the same reasons, to make similar transfers from the Balkans. In a word, Germany reckoned, quite correctly in the main, that she would be able to repeat in some fashion the situation of the Marne and make one more bid

for a decision over France, one more effort to eliminate the French, not this time by a complete disaster, such as defeat in September would have meant.

Quite as plainly, the effect of a victory upon German popular emotion was in the minds of German leaders. Remember that Verdun is to the German far more than a mere fortified town; it is the place at which nearly eleven centuries ago Germany, the Germany of Charlemagne's Empire, was partitioned. All the new German nationalism is based upon the desire and the determination to reconstitute that Germany which was dismembered in the distant past, dismembered at Verdun. To take Verdun would be a promise of opening the road to Paris, it would be a shining military success, but far more, it would be a symbol to millions of Germans of the realization of the Teutonic destiny.

Recall, also, that the more recent offensives of Germany have been avowedly efforts to conquer not the world, but peace. The gigantic drive at Russia, the great and marvelously successful attack upon Serbia, the threatened transfer of operation to Suez and Egypt—these were advertised to the German public as the precursors of peace. Each time before an operation it had been advertised as certain to bring peace speedily. Russia was to be eliminated in a campaign, the promenade to the Golden Horn and beyond was to bring Britain to terms, now Verdun was to conquer the stricken spirit of France, and France, as the Kaiser himself said, was "our chief enemy."

Were the Germans right in reckoning that a swift, successful, and terrible blow would eliminate France? I do not think so. I found no one in France who said or seemed to believe it. But the fact that is interesting now is that the Germans did believe it and that their belief underlay their whole strategy. In a word, the Verdun operation was a political before it was a military operation. It was the effort to break the spirit of France, made by an antagonist who believed the spirit was already weak.

I. WHY VERDUN?

Why did the Germans choose Verdun as their objective? In the minds of most casual readers of history and of war news, Verdun is accepted as the bulwark of France, the gate to Paris, and the chief fortress of that great barrier which from Luxemburg to Switzerland defended the eastern frontier

of the Republic. It was, all things considered, the strongest fortified place in Europe when the war came. Why, then, did the Germans elect to fight here?

The reason is simple. The first months of the war utterly eliminated fortresses from the reckoning. The rapid collapse of Liège, Antwerp, Maubeuge demonstrated that the fort had failed to keep pace with the gun. What was illustrated in the West in the early days was finally demonstrated in the East last summer, when the Russian fortresses followed the path of the Belgian and the French. Accordingly the French after the Marne simply abandoned the forts of Verdun as defensive positions. They took the guns out of them; they moved them to new, concealed positions and the forts ceased to have real importance. Verdun was only a point in the long trench line running from the North Sea to Switzerland. The forts, save that they provided protection for reserves, lost all value. They entered into the system of trenches and Verdun was defended by men and by guns and by ditches, precisely like Rheims or Arras.

In the second place, Verdun was the most difficult place in the French line to supply either with men or munitions. Before the war two railroad lines of first importance met at Verdun—one, a double-track line coming east from Paris in the direction of Metz, the other coming north along the Meuse valley from the Paris-Nancy line. When the Germans took St. Mihiel in September, 1914, they cut the latter line. In the retreat from the Marne the Germans halted at Varennes and Montfaucon, and from these towns their heavy artillery commanded the Paris-Verdun line by indirect fire and it ceased to be available.

There was left to the French, then, only one narrow-gauge line coming north from Bar-le-Duc, a light railway, incapable of bearing heavy traffic because of the grades. Practically, then, Verdun was isolated, so far as railroad communication was concerned, and the army defending the Verdun sector was dependent almost entirely upon road transport, upon automobile trucks, or, as the French say, camions. This transport was sufficient as long as Verdun was held by a relatively small force and was only a fraction of the great front, but would it be sufficient when the main attack was directed at this sector and the Germans massed two thousand guns and a quarter of a million men on a narrow front? Could France munition or supply an equal number of men and suffi-

cient guns to meet the storm? The Germans believed not. As I shall try to point out in a moment, the French high command was of the same opinion.

Finally, Verdun was a salient; it was a convex line turned toward the Germans and, the circle being narrow, the Germans were able to concentrate upon the trenches about the town a converging fire and to command the roads leading through the town to the lines beyond. When the French made their great drive in Champagne last September they fought from lines parallel to the Germans. As they advanced their thrust was exactly like the pushing of a fist against a cushion, and as they advanced they were exposed to the converging fire of the Germans from both sides as well as from the front. After they passed the first German trenches they were exposed to flank fire on both sides, as well as to the fire in front. A Moroccan brigade that actually broke through all the German lines was literally exterminated by converging fire after it had passed the last lines.

But as the Germans advanced against Verdun they simply broke down the convex rim of the circle. They merely straightened the line and they were free from all flank fire, and would remain so until after Verdun itself had been passed, because the fronts would not become straight until this point was passed. Attacking, they possessed all the advantages that they had held over the French when the latter attacked in Champagne. No such advantage would come to them if they attacked anywhere else along the line, save at Ypres, where they had attacked just a year ago and failed, after material initial success comparable with that which they realized in the opening days at Verdun. From the military point of view Verdun and Ypres are the two weak points in the Allied line from the sea to Switzerland, because they are salients and they are precisely the points the Germans have selected for their great drives.

But bear in mind, again, these are military facts, not facts of common every-day knowledge, and to the world at large, to the German and French public particularly, Verdun was the great fortress, the gate to Paris, and its fall would have a meaning unlike that which would attach to German success anywhere else. In sum, the point which the whole world outside of the military believed was strongest, was actually the weakest. The forts were empty of guns, railroad communication was practically nil; in point of fact

the strength of Verdun was wholly illusory; but the illusion was universally established and promised to give to any German success an importance that could not be exaggerated.

III. JOFFRE'S PROPOSAL

I come now to a point which will probably be long a matter of debate and dispute. I shall undertake to give only the French views as I heard them, merely adding that there was general agreement upon the main fact. When the German attack before Verdun developed to its true proportions, General Joffre and the French high command practically as a unit advocated the abandoning of Verdun. Not only did they advocate this, but precisely as Field-Marshal French issued the orders for the withdrawal from Ypres in the First Battle of Flanders, Joffre is believed to have ordered the retreat from Verdun, and to his orders is attributed the loss of Douaumont, which naturally—but as it turned out, erroneously—convinced the Germans that Verdun was about to fall into their hands.

Joffre's reasons were perfectly plain. To retreat for a few miles, to straighten the line and abolish the salient, was to surrender a city that had no present military value, to give over a point which was difficult to hold—which was, in fact, an invitation to attack and to attack under the most favorable circumstances for the assailant. To give up Verdun, now under the terrific fire of the most extensive artillery concentration the world ever had seen, was to give over a few miles of French territory—that and nothing more. In the present trench war it is only the piercing of the line that counts. In September the French had made an advance of two or three miles in Champagne, in May and June they had scored similarly in Artois, in April of 1915 the Germans had done the same thing about Ypres; but these successes had been without morrow, because the lines behind had held.

To keep Verdun meant to spend many thousand lives, to lose it meant, from the military standpoint, just nothing, since the hills south of Verdun were quite as suitable for defensive operations. They were beyond the reach of the German heavy artillery, as it was then in position, and behind these hills the French could concentrate artillery and men in sufficient quantity to meet the German concentration, which would have to be moved forward over several miles to reach the new front. Thus for many days Paris



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SIX DAYS' LEAVE!

(French soldiers leaving the trenches for a short holiday. After the hard work at the front, the prospect of a brief vacation brings a glad smile to their faces)



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FRENCH PRISONERS TAKEN AT VERDUN, ON THEIR WAY TO A GERMAN PRISON CAMP

and London believed that Verdun would be evacuated, and Berlin, doubtless knowing the French point of view, steadily insisted upon the approaching fall of the town. Reread the German statements and official communiqués and you will find a confidence which is patently not mere manufactured confidence; the Germans believed that they were about to take Verdun because they knew that the French high command did not mean to defend it to the last ditch.

But French high command did not have its way. One hears much in history of the evil consequences of the interference with the soldier for which the politician is responsible. Conceivably, the case of Verdun may prove one example of the wisdom of the politician and the inferior judgment of the soldier. At all events, the French statesmen, the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, members of the two branches of the Legislature promptly appreciated the political as contrasted with the military aspects of Verdun. They recognized what the effect upon the world would be of a shining German success, of a success that would shine because, whatever the military fact, the civil legend concerning Verdun made of it a Gibraltar.

There was then a sudden crisis, a real crisis in the political life of the Republic. The civilian government said to the military, "Verdun must be defended; it must be defended because its value, its moral value, is incalculable." To this opinion the military mind yielded, mainly, it is said, because General de Castelnau, the second in command, finally came to see the situation as the politicians saw it. As a result, de Castelnau went to Verdun. The man who had saved Nancy undertook at the eleventh hour to save Verdun, and he succeeded. With him he took Petain, who will always be remembered in French history as the actual defender of Verdun.

At Verdun, soldiers and ambulance-drivers alike told me of the electrical effect of the coming of these two men. For several days the crowds of inhabitants of the villages hastily evacuated as the German advance was pushed and clogged the roads. Men said to one another, "C'est la retraite" — "This means retreat." But suddenly there was an end of retreat; the lines held. The famous Twentieth Corps, the Iron Corps of so many great achievements, arrived. Men, munitions, guns and still more guns arrived. At the end of ten days the immediate peril was over, the first furious drive

had failed before Verdun, as the French attacks had failed in Artois and Champagne a year before. Prisoners, positions, guns the Germans had captured. Their local triumph was quite as great as that of the French in the preceding September, but the French had only been compelled to shorten their lines, as the British had been forced to shorten their lines about Ypres after the gas attack in the previous spring.

IV. HOW VERDUN WAS ATTACKED

In the experience of the present trench war it has been established as a fact that, given the necessary concentration of men and guns, an attack can always pierce the first line of the opponent and partially, if not completely, penetrate the second. Heavy explosive fire practically obliterates the first-line trenches, it works substantial havoc with the second. Under this fire the defenders are practically reduced to impotence in the first and second lines; they are either destroyed or driven into bombproofs, from which they emerge only to be captured or killed by the first waves of the assaulting infantry.

This the Germans accomplished at Ypres in April, 1915, by artillery and gas. The British did the same at Neuve Chapelle, at Loos, and the French even more successfully at Champagne. But when the assailants approach the third line they are beyond the effective aid of their own heavy artillery, which cannot be moved rapidly, and they are under the most deadly fire of their enemy's heavy and light artillery both. They have also suffered material losses, and the first fury of their attack has ended. The men are weary and the rapidly increasing losses begin to tell on the morale of the assailants.

On the other hand, the army attacked, at Verdun the French, is no longer in doubt as to where the attack is to come. Up to the moment of actual attack the defender remains necessarily in doubt as to whether he is facing a real operation or only a feint. He cannot move his reserves or his artillery to the threatened point until the storm breaks, because, if he moved prematurely, it might be that he would send his troops and guns to the wrong point. Bear in mind that before they attacked Verdun the Germans made considerable demonstrations both in Artois and in Champagne.

Once the fact is clear, however, the defender begins to draw upon his reserves.

He has lost his first line, perhaps his second line, but he has a third, and, while his assailant is trying to get up his artillery, the defender is calling for reserves and they are beginning to arrive. Behind the actual trenches the French and Germans keep whole armies. "Armies of shock," the French call them, armies designed to be sent to the danger-point if the French are on the defensive, to the point of attack if they are on the offensive.

The trench lines are held by forces quite sufficient for the ordinary needs. At Verdun, that is, in the Verdun sector, there were two army corps actually in the trenches and two divisions in reserve, perhaps 120,000 men in all. Their sole mission was to hold the lines, to keep the great line intact, in the face of a sudden drive, until the "army of shock" could arrive. It is not expected that the troops in the trenches can permanently withstand a drive. Their business is to parry, delay, retard until they are reinforced, until a fresh battle army arrives. This is precisely what the German troops in the Champagne trenches did last September; it is what the French troops about Verdun did in February.

In Artois, in Champagne, the first attacks were strikingly successful. In September the British took Loos and approached Lens; the French advanced two or three miles on a wide front. But the great gains were over in a few hours. For some days there were local successes in the French operation, while the British came to an abrupt halt, but even the French successes were restricted to taking salients and isolated positions actually commanded by the ground taken in the first hours. The Verdun operation differed only in degree and even here but slightly. It was over, in the larger sense, within ten days, and it might conceivably have been over sooner had there been immediate decision on the French part to hold the city.

In sum, the Germans, massing a huge array of guns, a greater number than they had used to defeat the Russians at the Dunajec, than the French had employed in Champagne, using them on a narrower front than that attacked in the other operations, successfully drove the French out of their first- and second-line defenses. They even reached the fort most distant from Verdun, Douaumont, found it unoccupied, some reports say, but at all events took it and, taking it, believed, quite justly, that they were about to get Verdun.

But at this point they suddenly encount-

ered the French reserves, the army of Pétain, flung in by De Castelnau, and they came to an abrupt and substantially complete standstill. Such gains as they made henceforth were the direct consequence of their previous gains and represented the surrender by the French of positions actually made untenable by the original German advance in nearby regions. In their attack and advance the Germans claim to have taken 39,000 prisoners; the French dispute this. But in Champagne the French took 30,000 unwounded German prisoners, so there is nothing unreasonable in the German claim that wounded and unwounded prisoners in their hands number 39,000.

In the first days of the fighting the French losses were unquestionably very great, perhaps greater than the German. In the same way the German losses were greater than those of the French at the start of the Champagne operation. But later, when the French reserves were up, and new artillery, the German losses were terrific and the French place them at 250,000. The attacks of the Germans in solid formation upon strong lines held by fresh troops aided by machine-guns and "seventy-fives" were naturally terrible. I have heard of artillery officers who confessed to nausea caused by the sight of the slaughter and they were seasoned veterans. French troops, sharing in smaller counter-attacks and advancing over the ground that had been previously traversed by the Germans, speak of walking only on corpses. Certainly the slaughter was enormous, and the experience of the French and British in similar operations warrants the conclusion that the German losses were much heavier, although personally I regard the figure of 250,000 as exaggerated. As for the French loss, it probably was materially above 100,000, mainly incurred in the first days.

V. HOW VERDUN WAS SAVED

Primarily Verdun was saved by the courage and devotion of the first-line troops, who held the trenches when the attack began. They performed their full duty; they held the line until the reserves came up. They did precisely what the German troops had done in Champagne last fall with approximately the same losses and with courage and devotion which will remain memorable.

But the defending of the Verdun sector was made possible by the preparation that had actually been made long months before.

The civil authorities, asked by the military to supply a new railroad, had failed miserably. As I pointed out earlier, there was only the single-track, narrow-gauge line, which in point of fact was used almost exclusively to evacuate wounded, but there was the motor transport and this was the miracle of Verdun.

Months before the military authorities, recognizing the dangerous position of the Verdun salient, reconstructed the one great highway running north from St. Dizier and Bar-le-Duc to Verdun. The existing highway was doubled, trebled in width, proper turnouts were made and Verdun was bound to France by a magnificent road going north beyond the range of the German artillery all the way to the outskirts of the city itself. In addition, General Herr, who commanded the sector, had worked out an intricate and marvelous system of motor transport.

When the blow fell it was only necessary to mobilize the motor-trucks, and in an incredibly short time thousands and thousands of these trucks were in operation. Coming north as I did from St. Dizier to Verdun for more than fifty miles the road was a continuous line of trucks. Over almost the whole distance they were marching in single file, with scarcely a break in the procession. Going up heavy laden, they passed through the region behind the front, discharged their contents at the appointed place, and returned empty by smaller side roads. On all the course I never saw a block or a delay. Rarely, very rarely, a camion was upset or broke down and was turned to the side of the road and temporarily abandoned. In every village there were repair stations, but day and night steadily, fairly rapidly, this endless chain of motor trucks filed past, bringing men, munitions, supplies.

By this method perhaps a quarter of a million men were brought fresh to the firing line; innumerable guns, heavy and light, were kept supplied with ammunition; armies were rationed; the whole intricate and enormous domestic economy of a great modern army was handled without friction or disorder. In the cities, such as Bar-le-Duc, the squares and the turns were marked by signs, telling the road to Verdun. Even in tiny villages traffic policemen, soldiers, instructed the drivers, kept the traffic separated, for in addition to the Verdun sector, the St. Mihiel and the Argonne sectors were fed in part by the same route.

All night long in Bar-le-Duc it was possible to hear the endless rumble of the wheels

of the great trucks. On the road Paris buses, laden with fresh meat, lumbered steadily on. It was rather like a huge torrent than like vehicular traffic, and it was the real salvation of Verdun, for it preserved Verdun from isolation, it remedied the essential defect due to the cutting of the two railroads, it replaced two useless arteries by a third, which was absolutely sufficient.

In this war the world has talked mostly of German efficiency, preparation, foresight. Yet to see this never-ending procession, these thousands and tens of thousands of motor vehicles proceeding on their way, assembled from somewhere, from everywhere, without delay, without difficulty, mobilized and put into operation, traveling with all the regularity of express trains, was to realize that the Germans were not the only miracle-compellers and that France, in her own way, was also working miracles. For this system I was told that General Herr was responsible.

When the attack began Herr commanded at Verdun. Almost overnight he was replaced by Pétain, but more than one officer spoke to me of the manner in which the old commander turned over his army and became a mere superintendent of traffic, resigned the glorious for the useful, and made room for one his junior in service and in rank. For myself I shall remember nothing of all that I saw at Verdun longer than this stream of motor transports, this interminable procession flowing on at an unvarying rate of perhaps twelve miles an hour, the tide which made it possible for the men who defended Verdun to hold their ground and finally to match artillery with artillery and numbers with numbers.

VI. THE MORAL VALUE

It remains now to mention very briefly the moral effect upon the French of the successful defense of Verdun. Recall again the circumstances of the affair. Every Frenchman knew in some fashion that the defense itself had been a desperate affair. Half Paris realized that the army had resolved to evacuate the city because it believed that the cost was above the worth. In the opening days there was full appreciation of the probability of the evacuation. "C'est la retraite," France herself said for almost ten days.

Remember, too, that the Frenchman never makes the mistake the British frequently make, of underestimating German strength. All France realized that the German attack

was a complete and perfect expression of German military genius. It was a bid for a decision, a smashing victory, and it was a bid made under German conditions at the place selected by Germany and at the time Germany had chosen. Thousands of French men and women had letters from the Verdun front telling exactly what those days of struggle, the early days, meant. It was touch and go from the start.

But Verdun was not taken, is not taken; unless all past experience fails it cannot be taken now, because the conditions have practically all changed. The French have had two months to prepare, to match guns with guns and men with men, and for more than half of that time there has been no German progress that is worth mentioning and at points there has been appreciable French counter-offensive success. The present French position suggests the comment of one of Meade's officers after the first day of Gettysburg: "Our line has been hammered into an admirable defensive position."

Germany risked much on the great offensive. She gambled that a success would break the French spirit. Here I believe she exaggerated much; but, whether right or wrong in this, she must have realized that a failure would rouse the French spirit beyond any possible conception. And this is what has happened. Without exception, Frenchmen assured me that there had been no such confidence, calm assurance, since the Battle of the Marne. France as a whole felt that for the second time she had taken full measure of German might, efficiency, power. She realized to the full the true greatness of this might. But the "Miracle of the Marne" had been repeated on the Meuse and France once more felt her own strength, not with noisy exultation—there was no celebration in Paris—but in an atmosphere that could not be mistaken.

I believe that the moral effect of the German failure at Verdun, if the failure remains absolute, will be almost beyond exaggeration. There was no lack of courage, of determination, of constancy, but there was wonder. Was the enemy, after all, too strong and could he win, at the last, by sheer weight of strength and numbers? Having done all that a man or a nation could do, France waited for the shock, met it and—broke it, drew from success a confidence that it is almost impossible to describe because it was hardly expressed in words and found no revelation in any kind of celebration.

"This then is the worst," Frenchmen said

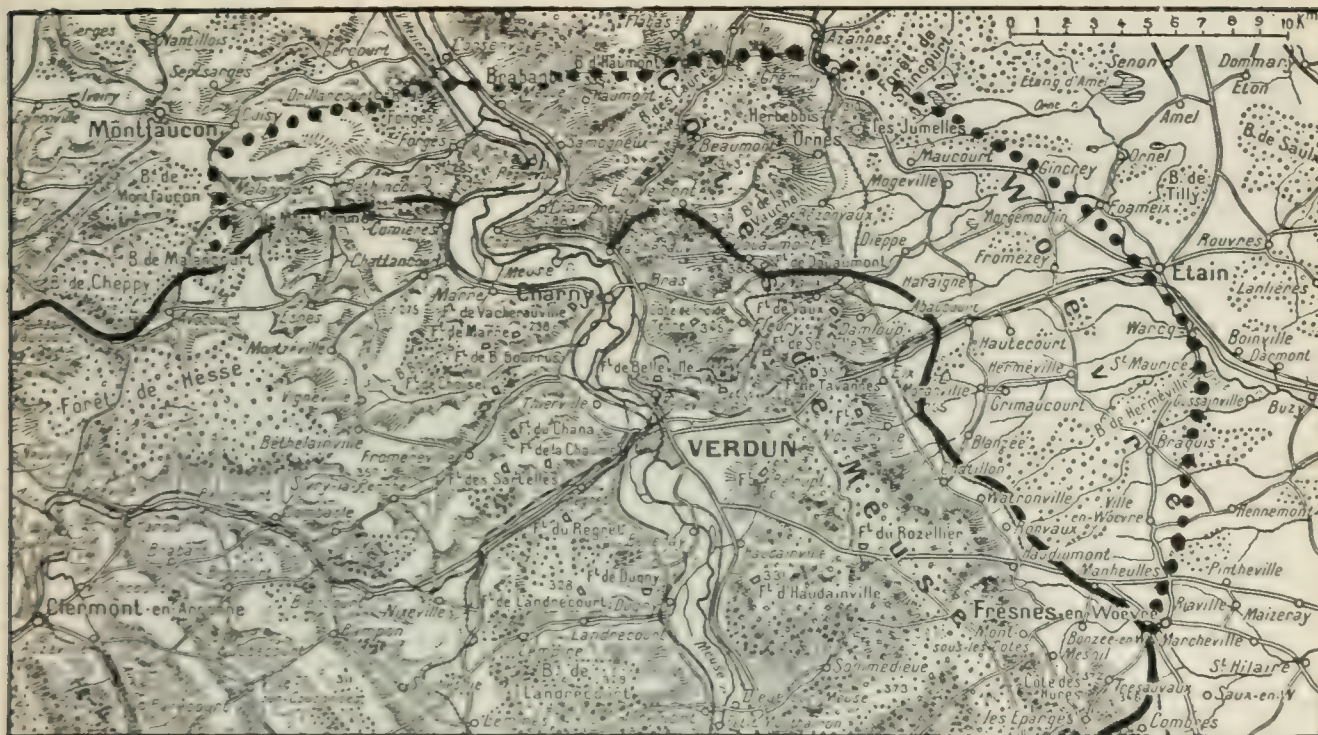
to one another. "They have done their utmost and it was a tremendous thing, but it was not enough. Our lines have held. We have sold them three miles of our country, over half-a-dozen miles of front. They have paid for it with 200 000 casualties, but the Kaiser is not in Verdun. Paris, Nancy, Calais, Verdun—these are landmarks in German aspirations and they remain all in our hands. Yes, doubtless they will try again; they are very strong—but go and see for yourself; they have not got Verdun and they have told you what they thought of the taking of it."

I shall always remember the words of the officers who took me to the little Place d'Armes before the Verdun citadel. Here the Kaiser was to review the victorious army as it entered Verdun. Along this street the Crown Prince was to ride at the head of the conquering army. About the square the shell-stricken houses crumbled and fell. On all sides there was ruin and out beyond the guns crashed and the musket-fire rolled up in bellows, audible, clearly, but four miles away. "And he has not come, William," they said, calmly, "and he will not come—and that is something."

And Verdun was "something." It was the biggest thing since the Marne, to France. It was a new confirmation of the ancient decision. The verdict of the opening battle was not set aside by the latest trial, it was rather confirmed. The defense of Verdun has entered into the heart and soul of France; it has become something like that of Saragossa for the Spaniard—that and something more, for Saragossa tell.

But again, at the risk of repetition, I would emphasize the fact that it was men, not walls, that saved Verdun. The forts are empty; the fortress has no more value than Liège. The war of trenches is being fought at Verdun as elsewhere. The only real victory would be the piercing of the French lines, and this danger was banished even before De Castelnau came with Pétain. Probably there never was any more chance of such a success here for the Germans than there was for the French in Champagne, possibly not so much.

This battle for Verdun was a battle for moral values, fought over a town which had acquired a wholly fictitious value in the minds of the German and the French people alike, in the minds of the observers the world over. Germany fought to break the spirit of France. Perhaps—I do not think so—but, perhaps, she estimated her expected



THE VERDUN BATTLEGROUND AND STRATEGIC POINTS IN THE VICINITY

(The German line at the beginning of the battle is represented by heavy dots, the present line is shown in solid black. Eight kilometers are equal to five miles)

success at a true value, but this success she did not obtain. Unless she shall obtain it hereafter, she has lost all that she hoped to gain. She has not broken, but reinvigorated, the spirit of France. This, I think, is the true meaning of the Battle of Verdun, and it is the meaning that the map will not disclose, that the commentator on merely military operations cannot estimate or value.

Perhaps one might say it this way: Verdun was a battle-flag. Of itself nothing is of less value in conflict. It is a thing without use to the man fighting for his life, and yet it is a thing that soldiers value most highly and die for most readily. And at the close of the contest, if it be closed, France holds the flag. What this means to the regiment Verdun means to France.



Photograph by Underwood & Lothrop, New York

FRENCH SHARPshootERS CHECKING THE GERMAN ADVANCE.



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THE SPLENDID TYPE OF MEN WHICH COMPOSE THE NEW RUSSIAN VOLUNTEERS



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

GERMAN ENGINEERING TROOPS CONSTRUCTING NEW DEFENCES IN PLACE OF THE OLD RUSSIAN FORTIFICATIONS CAPTURED BY THEM



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York
VICE-ADMIRAL DE ROBECK (LEFT) AND REAR-ADMIRAL FREMANTLE, MAKING A TOUR AROUND KEPHOLA, IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

(Kephola is one of the Ionian Islands and is being used by the Allies as a military and naval base)



THE RIVER FRONT OF SALONICA

(In the foreground is a German "Albatross" brought down by French war aircraft during one of the recent air raids on the city by the Germans)

WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR OUR BOYS?

BY REAR-ADMIRAL CASPAR F. GOODRICH, U. S. N.

IT is probable that never in the history of the world has there been such a searching of the conscience as may now be perceived on every side. This searching we are, indeed, moved by the spirit of the hour to practise on ourselves. Too long have we been content to drift with the current of events, enjoying the goods the gods have provided, patiently enduring the ills of life, without bothering to differentiate those susceptible of remedy from those neither escapable nor remediable. This habit of closing our eyes to things disagreeable, in a word, of shirking a plain duty, has become so ingrained as almost to form part of the national character. Had it not been for the convulsion racking Europe, its throes affecting all Christendom and arousing even us Americans to thought and action, we should doubtless have continued to jog along the easy road of careless indifference, ignoring the vital issues now forced upon our attention and thanking God, in our happy-go-lucky fashion, that, while things might be better, they are no worse. Suddenly the whole mental atmosphere has changed and we are aroused to the necessity of dealing with problems more fundamental and more far-reaching than any in our previous experience, saving only those of 1776 and 1861.

To a number of thoughtful persons, a question has presented itself in somewhat this shape, "Are we doing all we ought to do for the American boy?" If not, what more should be done?

It is impossible to furnish complete answers to these vital queries in a short article. Moreover, the writer labors under the disadvantage of not being a sociologist trained to deal with such problems. He can only claim to be keenly interested in the welfare of American youths and anxious that they should be fully equipped for the great responsibility that is to be theirs, of carrying on the good work of freedom and equal opportunity so nobly planned and begun by our forefathers. If he appears harsh in his judgments and opinions, it is not from lack

of sympathy with the rising generation, a suggestion disproved by his unceasing endeavors to help the lads in his own neighborhood, but because of a righteous indignation, due to the conviction that our boys are not only ill-prepared for the burden of life, but seriously handicapped through faulty education, false ideals, and the absence of proper training.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE AMERICAN BOY

Let us consider dispassionately the average American boy and try to describe him. I do not mean, O Reader, *your* boy. I mean the average boy, as we see him in the city streets or the country roads. Am I far wrong in depicting him physically as round-shouldered, hollow-chested, shambling in gait, not overtidy in person, not erect in carriage, not looking you straight in the eye?

In manner is he courteous to all, respectful to his seniors, careful in speech? Does it not strike you that his ideal of manliness is rather the "tough" than the well-bred gentleman?

Is he obedient and tender to his parents, thoughtful and kind to the weak and aged, helpful to his associates?

What are his ambitions? To begin at the foot of the ladder and by hard work climb to the top? Does he hold manual labor in itself as ennobling and as alone giving that knowledge of what a day's work means by which later he can intelligently direct the energies of a host of subordinates? Does he not rather leave the high school with a contempt for honest toil, and the fixed purpose of never soiling his own hands? Does he not look upon a clerical position with the wearing of a black coat and a white shirt as the best thing life holds for him?

ALIENS PUSHING TO THE FRONT

There has recently appeared in the public prints a letter from a man of foreign birth, who points to the fact that the immigrant of yesterday, with no capital other than his intelligence and his willingness to work hard

and long, is to-day at the head of the department store or other great establishment, amassing a huge fortune, and employing in a host of inferior capacities Americans, graduates of our high and grammar schools. The pride with which this statement is made is thoroughly justifiable and should be shared by the American-born, at least in so far as it speaks for the boundless chances open to all in this free land of ours. On the other hand, ought not the circumstance that the alien can push ahead of our own boys, reaching command rank, while they remain mere privates in the industrial army, shake a little our complacent trust that our system of public education is too good to need revision?

It has been remarked that the men over thirty years of age are, as a class, more than ready to-day to engage in war, if necessary to defend the nation's rights and dignity which they regard as gravely impeached, while it is those under thirty, as a class, who are pronounced pacifists. Such a state of affairs, if it really exists, is so counter to all previous experience as to warrant investigation. Heretofore, the old have been for peace, and the young for fighting. It has been suggested that the younger men, having been brought up under women schoolteachers, are feminized, while their seniors, brought up under masters, have preserved their virility. Even if this be only partially true, it reveals a condition of things urgently calling for correction. Does not the quite universal acceptance by the American workman of the domination of the foreign-born labor leader lend color to this contention? Why should American birth be a bar to promotion in labor's ranks, unless it be that the American is so emasculated as to be unfit for command?

To change our educational system, and adopt the German rule that boys over ten years of age are not to be taught by women, is, I fear, out of the question. Ephraim is wedded to his idols.

THE SOLDIER'S TRAINING FOR BOYS OF EIGHTEEN

It is hopeless to look to our schools for the inculcation of manly habits and a respect for labor and equally hopeless to expect the average home to effect an improvement in manners. Can no means be devised for supplying these deficiencies?

To the writer the time seems ripe for just such a new departure. Briefly, he proposes universal military *training*, not *service*, be it understood. On the first of July of each

year, he would send every American boy, eighteen years old, either to a camp or on board a battleship and keep him for one year under military or naval discipline, to be taught cleanliness, care of his person, implicit, prompt obedience, self-respect, respect for his seniors, good habits, sturdy truthfulness, the sense of duty at all cost, patriotism, reverence for the flag. Ashore the boy should be taught camping, marching, target practise, trenching, scouting, the use of weapons, etc.; afloat the rudiments of the man-of-wars-man's trade. Those backward in their studies might receive enough schooling to enable them to pass a very simple examination in the three "R's" plus a slight knowledge of America's history that its more important events and the deeds of our great men be not forgotten. From this training, none physically capable should be exempt. Rich and poor, high and low, all should pass through this grand school. As against the possible cry that "My boy cannot be spared" it is urged that every citizen owes something to his country, that all service implies sacrifice and that, in this instance, the sacrifice is small while the gain is immense.

Naturally, as the Government would be giving something of incalculable value, there could be no compensation. It would house, clothe, and feed the lads and possibly give them a small allowance "for stationery and postage"—say a dollar a month. At the end of the year all would return to their homes, improved mentally, morally, physically, their productive efficiency enhanced beyond calculation. This is no theory but a demonstrated fact. In addition, they would carry away and disseminate an ideal of citizenship and civic duty now sadly lacking. **One year is the minimum time required for military training and the maximum time the youth of the land can well be taken from vocational and educational life.**

The period I name is that when the lad can best be spared. He has, presumably, just left the high school. He has not taken up his life work or entered college. It is also the critical time in every boy's existence. It is then, if ever, that he passes through the stage of the tough and develops into the gangster. Our reform schools and penitentiaries are recruited largely from lads of about this age.

Under the eye of his ship's captain, his company commander and that of his sergeant it will be almost impossible for him to fall under the influence of evil associates. His superiors will see well to this.

It is notorious that the percentage of crime suffers a prodigious fall wherever universal military service is adopted. The blessings of the plan here proposed would be sooner or later recognized by countless parents now heartbroken, as they see their sons entering upon the evil path that leads to the jail or the gallows.

By the last census, there were in this country about 900,000 boys, eighteen years of age, of all kinds of American parentage. Allowing a liberal deduction for incapables, some 700,000 could go through this training each year to graduate as fine, healthy, robust, upstanding chaps whom any employer would be glad to engage.

And the democracy of it! No snobbery tolerated, all equal and each on his own merits. It thrills one to visualize the picture.

Naturally, our present standing army would largely disappear, for most of its members would become instructors. A vastly greater number of officers would also be needed.

I urge some such scheme, for its incomparable value as a school of patriotism and good citizenship. Incidentally, it would build up, at insignificant cost, an army, active and reserve, to be counted by the million. It would make no substantial drain upon the industries of the country, while it would enormously increase the economic worth of every man. Its military advantage is but a by-product.

All my life I have been a consistent advocate of peace at any cost, except the national honor. I would not favor any such scheme if it tended to breed a spirit of militarism, but I do advocate it strongly on educational and sociological grounds. Ask any parent, whose son has served a term of enlistment in the Army, the Navy, or the Marine Corps, whether the latter has not been enormously benefited by the years spent under the flag, and the answer will be enthusiastically in the affirmative. And I can speak confidently from my own experience of the boys who have served under my immediate command. On board ship, his division officer is the boy's truest friend, watching over him and helping him onwards and upwards in a thousand ways. The relations between the two are really ideal. The old cast-iron discipline, necessary in the case of the flotsam and jetsam of nautical life, has given place to a community of interest. Respect for his officer is now based, not upon difference of

rank, and enforced by severe punishment, but upon recognition of the fact that the latter *knows* more and therefore is the superior. Go on board a battleship and watch the gun-drill. Officers and men are all dressed alike, in overalls, the cap alone differing. Observe the kindly manner of the former, and the cheerful obedience of the latter. Together they form a team, working for the championship, in the world's greatest game. You will come away anxious to put your own son under so splendid an influence.

It is well known that recruits in the Marine Corps expand so much about the chest, in the arms and legs, that, quite generally, larger uniforms have to be provided after only three months' service. Doubtless the Army quartermasters have the same experience, for the same causes exist in all, viz.: regular hours, physical culture, plenty of good food, and an outdoor life.

Into the details of the plan here outlined it is not necessary to go at present, or indeed until the general idea finds favor with the public. The cost would not be excessive, and in comparison with that of a standing army large enough to provide absolute protection might almost be called negligible. Roughly speaking, to maintain every soldier in our army requires the expenditure of \$1,000 per annum, while the man is drawn from productive occupations during the whole period of his enlistment. The money spent on the boy trained in citizenship after the manner sketched herein would be returned to the country many times over through his improvement in every respect, an improvement which is beyond challenge because abundantly proved already in Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand, not to mention other countries which might be cited.

There is no doubt that the immediate future looms big with menacing possibilities, to meet which our best thought and effort should be directed. If anyone can bring forward a method by which the decisive results may be achieved at lower cost, with less dislocation of our industrial life, or with greater benefit to the American boy and the American nation, I shall be more than happy to accept it as a substitute for what is here outlined, which, having purely a defensive object and being fundamentally educational in character, meets the objections that may be urged against a large regular army and so should receive the approval of the most ardent pacifist.

AMERICAN PROSPERITY: IS IT REAL AND PERMANENT?

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

THREE very expressive statements have recently appeared in the news of the business day. One was that of the Comptroller of the Currency, who estimated the banking resources of the United States at \$3,000,000,000 more than the combined aggregate resources of the Bank of England, Bank of France, Bank of Germany, Bank of Russia, Bank of Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan. A second was that of a trade expert who said, "Never before have so many people worn silk stockings, silk underwear, or silk gloves," while the clever editor of a publication devoted to metals, in describing commercial and financial conditions here, does so with this epigram, "We have won all the marbles," and predicts that "if the game is to be continued we must lend some of our marbles to the others playing."

These facts would seem to answer the first part of the above question, viz., "Is American Prosperity Real" rather than fictitious? In other words, has it a solid foundation? If more evidence needs to be produced it is abundantly available. Everyone who follows current events knows that iron and steel production to-day is greater than ever before, with the probable output of pig iron in 1916 over 40,000,000 tons; that copper has never been brought from the ground at such a rate as now; that for the first time in American history there has been a spring shortage of railroad equipment to move traffic which is making railroad earnings of other "high peak" years look small; that one month's foreign trade balance, February's, exceeded by nearly 15 per cent. a whole year's credit in 1910; that national bank deposits have increased \$2,193,000,000 since March, 1915, and are growing at the rate of \$200,000,000 a month; that there is practically no unemployment, with the highest average of wages ever paid by American employers, and that for the articles which our factories turn out or the coal and mines produce, there is a growing demand abroad and very little competition to affect the prices which American manufacturers or producers see fit to ask.

The momentum which is rolling up new trade records day after day did not get under way until last autumn, so we have scarcely had more than six months of what may be described as "good times." If headway can be gained so quickly, what is to be the maximum speed finally? or are we already geared up as high as we can go? The transportation system has partially broken down under the excessive load; ships are being sunk more rapidly than they are being built; there is very little additional human power available, for immigration has slackened and is almost at a halt, and with the conservative policy ingrained by previous years of depression the amount of new plant capacity created in relation to new business has been astonishingly small.

It is a poor business organization that cannot take up slack, however tight the tension may have been, and it would be possible for the United States to do a considerably larger volume of domestic and foreign trade than is now being carried on. There has been a great gain in industrial efficiency and an intensification in all departments of labor. We can turn the clock back, as Germany has done, and get more from the day's work.

The question is not so much whether we can go at a faster pace or produce on a larger scale as whether we want to or can afford to. This underlies the query, "Is Our Prosperity Permanent?"

ENORMOUS HOME DEMAND FOR MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS

It is no longer a matter of argument that the business which the war developed was the originating influence on the subsequent industrial activity. To March, the value of strictly war materials exported had reached \$600,000,000, and will be a billion dollars by the end of December. Frequently \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 a week is shipped of shells and explosives.

No more is it believed that the United States is dependent on "war orders" to keep its factories running and its citizens employed. Great as is our foreign trade—it will

be at least \$5,000,000,000 this calendar year—it is only a small percentage of that internal trade legitimately stimulated by unusual crops commanding high prices and by the filling in of the understocked shelves of merchants from ocean to ocean. There have been four times as many freight cars purchased to date this year as last year, and nine times as many engines, while in one month as much steel rail was contracted for as in the twelve months of 1913. It is not foreign buying that compels the automobile maker to-day to deny delivery of his cars for periods of sixty to ninety days, but the insatiable demand of the American public. Further, it is known that large orders for metals have been refused European agents because of the difficulty in supplying home requirements.

WHAT WOULD SUDDEN PEACE DO TO TRADE?

Having some time ago caught up with the volume of foreign orders, and now having outdistanced them, it is a matter of debate how far the strictly American trade would be affected by the sudden ending of the war, the resultant slump in new "war orders," possible cancellations of contracts with still a year or so to run, the throwing out of work of thousands of highly paid operatives, the inevitable slump in iron and steel and metal prices, and probably in grain and certain classes of securities, a tightening of money rates and the movement of alien labor on a large scale eastward, for I believe that emigration will overbalance immigration in the ratio of two to one in the first year after peace is declared.

These are the unknown quantities of the situation that are causing a considerable amount of conservatism when there is every temptation to expand and to spend recklessly, and it expresses itself very clearly in the rising monthly average of bank deposits, whereas in other periods of great industrial excitement it was a conspicuous fact that nearly every business man, corporation, and bank was over-extended and with only a small portion of their assets in liquid form. Never having been through just such an experience as the present one, and with no precedent to go by as to the effects of such colossal waste of capital, destruction of life and property and shiftings of political and commercial power, the man in the street is disposed to have his house in order and to anticipate and be ready for trouble, whether it comes or not. This is a very healthy attitude and usually prevents the ills that seem most likely to be contracted.

INFLATED PRICES

This attitude, too, is due to a consciousness that there is a terribly high cost to expansion these days. Because it is so prosperous, and the average of wages is so abnormal, the country is not depressed as it was a few years ago by the rise in commodities. The phenomenon of "food boycotts" has not yet appeared, although prices have risen an average of 30 per cent. in a long list of necessities. The manufacturer feels the strain even more than the consumer, when in twenty months pig iron advances 50 per cent., steel bars 140 per cent., copper metal over 100 per cent., lead 100 per cent., spelter 250 per cent., and the elements entering into the making of explosives from 300 to 700 per cent.

The receiver of a Southwestern railroad recently listed seventy articles in common use on his system that had advanced from 10 to 80 per cent., and thirty-five more whose rise was from 80 to 700 per cent., and because the materials that cost \$3,314,000 in 1915 would cost \$5,091,000 this year was compelled to issue orders to his purchasing department to limit its orders to actual necessities. It costs \$155 a ton now to build a merchant ship that could have been constructed before the war at \$90 a ton. With the rise in lumber and iron and steel the expense of erecting a mill or factory before the machinery has been installed involves a permanent tax on capital before which the manufacturer hesitates, even with profits on his products to-day sufficiently large to reimburse him at once for a fair share of the outlay.

One can only explain the tremendous volume of demand even on this inflated basis by the reduced supplies of all kinds of manufactured goods following several years of low buying power and the willingness of a certain percentage of consumers to bid against the war prices which foreigners have established. Then, too, there are a limited number who are thrown into a panic when they see quotations bounding upward and pay what is asked rather than run the risk of losing their market. Usually they are left in the position of investors who buy real estate when there is a local boom and twenty years later cannot dispose of it at the cost price or go into the stock market at the top of a "bull" campaign and suffer accordingly.

BUSINESS SURPRISES FOLLOWING THE WAR

Upon how far we have been able to restrain ourselves from expansion that carries a high permanent fixed charge will depend the proportion of our prosperity after the war

ceases. That there will be some terrific readjustments goes without saying. Gradually, however, we are coming to guard against them. We hear almost as much to-day about "preparedness" in business after the war as of military and naval "preparedness." There will be as many post-bellum surprises in business as there have been on the battlefields of Europe since August, 1914. It may be said, however, that the fear of foreign competition is much less acute than it was when peace seemed likely before the summer of 1915, and the toll of lives and the exhaustion of raw materials had been not half what it is to-day.

It is quite a different situation to face now from that of a year ago when the accumulated stores of cotton, copper, spelter, food-stuffs, etc., were being drawn down slowly and only a small percentage of the factories in Great Britain and France had been requisitioned for making munitions; when the money cost of the war was but a few billions compared with nearly two-score billions now and the human loss a half-million perhaps against several million in killed alone. Taxes had not then begun to cut into incomes nor savings-bank deposits to be eaten up in war loans. There was then all the possibility of a quick and very aggressive come-back with the sequel of a flood of cheap goods for this low-tariff market to absorb in competition with its own products. As the war is prolonged this menace will be gradually lessened.

AMERICA AS A LENDER TO EUROPE

The question naturally arises whether nations so poor as those now at war must be after they have finished fighting one another will have much buying power left, and whether, protected perhaps against excessive imports, we may not lose in exports and the balance of trade be turned against us.

Europe cannot afford to sink down into despondency and idleness. She will have to produce more freely in the next generation than ever before in order to repair the financial damages of the war, and she cannot do this without supplies to work with, and this means American supplies. Vast new territories will be opened for trade conquests, as in Russia, China, Asia Minor, and South Africa, with even greater intensive cultivation of the South American markets than in the last decade. The situation will be very similar to that which faced the United States after the Civil War. Our position will be toward Great Britain, Germany, and France what theirs was to us, viz., that of a lender on reconstruction and new development prop-

ositions. Had it not been for the American Government and railroad bonds which European investors took between 1865 and 1880, oftentimes at a heavy discount and at high interest rates, progress here would have been very slow. We have been winning back large quantities of the "marbles" which we lost to Europe then, but there are many more still to be offered. Probably \$1,500,000,000 of prime stocks and bonds have been repurchased so far, with nearly as much more available, if Great Britain and France want to pay their war costs in this fashion.

READJUSTMENTS IN PRICES

In considering the prospects for permanent prosperity it should also be remembered that the announcement of peace does not mean the immediate return of the millions of soldiers to the factory, farm, or mine. It will be fully a year before this can be accomplished, and during that time there is every prospect that the nations now buying feverishly here will continue to buy against the constant state of preparation demanded until peace terms are signed.

During this period, however, there will be readjustments in commodity prices to a peacetime basis which will remove one of the great restrictions to industrial expansion in the United States. I do not look to see this readjustment affected in any material degree by the fear of repudiation of European debts to the United States which now amount in war loans and other borrowings to \$650,000,000, Canadian loans excluded. It must be obvious that the post-bellum business prospects are to a considerable extent to be determined by such policies as the American people may adopt toward expenditures for home defense and toward the tariff and also the alliances which they enter into with foreign countries for trade purposes. We cannot continue to maintain the "shut-in" attitude.

Beyond the readjustment period covering the two or three years following peace conclusions there is the great unknown, and we do not purpose here to go voyaging in it in the hope of new discoveries. It would not be against the precedent of commercial and financial history, however, to find there the wreckage of over-expansion and inflation and the final effects, on the nations responsible, of a war cost that has already raised the debt of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary from \$20,000,000,000 to \$65,000,000,000, and increased the carrying charge of this debt per annum to twice the size of the actual United States public debt.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION DURING THE WAR

BY ALBERT SONNICHSEN

WHEN the stone and concrete walls of Liege Fortress crumpled under the first fire of the big guns of the war, various other more human things seemed to be smashed with them. Irish Home Rule was shelved, the militant suffragettes subsided, political parties were practically wiped out. The utter moral collapse of the German Socialist Party stood out as one of the prominent features of the general destruction; with it apparently went the whole radical labor movement, for the Syndicalist groups seem to have vanished completely.

There remains, however, one very big and important wing of the radical labor movement which has not been considered, and that is Consumers' Coöperation, the membership of whose affiliated organizations was some ten millions heads of families before hostilities began.

The Coöperative Movement is not usually associated with the radical labor movement in this country. That is because here it has been confused with fruit-packers' associations, credit unions, and farmers' grain-elevator companies, with which it really has no connection whatever.

American readers are already somewhat familiar with the British phase of Consumers' Coöperation; its thousands of local store societies, which have gradually displaced so many private store-keepers; how they again have combined and so created the Wholesale Society, from whose gigantic factories and farms and plantations the local distributing centers draw their supplies; how this entire system of many industrial enterprises is owned collectively and controlled democratically by the three million organized consumers. The extent to which this same system has spread over the Continent and developed there is probably not so well known. At any rate, it is the theory of the coöperator that by developing this incipient industrial democracy from within, he will gradually crowd capitalism to the wall and so finally establish what Earl Grey, until recently Governor-General of Canada and now pres-

ident of the International Coöperative Alliance, has described as the "future, coöperative, international commonwealth, co-equal and co-extensive with the whole civilized world."

However, the ultimate object of the coöperators has very little to do with the technical details of their business; outwardly, at least, their factories and farms and stores are operated by the same methods that a capitalist would employ and they are, one might well assume, subject to the same economic laws that control industry in general. What was more natural, therefore, than to expect the same depression and dislocation of business within the Coöperative Movement, when war threatened, that industry and commerce in general always suffer on such occasions?

FOOD PANIC IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

All those who followed the dispatches at the time will remember the mad food panic that followed as soon as war was declared. Those who had ready cash, fearing all sorts of disruptions in the general supply of food stuffs, rushed frantically to the stores and began laying in supplies for weeks, sometimes months, ahead, leaving the poorer classes to face the exorbitant prices of the speculators. This was the situation that faced the coöperative stores as well as the private dealers.

A hasty survey assured the officials of the English and the Scottish Wholesale Societies that they had on hand enough of all the necessities to supply the normal needs of their members for several months. Reassuring messages were sent to all the local store committees, with the advice that they restrict all sales to individuals to their previous average rate of purchasing, but not to raise prices.

This was done by all the stores. The result can readily be imagined. The whole consuming public swung over to the coöperative stores. Before some of them the people stood in line blocks in length.

It required only twenty-four hours of this

situation to make the Wholesale officials realize that their calculations were going to be upset. They were not going to supply the whole population and then let their own members suffer a week or two hence. Whereupon there were general instructions to sell only to members.

The result of this ruling was that there was a wild rush of applicants for membership. One London store enrolled three hundred in one forenoon. This brought back the same old situation. And then the stores temporarily debarred all new members, and something like normal conditions were restored.

Meanwhile the panic in the open market continued; in some commodities the prices of the private dealers were more than double those of the coöperative stores. When they charged 12 cents a pound for sugar, the coöperative stores in the same districts charged only 5 cents; this difference was typical. Up in Scotland coal dealers sent up the price of coal day by day, pleading the unusual risks of the sea as the pretext. The Aberdeen Coöperative Society, which owns its own steamers, after allowing the employees a raise of 40 per cent. in compensation for the added risks, transported coal at a raise of only 12 cents on the ton. Private landlords were raising rents all over, to such an extent that tenants organized general strikes. The coöperative societies, which build cottages and rent them to their members on the coöperative principle, did not raise their rents one penny. Then came a popular agitation for government regulation of prices, and at the head of the agitation were the officials of the coöperative societies. This made an especially strong impression on the public, for the private traders were all on the other side, shouting the familiar phrase, "let us alone."

Finally, when the government did interfere, the officials empowered to act consulted with the Wholesale Societies and adopted their prices as the standard.

TRIMENDOUS INCREASE IN VOLUME OF BUSINESS

At the end of the year all these events were to be crystallized into cold figures. It was then that the secretary of the British Coöperative Union reported an increase in the general membership for the past year of 176,750. Compare this with the average yearly increase during the past forty years, 70,000.

For the same period the local societies re-

ported a trade of \$692,360,000—an increase over the previous year of \$42,000,000, a ten times bigger increase than the year before, which had been only \$4,700,000. The English Wholesale reported sales amounting to \$175,000,000, a 10 per cent. increase, as compared with only 5 per cent. the year before.

These figures cover the abnormal conditions attending the outbreak of the war. The question naturally arises: Has this stimulation of coöperative industry continued into and through this past year, when a more or less normal economic situation had been reestablished? Did the new members remain true to their new allegiance?

The answer is in the report for 1915, just issued by the English Wholesale. As compared with the 10 per cent. increase during 1914, the increase in sales for 1915 was 24 per cent., the sales being \$215,350,000, an increase of nearly \$60,000,000. The increase in the output of the Wholesale's productive works, its factories, etc., amounted to 42 per cent. Reports on increase in membership have not been issued yet, but that is usually in proportion to increases in trade, for there is no advantage in buying from a coöperative store except to members.

Meanwhile, what was happening in other countries?

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

In Germany the food panic was even more acute than in Great Britain, for the Germans realized that the British Navy was going to destroy their sea commerce completely; prices rose 30 and 40 and in cases 100 per cent.

German coöperation differs from the British in two features. First of all, the coöperative stores are forbidden by a general law to sell so much as a pound of sugar to a non-member. And then the German Government is so bitterly opposed to these "revolutionary storekeepers" that all civil servants, who are a good portion of the working classes in Germany, are forbidden, on pain of dismissal, from joining the coöperative societies.

When the panic broke out the German stores followed the same policy as the British; they did not raise prices so long as supplies could be had. Result—general influx of members, more than making up for the very heavy enlistments. And then the government employees, who were debarred from joining, rose in violent protest and demanded that the ruling against their joining be re-

scinded. And it was—immediately; the government gave way. Referring to this incident one of the German Wholesale officials writes:

Owing to this change in the attitude of the government and a more clear-sighted view on the part of the public, the cooperative stores have been able to maintain and often to increase their trade. For example, our bakery in Hamburg has recorded an increase of sales weekly in spite of the fact that the purchasing power of the people has decreased. The societies at Frankfurt, Brandenburg, and elsewhere have to report similarly . . . our journals continue to appear regularly and are profiting from the lessons of the present time by conducting an active propaganda. If the political parties have declared a truce (a sly dig at the Socialists), economic organizations have not laid down their arms and their antagonism is no less acute.

At the end of the year "Produktion," the coöperative society in Hamburg, reported:

On the first of the year (1915) our membership stood at 78,517, whereas a year ago it totaled 68,417, an increase of 10,000. . . . Sales were \$6,161,000, which is an increase of \$276,740. . . . To the 27,159 savings accounts which we had a year ago, 4439 were added, while only 2604 were closed.

The German Wholesale Society stated that its sales were nearly \$40,000,000, which was an increase during the year of \$870,000. Figures for 1915 are not yet available, but indications point to a continued increase. That any increase is recorded is remarkable, in view of the fact that the government has been taking over the distribution of many of the commonest commodities; on the committees in charge of this function the hated coöperators are fully represented.

PROSPERITY EVEN IN FRANCE

In France the Coöperative Movement was unfortunate in that fully 30 per cent. of its following was in those districts where actual fighting has been going on. Even when nothing worse happened to them, these northern stores were unable to obtain fresh supplies on account of the railroads being entirely used for rushing troops up and down the fronts. In territory actually invaded, they suffered from gunfire as did their private competitors. The French Wholesale, the Magasin de Gros, had several of its largest warehouses in Chateau-Regnault burned during the Battle of the Meuse.

But it seems that once the Germans had entered a town, the stores were often shown special consideration, as in Chateau-Thierry, where the German soldiers, after plundering

other shops, paid cash for goods at the "Co-operative."

"In the mining districts," reports an official of the Magasin de Gros, "economic life runs on normal lines and we are besieged with orders, which cannot always be filled. The factory at Lorient is working as usual. . . . It does not seem that the Magasin Gros will have much difficulty in attaining its usual turnover at the end of the war, in spite of the loss of the warehouses in the Ardenne."

MEMBERSHIP INCREASED IN BELGIUM

The Belgian coöperatives were especially strong before the war and famous for those popular institutions they have established, the maisons du peuple, coöperative recreation centers. The Belgian societies were supposed to have suffered more than the French societies; it was known that several of their most prominent leaders were killed at Liège. Yet last August the following item appeared in a German Socialist paper:

The large cooperative society, "Vooruit," in Ghent, has enrolled 1350 new members since the beginning of the war. A wholesale depot has been opened in Ghent, to supply the Flemish societies. Lately the society in Dinant, in the Valley of the Meuse, has opened a new distributing center amid the ruins of the town.

Since then I have received a fuller report, covering other towns beside Ghent, whose more detailed figures fully bear out the above item. Everywhere membership has increased. One wonders wherefrom the army was recruited.

IN HUNGARY AND RUSSIA

A fairly complete trade report, issued by the Hungarian Government, includes figures on the Cooperative Movement in that country. And there, it must be remembered, government officials hate coöperators as they do in Germany. The increase in the general membership of the Hungarian societies was 31½ per cent., while the general trade was 106,000,000 crowns, an increase of 6,000,000 crowns.

For Russia no actual figures are available, statistics not having been collected, but so marked has been the increase of cooperative activity there that not long ago a New York trade journal commented on it editorially. In many of the big cities, including Petrograd, the municipal authorities made loans to the local societies and asked them to take charge of the whole problem of food supply.

FARMING AND A WORLD CRISIS

SECOND ARTICLE ON RURAL CREDITS

BY PAUL V. COLLINS

IN the previous instalment of this series of articles upon the need of financing agriculture, we discussed world conditions which call for greater efficiency in American food production. We saw that American farms are producing ten billion dollars' worth of food a year. We saw that only 40 per cent., or less, of their tillable land is at work, because of the general lack of operating capital. The problem is how to provide the liquid capital needed.

The situation is like that of a great railroad system, before it has issued its bonds. It is the custom in railroad finance for all the capital derived from the sale of corporation stock to be invested in "dead assets"—track, terminals, and rolling stock—leaving no treasury for the active operation of trains. Owners of railroads (the stockholders) do not furnish the operating capital; that comes from the sale of bonds. These bonds are mortgages; and a railroad directorate which neglected to sell its bonds would be guilty of gross mismanagement. The farms of America, financially, are as the railroad without bonds.

But, a great corporation, with huge invested "dead assets," can go into financial markets which are barred to the farmer. What the individual farmer cannot do alone, combined agriculture must do, collectively, following the example of great business corporations.

Farmers must be given release from local money lenders, and given access to the same broad sources of investment capital hitherto monopolized by the corporate and commercial interests. This is what Congress is pledged to accomplish through its Rural Credits legislation, as promised by the platforms of all political parties in 1912. The Rural Credits bill is now pending in Congress, and, aside from measures of military preparedness against war, is by far the most important measure which has been before any Congress in this generation.

THE GENERAL PLAN

The country is to be divided into twelve districts; in each district will be one Federal Land Bank, with \$500,000 capital stock, all of which stock will be subscribed for, temporarily, by the Government, but afterwards, will pass, automatically, into the possession of the borrowers.

These twelve Federal Land Banks will be under the general supervision and control of a Federal Farm Loan Board, located in Washington. The Senate bill provides that this board shall consist of the Secretary of the Treasury, ex-officio, and four other members to be appointed by the President, by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate; the House bill provides for three members, omitting the Secretary of the Treasury.

The bill offers two kinds of local units—two systems in competition with each other—joint-stock land banks, and coöperative farm-loan associations.

The joint-stock banks must have a capital of not less than \$250,000 each, and, in States having a population exceeding two millions, the capital stock must be not less than \$500,000. They are to lend from their own capital until they have accumulated \$50,000, or more, of mortgages, and then issue bonds as described below. These banks are to receive their charters directly from the Federal Farm Loan Board, and not from the District Land Banks. They are, in fact, to be competitors of the system which has its units in coöperative loan associations for each neighborhood, correlated with the twelve District Land Banks covering the nation.

There are two opinions among the members of the committees regarding the joint-stock banks. One argues that the competition with the local coöperative loan associations, in making loans to farmers, will tend to reduce interest rates. The other opinion is, that when these joint-stock banks go into the investment market to sell their bonds,

the bonds will compete with the bonds of the Federal Land Banks, and this will raise the interest rate on both kinds of bonds; and, as the cost of money to the banks regulates the cost to the farmers, the existence of competition in the sale of bonds will inure to the disadvantage of the farmer.

COÖPERATIVE LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Each District Federal Land Bank will issue charters to local Farm Loan Associations in its district; or, in the absence of such an association in any neighborhood, may appoint a local bank, or other agency, to fulfil the functions of such an association. The intent, however, is to encourage the organization of these local Farm Loan Associations of the farmer-borrowers, themselves, in every neighborhood, which will make them independent of the local banks, and give the borrowers, coöperatively, control of the financing of the farms in their neighborhood.

Any ten, or more, farmers who want to borrow on first mortgages on their farms, may organize a local Farm Loan Association, chartered by the Federal Land Bank of the district. Only farmers, who want to borrow, can belong to a loan association; and, after such an association is organized, no one can join unless he is voted in by the existing members.

It is the function of each Farm Loan Association to appraise the land of its members, and recommend the characters of the applicants for loans; and, later, to see that the borrowed money is used only for the purchase or development of land, or the purchase of machinery or live stock for the farm of the borrower. None of the borrowed money can be used for any outside purposes, whatsoever; and, if a farmer undertakes to so misuse his loan, his mortgage will become due at once. Loans are made on first mortgages only, and may be equal to half the appraised value of the farm, and for not less than five years, nor more than thirty-six years.

After the officers and loan committee of a local Farm Loan Association shall have appraised a farm offered as security (and have agreed unanimously on the value), and have recommended the character of the borrower and the use he intends to make of the funds borrowed, the application will be forwarded to the Federal Land Bank of that district. The Federal Land Bank then will send out an appraiser from headquarters, who will investigate and appraise the security and pass on the loan.

The Federal Land Bank then will lend the money, not to the farmer, but to the local Farm Loan Association of which the borrower is a member, in exchange for the mortgage endorsed by the Farm Loan Association, with certain Federal Land Bank stock to be bought by the Loan Association, as additional collateral, to be hereafter described. The borrower then will receive the money through his local loan association, of which he and all other members are stockholders, subject to double (or sometimes unlimited) liability on their stock, according to which plan (limited or unlimited liability) the Loan Association has adopted. Loans are made only to actual farmers who are farming their land—they are not open to absentee landlords who farm by tenants.

BORROWERS MUST OWN STOCK

It will puzzle some readers to know why a farmer who wants to borrow money to develop his farm is required first to buy stock in the local Farm Loan Association; yet it is a "condition precedent" that every borrower must invest in stock in his local farm loan association a sum equal to one-twentieth of his loan.

The reason for the stock requirement (so confusing to the average person) lies in the double, or unlimited liability of the stock, which, to the amount of the stock held, makes every borrower a coöperative endorser, in case of loss of any loans made through his association. It must be remembered that stock is both an asset and a liability. Coöperative, or collective credit (as represented by stock's double liability), therefore, is the key to the whole system. Every borrower is interested in guarding every loan made through his association, and seeing that it is used only for the developing of the farms of his neighbors who borrow.

The loan association, in turn, must buy stock in the Federal Land Bank of that district, equal to all of its own stock owned by its members, *i. e.*, one-twentieth of the total loans made through that association.

After the entire \$500,000 of the capital stock of each Federal Land Bank (originally subscribed by the Government) has thus passed out of the hands of the Government, and is all owned by the borrowers, the stock will continue to increase with every additional loan. For, without maximum limit, every loan will require the investment of five per cent. of its amount in stock, and the stock will be created without limit in proportion to loans. Otherwise, when a Dis-

strict Land Bank had loaned twenty times the original capital it would be obliged to cease loaning until some of the first loans were matured and collected. With the provision for the continued increase of stock, the Land Banks can continue to do business as long as the investment market will buy its debentures.

This Federal Land Bank stock (sold to the Loan Associations) is to be held in trust by the Federal Land Banks, themselves, as additional collateral, besides the mortgages back of the loans, but the dividends are to be credited to the stockholders; these dividends will offset, at least, the interest on the sum invested in the stock. By this plan, the stock will cost the stockholder nothing, practically, since the loan will pay for it, and the dividends will offset the interest on the investment, and when he pays off his entire mortgage his stock will be redeemed and cancelled.

The basic idea is not that of helping *farmers*, but of helping *farming*; it is broad economics, not charity, nor even class aid.

TOO NARROWLY CIRCUMSCRIBED

The available loan actually nets the borrower only 47½ per cent. of the appraised value of his farm, which is ultra-conservative and should be increased. Especially in view of the requirement that the borrowed money must be used in augmenting the value of the security itself—in developing the farm—a larger loan would be safe and desirable. The Hollis bill is utterly inadequate in that limitation, and a disappointment to farmers unless it is to be amended before passage.

For example: A farm appraised at \$4000 will secure a loan of \$2000. Of this, \$100 must be invested in Association stock, leaving to the farmer \$1900 net, all of which he must put into the development or stocking of the farm, with the approval of his fellow farmers as to his wise use of the money. That makes the farm worth at least \$4000 plus \$1900—a total of \$5900, with a first mortgage of only \$1900, which is only 31 per cent. The farmer can not call for a reappraisal for five years, as a basis of an increased loan.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

Whence will come the money which the Federal Land Banks will lend to farmers?

In the first place, it will come from the capital stock of the banks—\$400,000 each—and it is proposed that the United States Government subscribe, temporarily, for the

entire capital stock. That will require a total Government fund of \$6,000,000, to start these twelve banks. The Government will not receive any dividends, for it will not be required to pay in on its stock, except on call from the Federal Farm Loan Board when funds are needed. And, as soon as funds are used for loans to farmers, the stock will pass from the Government to the borrower, and then it is when its active dividend-earning will begin.

As fast as loans are made to farmers, one-twentieth of each loan (as above explained) is required to be invested in stock, so that when twenty times \$6,000,000 is loaned to farmers, they will own all the stock, and the Government aid to the stock fund will be relieved, automatically, the ownership being transferred to the borrower.

But how can banks having a total of only \$6,000,000 lend \$120,000,000, or more? This is the answer: By issuing bonds against the mortgages previously acquired, to procure more money to lend on more mortgages.

As soon as a Federal Land Bank has loaned \$50,000, or more, out of its \$500,000 capital, it is authorized to set apart its \$50,000 first mortgages, as security for bonds to an equal total, and to sell these bonds to investors.

These bonds, exempt from all taxation, and bearing not to exceed 5 per cent. (but probably ranging from 3½ to 4½ per cent., according to the conditions in the respective districts) will be as profitable to the investor as 6 or 7 per cent. investments.

Every Federal Land Bank will be liable for the payment of the principal and interest due upon any farm loan bonds issued by other Federal Land Banks and remaining unpaid, for any reason whatsoever. The whole system of the Federal Land Banks of the entire country is back of every bond issued.

SECURITY OF BONDS

Every Farm Loan Bond is secured as follows:

- (1) By capital, reserves, and earnings of the land bank which issues it.
- (2) By the capital, reserves, and earnings of the eleven other land banks.
- (3) By collective security of all the mortgages in its division (limited or unlimited) of the Land Bank, the mortgages pledged being at least equal in amount to the outstanding bonds.

Every mortgage pledged as collateral is secured as follows:

(1) By the personal undertaking of the borrower.

(2) By the security of the mortgaged land, at least double in value to the amount of the loan.

(3) By capital, reserves and earnings of the local association endorsing the loan.

(4) By the individual liability of the members of the endorsing association.

AMORTIZATION PAYMENTS REDUCE RISK

The amortization plan, requiring a regular payment on the principal every six months, reduces the risk, semi-annually, even while the security is growing.

The mortgages may run for any period chosen by the borrower, not less than five years nor more than thirty-six years, and the principal must be paid in full within the period, by the payment of such equal instalments every six months as will pay out the entire amount within the term of the mortgage. It is found that by adding one per cent. of the original amount per annum to the 5 per cent. interest, on the original sum, it pays the entire principal in thirty-six years.

LOWERING INTEREST RATES

This plan will equalize interest rates all over the district of each bank, respectively, although different districts may have different rates of interest, according to general conditions in the twelve districts.

The law requires that the Federal Land Banks must not charge borrowers over one per cent. more than the interest the bonds bear. That one per cent. margin is to cover all overhead expenses of running the system, and, if it proves more than necessary, the balance is to be used to accumulate a surplus capital of the bank, until the surplus amounts to \$100,000; thereafter a very small part is added to this surplus as the loans increase, but all the rest of the balance then goes as dividends to the stockholders—the farmer-borrowers—reducing the net cost of their loans.

European experience shows that in Europe the overhead expenses amount to from three-tenths to one-half of one per cent. In America the expense will be higher, but certainly less than one per cent.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS AND BOND SALES

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency has inserted the following "Sec-

tion 34," as a means of further strengthening, from time to time, the available funds of the Federal Farm Land Banks, under the direction of the Federal Farm Loan Board:

That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed, upon the request of the Federal Farm Loan Board, to make advances or deposits for the temporary use of any Federal Land Bank, out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated. Such Federal Land Bank shall issue to the Secretary of the Treasury a certificate of indebtedness for any advance or deposit, bearing interest at the rate of two per centum per annum, to be secured by Farm Loan Bonds or other collateral, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Any such certificate shall be redeemed and paid by such Land Bank, at the direction of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The aggregate of all sums so advanced or deposited by the Secretary of the Treasury in any fiscal year shall not exceed the sum of \$6,000,000 at any one time.

This Senate provision has some opposition in the House Committee, but is deemed important by the Senators, in giving a source of reserve credit through the Federal Treasury to the Federal Land Banks, just as the Treasury often helps national banks, by special deposits to meet extraordinary conditions. The twelve banks are made regular depositories and financial agents of the Government. This feature is valuable from a legal standpoint, not necessary to enlarge upon here.

According to the Senate bill, it is to be permissible for the Trustees of the Post-Office Department Postal Savings to invest in the Federal Farm Land Bank bonds such portions of the postal savings funds as they see fit. This is not mandatory, but it is a profitable privilege, of benefit to the postal savings fund by giving a safe, liquid four per cent. investment.

Tentative proposals are under consideration for permitting time deposits in the Federal Land Banks, and also for permitting national banks to use Land Bank bonds as secondary reserves (bearing 4 per cent.), available for discount at the Reserve Banks.

WHAT OF "PERSONAL CREDIT"?

But merely providing for farm mortgages, thus protecting 3,000,000 land-owning farmers, will not be adequate if no steps are taken to strengthen the hands of the 5,000,000 tenant farmers, through personal credits, properly safeguarded, as will be discussed in our next article.

THE LUMBER DECLINE IN THE NORTHWEST

BY EDWIN CLYDE ROBBINS

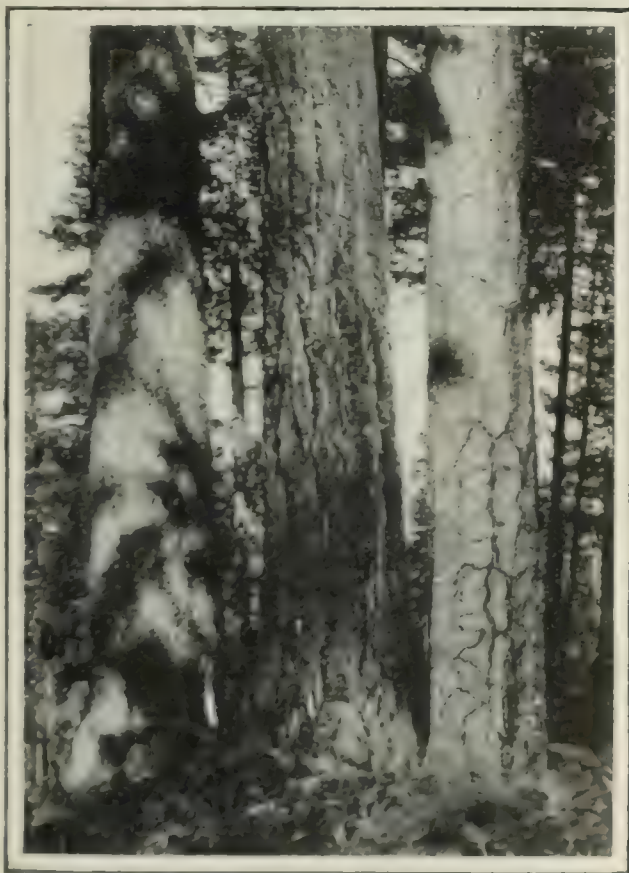
ONE of the chief industries of the United States is afflicted with a serious ailment and millions of people have become interested in the case. Some say the victim has over-eaten; others think he is starving to death, but all agree as to the presence of alarming disorders and all are urging the patient to secure medical assistance. Even now the sufferer lies at the door of the national Capitol and Congressional surgeons can be heard whetting their knives preparatory to an operation, but whether they will probe for malnutrition or gout has not been determined. Upon the correctness of their diagnosis and the skilfulness of their cutting hangs the fate of the victim. It is a trying moment both for the afflicted one and the public that awaits the verdict.

The sufferer so grievously tormented is the lumber industry. That the public should be interested is not strange when one recalls that this business, the third largest in the country in number of men employed, is working but one-half its normal force; its output is about one-third the ordinary yield; and its total investment of two and one-quarter billions is returning scarcely a cent of profit. In no other field of industry is there a paralysis more widespread. Nor has his unfortunate condition come suddenly and without apparent cause, but is the culmination of a series of mishaps which have

beset the business since 1907. So serious has the situation now become that private concerns, State boards, and a federal commission are coöperating to ascertain the reasons for the disaster and to suggest measures for relief.

The present article is confined to the industry in the Northwest, this territory being

selected because it contains more than one-half the entire timber, — about 57 per cent. of the country's stand. In this section the livelihood of 60 per cent. of the people depends upon the successful operation of the lumber trade, but the depression is here most acute, causing the annual output in some sections to fall below 30 per cent. of the normal amount. Moreover, it is in this territory that the Government has its largest holdings, amounting in round numbers to 500 billion feet, or one-third the total supply. Thus in a significant sense the



NATIVE FOREST TREES OF THE NORTHWEST, BEPUL-
SING HEAVY OVERCROWDING

Northwest combines the interests of employers, laborers, and the public to such an extent that any general policy looking toward rehabilitating the business in that section is worthy of thoughtful attention.

The first symptoms of illness in that region manifested themselves simultaneously with the adoption of a policy of conservation by the Federal Government. Omitting as irrelevant to this discussion the wisdom of the particular measures adopted, it was perhaps a



CUTTING THE TREES INTO LOGS

natural but unfortunate circumstance that the idea should have become prevalent that the timber lands of the country were almost exhausted,—that with a few more years of ruthless exploitation the industry would become a thing of the past. That this notion should and did get abroad is not strange when one recollects that no comprehensive survey of our timber resources had ever been attempted and very little was known of the possibilities of reforestation.

INFLUX OF CAPITAL

It followed as a natural corollary that, if the supply of lumber were so limited, here was an excellent field for investment. Eastern capitalists thought they saw a golden profit in buying the remaining tracts of standing timber. So great became the stream of money flowing from East to West that firms already in the business grew uneasy and also began forthwith to increase their holdings as much as possible. Large mill-owners with supplies sufficient for years to come put every available dollar into additional purchases. Small dealers who often found it difficult to secure ready money, suddenly discovered that Chicago bankers were eager lenders on Western timber lands, and they,

too, joined the chase for larger holdings in such property.

THE SAN FRANCISCO FIRE

This period of inflation was scarcely under way before the San Francisco earthquake and fire occurred, in 1906. The city was still burning when telegrams for lumber began to pour into the Northwest. In the excitement of the occasion no dealer knew just how much would be really required, but with the hope of making huge sales each placed such large orders that within a few days a year's supply had been arranged for.

As the extent of the catastrophe became apparent it was seen that the first needs of the stricken city were food, clothing, and medicines, and the railroads were instructed to refuse everything else. The mills notified their patrons of the enforced delay, to which they submitted with extreme reluctance, as each wished to be the first to begin the work of rebuilding. Following the custom in the business that on failure to

ship as per agreement an order could be canceled, dealers placed the same order with different mills, planning, as soon as the first shipment arrived, to cancel all the others. As a result of this policy the number of orders doubled and quadrupled. It seemed as if halcyon days had reached the Northwest. Each mill, confident of its ability to be first to place its lumber in San Francisco, increased its output as fast as possible. A few weeks later the inevitable cancellations began to take place. In some cases actual sales fell to one-fifth of the amount indicated by advance orders.

THE COLLAPSE OF 1907

Business was just recuperating when the panic of 1907 swept over the country. Eastern investors abruptly stopped their remittances. Chicago bankers had no more money to lend the Northwest. The boom in timber lands collapsed and lumber dealers suddenly found that the only way they could realize on investments already made was by seeking a wider market.

But here again the economic nemesis followed them. The market, already unsteady as a result of over-expansion and ill-advised ordering, began to fall in harmony with the

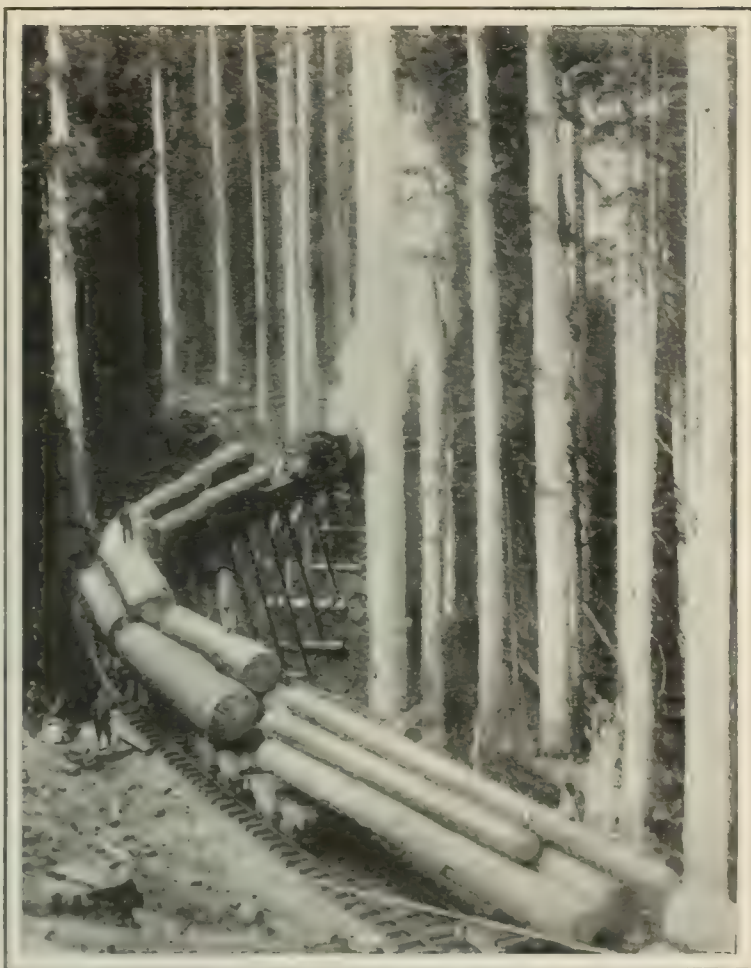
trend of general prices. The increased production simply crushed it and the lumber dealer found himself trapped. It was necessary to sell his product in order to secure returns from his business, yet increased distribution served only to force the market lower and lower. Associations to steady production and prices were suggested, but the Federal Government did not look with favor upon such projects and a cry of illegality effectually checked the movement.

Business continued in this chaotic state until the spring of 1913, when certain railroads that had been hesitating to place lumber orders in hope that the money market would become easier were forced to purchase large quantities of ties, posts, etc. For a while the industry revived, but the depression could not be shaken off easily and as soon as the wants of the railroads were satisfied business once more sank to its former level. The following year the present tariff schedule, removing the barrier against Canadian timber, was enacted, subjecting American dealers to vigorous competition from the North. Lastly, the European war added a final touch to the distressing situation by shutting off what remained of American export trade. The opening months of the present year witnessed a slight revival of business, due to large orders from Mexico, but there is no reason to expect that the market is becoming permanently normal.

The foregoing enumeration by no means exhausts the list of causes. There were others more subtle, such as the growing use of substitutes for lumber, the selling of Government stumpage in the open market, the question of shipping facilities, the problem of reforestation, etc.

VARIOUS PROPOSED REMEDIES

How to restore the business to its full vigor is a question much more important than a mere recital of facts explaining present ailments. Just as in the case of any illness one person would depend upon the old family physician to "pull him through" while another would insist upon the most modern specialist, so with the lumber industry there are calls for healers of every description. At least five remedies have been suggested, each claiming to be a restorative of the highest



MOVING THE LOGS TO THE MILL BY RAIL

order. First, there are those who believe the crying need is to secure actual facts relative to safe investments in timber lands,—this, plus plenty of Western ozone, is all that the industry needs; second, others are suggesting the pill of publicity as the needed antidote; third, many Western shippers maintain that the trouble would all disappear if only they could induce the railroads to grant lower rates to the competitive areas of the Middle West; fourth, others say the proper potion is a well-organized foreign selling agency; and, fifth, not a few are advocating the creation of a producing and selling pool to steady the domestic market.

At present the advocates of investigation are the nearest to realizing their wish. Not only are private and State agencies attempting to ascertain the exact status of timber holdings, but the Federal Government is conducting a nation-wide survey which will include estimates of the quantity of timber land, actual costs of logging, milling, and marketing, as well as extensive computations of market prices. If this investigation proves as successful as it is hoped, there will be no further excuse for blind speculation in the business.

Headway is also being made in giving pub-



UTILIZING STREAMS FOR LOG TRANSPORTATION

licity to the present situation. By setting forth their grievances in the daily press, trade journals, and magazines, the lumber men have already caught public attention. A campaign now on foot under the auspices of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association reminds one very much of the program of financial reform inaugurated by banking interests prior to the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act. The new Trades Commission has finished a series of hearings on the lumber industry and timber owners expect the Commission to make favorable recommendations to Congress on the basis of these hearings.

DEMAND FOR LOW FREIGHTS ON LOWER GRADES

The remedies which are not so easy to apply are those connected with railroad rates, foreign shipping, and the local market. A beginning, however, has been made. Recently a plan was submitted to the railroads which would, if adopted, largely do away with the troublesome rate problem. The present difficulty regarding rates grows out of the fact that the railroads maintain the same schedule for all grades of lumber from the Northwest to points east of the Mississippi,—a charge that is based on the weight of the lumber. This is particularly unfortunate for Pacific Coast shippers, since nearly 75 per cent. of their yield is of low-grade, heavy-weight varieties, and the existing rate is so high that it prevents them from com-

peting with the better, lighter-weight materials from the South. Northwest lumbermen are asking for two rates,—a relatively high one for their best and lighter lumber, and a lower one for their cheaper grades. They explain that if such a plan were adopted they could then send large quantities of low-grade materials to the great buying districts east of the Mississippi to meet the competition from Southern pine. In a memorial submitted to the railroads, the dealers contend that should they be given lower rates for the cheaper grades, shipments would be so large that special trains loaded exclusively with low-grade varieties could be run and the railroads would in reality secure a larger annual profit than they are realizing at present. Up to the present time the carriers have not seen fit to grant any reduction in rates.

CANADIAN COMPETITION

Turning for a moment to the two remaining problems, we find the situation more complex. Take, for example, the matter of Canadian competition. Just how much the removal of the tariff on Canadian lumber contributed to the present unsatisfactory state of American trade is not known, but the change was made at a time when the resisting power of the Northwest dealers was exhausted. This competition is all the more galling because it comes through a Canadian selling agency formed under the auspices of the Canadian Government,—just the very



THE TRANSFORMATION FROM LOGS TO LUMBER

kind of agency that the Federal Government refused to permit American dealers to establish.

PRICE REGULATION PROPOSED

Lastly, there is the chaotic condition of local trade. Instead of the ruthless, cut-throat competition which prevails to-day and which seems likely to continue until the weaker owners are eliminated, certain timber men are asking permission to organize an association that shall have power to regulate both the production and the selling price. What form this association should take is an open question. Some favor an organization composed of leading dealers, with additional representatives appointed by the Government for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the public and the smaller lumbermen. Others advocate a complete abandonment of the present Federal policy of enforced competition, substituting therefor some plan of definite governmental regulation based upon the German Kartelle, where the central idea is to control and regulate trade.

Who can tell, when doctors disagree? And yet it seems to the writer that the conflict of opinion as to which remedy should be

used is more apparent than real. A careful survey of the proposals just given shows that they supplement rather than dispute one another, and for the most part the remedies are the good old-fashioned ones with which the American public has long been familiar. The questions upon which there will be serious doubt and disagreement are the suggestions to create a foreign selling agency and to institute regulation upon the local market. Both these proposals are squarely opposed to the previous course in American industrial development. And yet many are beginning to question as to whether or not the United States has followed the wisest course. To many thoughtful persons it has already become evident that the ever-increasing rigor with which the anti-combination laws are being enforced,—and they must be enforced if the statutes are not to become a mere farce,—is making it impossible for American dealers to cope single-handed with the well-organized foreign association. No one can tell exactly what conditions will be after the present European war is over, but one thing seems fairly certain: Canada will be more anxious than ever to sell her lumber, and it would seem only the part of wisdom to place

American lumbermen in a position where they can meet the competition of their northern competitors.

FAILURE OF UNRESTRAINED COMPETITION

Lastly, what of the proposal to regulate the home market? Surely, this flies in the face of sound economic teaching. Has not the rallying cry of the last century been that competition is the life of industry? Are not American laws built on this rock? There is but one answer to inquiries of this kind. Free and unrestrained competition in the United States has not proved the unqualified success that economists and statesmen so confidently prophesied. There is very good reason to believe, for example, that careful regu-

lation of the lumber industry during the past fifteen years would have prevented the catastrophe that has now befallen it and which seems likely to continue unless some outside agency steps in to bring order out of chaos. It seems to the writer that such a function falls naturally upon the shoulders of the Federal Government and that the least Congress can do is to pass an act which will permit the Northwest lumbermen to organize their business upon the basis of mutual helpfulness rather than enforced warfare. The past few years of competition in the industry has been but a repetition of the acts of one of Baron Munchausen's famous characters, who, in order to ward off starvation, found it necessary to devour himself.

UTILIZING LUMBER WASTE

BY L. M. LAMM

THERE has always been a great deal of waste in the lumber business, but that is being overcome as fast as possible. Recent investigations have shown, however, that out of all the trees actually felled in the woods, we use ultimately only about 40 per cent., or less. A large portion of the waste can be attributed to the fact that the public demands timbers for general purposes with square edges, whereas trees grow in the form of a cylinder.

There is but little opportunity to utilize what might be termed sawmill waste; yet there would seem to be no good reason why this waste—slashings, small wood, and stumps—should not be utilized in by-products, such as wood pulp, charcoal, turpentine, creosote oil, tar, and pitch. Obviously, no small business could conduct such operations; yet, looking into the future, it is difficult to see how, with constantly increasing competitive pressure not only from other woods, but also from substitutes, the industry can be placed on a substantial basis unless in the heavily forested sections it is conducted on a large scale. Even now the waste in the better conducted operations is great, and the problem is and always will be to secure the greatest use of the raw material—the log. Moreover, in the manufacture of lumber, the operations should be carried on as closely as possible to the tree. The consumer is quite as interested in this as is the manufacturer. Freight rates on raw material to be remanu-

factured at a distant point, with the attendant waste in the manufacturing process, imposes an unnecessary burden on the consumer. This situation limits markets and handicaps the industry in its efforts to stem the rising tide of substitutes.

It is a fact known to few that more than 20,000 tons of wood flour, valued at \$300,000, are used annually in the United States in two widely different industries, the manufacture of dynamite and the manufacture of inlaid linoleum.

Wood flour is also used in making composition flooring, oatmeal paper, and in several other industries. It forms one of the means by which the huge waste product of our lumber mills is beginning to find some better means of disposal than the burner. Since a total of 36,000,000 cords of such waste is produced each year at saw-mills in the United States, of which about one-half goes into the furnaces as fuel while the rest is burned as refuse to dispose of it, there is no lack of raw material for industries which can develop ways of turning this waste to account.

Fundamentally it would seem as if any manufacturer would desire to secure the greatest possible commercial product from his raw material and then distribute it as widely as possible. If this is sound principle, then the lumber manufacturer should get every commercial product out of a log, precisely as does the packer with the hog. By

so doing not only will mill waste be eliminated, a waste stated to be about 60 per cent. between the standing tree and the lumber, but, strange as it may seem, the manufacturer will be enabled to sell at an average lower price, at the same time securing an average higher profit. In this direction, it seems, the future of the industry lies. The desired result can be secured only by closer utilization, or, to state it in another way, more refined manufacturing, wider distribution, better merchandising, and more efficiency all around.

The public is much to blame in this waste situation because of its refusal to accept uneven widths and lengths. In connection with this it might be added that the public has been entirely too ready with its criticism of lumbermen in their so-called wasteful destruction of our forests, for it has come about largely from their own demands.

One of the brightest aspects of the situation as it exists to-day is the fact that the thinking lumbermen of the country know that something is vitally wrong and are trying to solve the problems. There are many opinions as to what should be done. E. B. Hazen, a prominent West Coast lumberman, of Portland, Ore., expressed his views recently when he said:

The needs of the industry are: First, conservation of the timber resources to insure continued supply; second, delivery of forest products in every possible refined form with the maximum degree of accessibility and convenience and at the lowest possible cost; third, insurance of return on investment, whether cash, labor, past experience, or apprenticeship.

In other words, we need conservation, efficient

manufacture and marketing, and reasonable return on investment. That we have scarcely made a start in any of the three is too apparent to require proof.

To comply with these needs we must have the closest possible utilization of the present stand of timber, reforestation, further refinement in manufacture and chemical reduction and more efficient producing and merchandising, and a larger return accruing to the raw material.

Is the lumber industry of the future to be composed of many small and widely scattered units, or will the tendency be toward large-scale operations, in which not only the log will be transformed into lumber, but waste will be utilized in by-products, is the question that is being asked to-day by all lumbermen. Consideration of this question leads to the conclusion that, while by reason of the nature of the business there will always be a considerable number of small plants, economic laws will ultimately compel in some sections large-scale operations with a sufficient supply of standing timber to justify the fullest utilization of the log.

It has been suggested that an ideal operation for the mills of the future would be one that would utilize the log and every possible part of it in the mills and ship and distribute only the finished product, whatever that product might be. Waste of raw material and waste of transportation would in this way both be saved; but plants capable of such efficiency cannot be small ones. This method would undoubtedly conserve the timber supply and lead to the most complete use of the forest. Such a method would also lower the cost to the consumer and afford better profits to the operator.



THE SHAKESPEAREAN STAGE AND THE STAGE OF TO-DAY

BY RICHARD SILVESTER

IF William Shakespeare were to celebrate the tercentenary of his death by indulging in a tour of inspection of New York's theaters, he would indeed find very marked differences between Elizabethan standards and our present-day mode of presenting the drama. So great a change has come about

during these three hundred years that it is doubtful whether the Avon Bard would at first sight recognize as drama a production of some such twentieth-century magician as David Belasco. Should he step into one of our theaters and see the curtain rise on an example of our modern stagecraft, he might, perhaps, be inclined to imagine that those three weird sisters had suddenly conspired to deceive him. What he could only have seen in his mind's eye, they now seem to have conjured up before him in every material detail; and the most eloquent and realistic descrip-

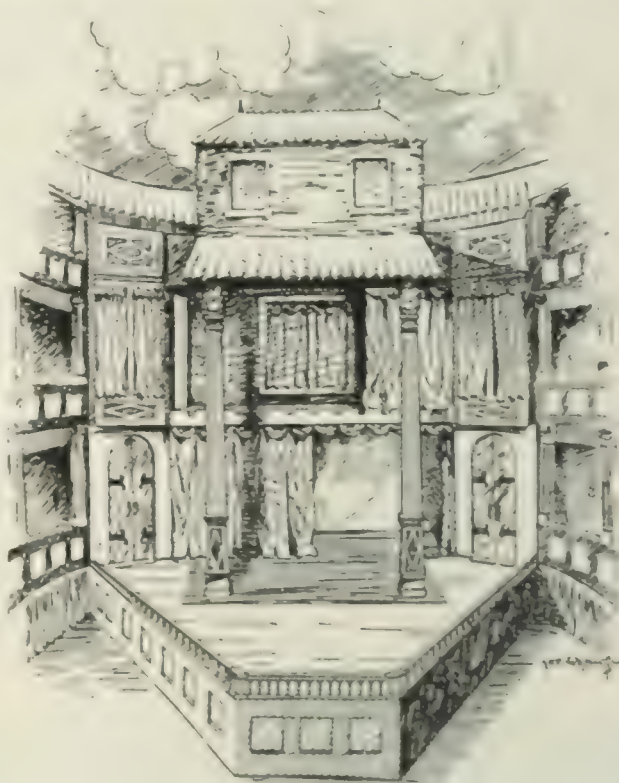
tions in his plays he would find eclipsed by actual representations of scenes in a manner far more impressive and beautiful than any words can convey.

THE ELIZABETHAN THEATER

Shakespeare devised his plays for a theater very different from our own. The Fortune Theater, in London, for instance, built in 1600, consisted of a courtyard, at one end of which, and extending well toward the middle, was built a large platform on which the plays were presented. In the windows

overlooking this courtyard sat the privileged spectators, while the less fortunate, common people—or "groundlings," as they were called—contented themselves with standing about the shoulder-high platform and viewing the performance much as we still do today the side shows of the traveling circus.

Plays always took place in the daytime. There was no scenery other than that afforded by the more or less artistically arranged end of the courtyard, across the central portion of which an arras was sometimes fastened. Chairs, tables, and a few other simple properties were used toward the back of the platform in representing interiors. The main action of the play took place towards the front of the platform, and thus we see the necessity for pageant-like processions (usually accompanied by unimportant speeches), not only to bring the characters to the cen-



A TYPICAL SHAKESPEAREAN STAGE
(From ARTHUR'S "Shakespeare's Stage")

ter of the stage, but also to get them off it.

No attempt was made to produce illusion and a great deal had to be left to the imaginations of the spectators. The actors had to give lengthy descriptions of the scenes in which they were supposed to find themselves. They were obliged to refer to the "darkness of the night" and the "hooting of the owl," or what not, to convey the idea that although the sun was shining brightly, it was really midnight. It was easily possible for a drama to have many locales, for by simply shifting a few properties

and changing the sign-boards, anything from a primeval forest to a throne room might be indicated.

CHANGES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

We need not refer here at length to the gradual steps by which the theater reached that stage of development in which we find it at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is sufficient to say that a roof was put over the courtyard, benches were arranged on the ground, and gradually theaters such as the old Drury Lane Theater in London came into vogue, in which were used a curtain, artificial lighting, simple furniture sets, and rough interior and exterior scenes. The greater part of the acting was done on a platform which extended in front of the curtain, and on either side of which there were boxes filled with spectators. The middle of this "apron," as it was called, was the point at which the characters had to converse in order to be properly understood and seen. Under these circumstances, it is evident that the drama was more a matter of oratory than of realism. Long speeches and oratorical style were the rule.

Not until almost the middle of the nineteenth century did any very striking innovations take place in the physical conditions of the theater. It is, perhaps, to Victor Hugo that we owe the most daring steps in the new conception of the stage. When he wrote his play "*Hernani*," he called for special settings, individual and distinct. Formerly, no very specific *locale* was assigned for the action of the play. No attempt was made to reproduce on the stage a room in an actual house. When a character appeared upon the stage he entered the story; when he retired, he was no longer considered as being a part of the play, and no one wondered where he went or what he might be doing.

In "*Hernani*," Victor Hugo called for trap-doors, a balcony window, and other special scenery. Much of the action resulting from the use of this scenery was of the highest dramatic importance. About this time the "box set" was also invented. That is to say, instead of mere wings, complete rooms, with three walls and sometimes a ceiling, were constructed, and furnished appropriately to the taste of the characters who were supposed to inhabit them.

With this change in the construction of the physical stage, a new idea as regards the characters themselves came into vogue. A more definite time and place were assigned to

the story of the play, and the characters were considered more as a part of a picture than as reciters of dramatic monologues. The drama of conversation thus gave place to the drama of illusion.

THE REALISTIC STAGECRAFT

The introduction of electric light was, of course, responsible for greater innovations in the art of stage decoration than any other one thing. It was now possible to light up equally well any portion of the stage, and so the "apron" was dispensed with and the picture-frame proscenium introduced. The cry for realism which Ibsen's dramas had aroused was now taken up by the scene-builders with enthusiastic vigor, and "nature" was reproduced in every material detail. "We must show life exactly as it is," became their motto.

These changes, naturally, also had an effect upon the actors themselves, and upon what they said. Formerly, the actors were continually conscious of the presence of the audience, and to a considerable degree addressed it directly. Now they could interpret the story on the stage, entirely ignoring, apparently, the presence of the audience. This change in the conception of the play, as a whole, as being made up not alone of dialogue and recitation, but also of action and pictorial representation, has had a very far-reaching effect on our present-day conception of the drama.

THE NEW MOVEMENT

But mere realism did not satisfy every artistic ideal. Within the last ten or twelve years a new movement has arisen in Europe and has lately made itself felt on our stage. What really matters in a setting is not the truthfulness of its details, but rather the effectiveness of its mood, and the emphasis it throws on the important underlying motive of the play. We have become weary of imitating actuality represented for itself alone, and have begun to look for an interpretation of the abstract through the medium of stage pictures and effects. Late in the nineteenth century, producers were satisfied if they succeeded in making their spectators believe what they saw. Now, by means of visual suggestions, they try to induce their audience to imagine much more than they can actually see.

This striking difference between the surroundings in which the Shakespearean drama was presented and that in which our modern play is set is, in reality, but a manifestation



THE ENGLISH THEATER OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

(Shakespeare's plays were written for the kind of stage shown in this model of the Fortune Theater. Most of the acting took place on the forward part of the stage, where the actor was surrounded on three sides by the audience. It will be noticed that the galleries were the only parts of the theater that were roofed in. The performances all took place in broad daylight.)

of the general change in our attitude toward life which has come about since the days of Queen Elizabeth. Shakespeare and his contemporaries attributed the vicissitudes of a man's career to peculiar inherent characteristics. "Thou thyself art Heaven and Hell" was the premise upon which they built their tragedies. The hero of a play was represented as taking his life into his own hands, of combating fate, and of attaining success, or suffering failure, in proportion to the degree of favorable or unfavorable characteristics with which nature had endowed him.

The over-trustfulness of Othello, the contemplative procrastination of Hamlet, and the vaulting ambition of Macbeth are classical examples of characters who are doomed to destruction by reason of their innate characteristics. They are self-destroyed, self-ruined, through their mental states, or rather through their personal emotional reactions. These the dramatist could interpret successfully enough by using only dialogue. No peculiar setting was necessary.

To-day, we believe that there is no one factor which influences the actions of men more than environment. Life is one mighty struggle between personal character and social conditions. The ability of an individual to adapt himself to his environment, to use it intelligently, spells success; his neglect or ignorance of it means ruin. This view of life constitutes the dominating motive of our social drama. It is the essence

the simple, direct, and human stories which they tell.

To the first of these belongs the etymologically inclined, high-school grammar teacher, and the host of pupils upon whom he has impressed the incomparable value of the careful study of Shakespeare as a means to "higher culture." To the second belongs that multitude of people who appreciate the drama as a vehicle to characterization and the portrayal of the most fundamental of human emotions—love and hate. Shakespeare's plays have been and will be presented in every corner of the earth, because they are plays of plot. They tell simple and direct human stories which will be appreciated just so long as human beings continue to be human in the same sense that Shakespeare himself was human.

Although the leading theaters of Europe long ago discarded the ultra-realistic method of staging plays, we in America have been rather slow in adopting the newest developments in scenic design. Especially has this been true in the case of Shakespearean productions. It seems to be difficult for us to realize that there is really no good reason why we should present Shakespeare in such realistic settings as Sir Herbert Tree still does. Nor, on the other hand, is there any really artistic reason why we should interpret Elizabethan drama after the fashion of Ben Greet. Max Reinhardt and Gordon Craig were among the first to prove that Shake-

of our modern tragedy, as well as comedy. A striking example of this type of play may be found in Gerhardt Hauptmann's "The Weavers," while Galsworthy's "Justice" may be cited as another instance.

SHAKESPEARE ON THE STAGE TO-DAY

We may well ask how it is that Shakespeare is so popular to-day, and that he is still considered one of the greatest masters of the stage. The answer is simple enough. Those who appreciate Shakespeare are of two classes: first, those who study him on account of his greatness as a master of English; and, secondly, those who like to see or to read his plays because of

Shakespeare's immortal plays can be presented with singular artistic effect in impressionistic settings. Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson's production of "Hamlet," Robert E. Jones' settings for "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and Joseph Urban's designs for "The Merry Wives of Windsor" are some recent instances of the newest and most radical methods of simplification and suggestion through the medium of light and color.

Since Elizabethan days the stage has changed some of its vehicles of expression and gained others. We have learned that Shakespeare's mode of interpreting a dra-

matic story is not the only method, especially in so far as it entirely ignores the element of environment, which to-day is regarded as having such an important influence in the lives of men. It was Victor Hugo who, about 1830, first expressed on the stage our modern attitude toward life. Since then dramatic art has developed with such astonishing rapidity that in this year, in which we celebrate the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, our fondest conjectures cannot even guess on what pinnacle of artistic perfection the drama of our own generation will be crowned.

TWO GREAT PAGEANTS

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

WHAT has a metropolis like New York or a manufacturing center like Newark, N. J., to do with masques and pageantry, symbolism and visualization?

How can its citizens derive any benefit from the recent purely esthetic "movements" in the realms of stagecraft and dancing, led by such pioneers as Gordon Craig, Max Reinhardt, Isadora Duncan, Warslav Nijinski, Jacques-Dalcroze, Ben Greet, Leon Bakst, Granville Barker, and Cecil Sharp?

The answer will be given this month when in the stadium in New York the Community Masque, in commemoration of the Shakespeare tercentenary, will be performed on the evenings of May 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and when during the evenings of May 30, 31, June 1, 2, in Weequahic Park Amphitheater, the city of Newark, N. J., will give her Historic Pageant commemorating her two hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

THE SHAKESPEARE MASQUE—THE POWER OF THE DRAMA OVER BRUTE MAN

Percy MacKaye, who wrote the St. Louis masque, is author of the New York masque.

It is a symbolic drama—"a structure of potential interrelated pantomime, music, dance, fighting, acting, song [choral and lyric], scene values, stage management and spoken words." * * * "If no word of the masque be heard by the audience, the plot, action, and symbolism will still remain understandable."

The characters are borrowed from Shakespeare's "Tempest." The art of Prospero is conceived as the art of Shakespeare and the

whole masque, symbolizing "the power of dramatized beauty over the spirits of men," is given in a prologue, three acts, three interludes, an epilogue, and ten "inner scenes," nine of them taken from Shakespeare's plays.

In rapid succession will be seen in a cave, Setebos, god of elemental force; Sycorax, the primæval earth spirit; their son Caliban, half man, half brute; Ariel held captive till Prospero frees him. Then Miranda, daughter of Prospero, comes to the island—the world; Caliban makes love to her. Prospero comes, saves her, sets Ariel free, dethrones Setebos, destroys Sycorax, appoints Ariel to train Caliban through the arts of the theater. Ariel, as Prologus, shows Caliban the ten inner scenes from Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra," "Troilus and Cressida," "Julius Cæsar," "Hamlet," etc.

The interludes, played by thousands of New York's citizens, show a series of ever-changing scenes danced or pantomimed upon "the yellow sands" around the hour-glass of "Time"—rituals of pageantry and music of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Caliban shows interest; it appeals to his child-like love of imitation; but he conspires with priests of Setebos—Lust, Death, and War—to regain his power that Prospero has taken from him. The Roman mob of the degenerate empire almost overpower Prospero and the spirits of Ariel, as they overpowered the vitality of the drama in the historic past; but, bursting serene in splendor upon the riotous scene, the cross of the Christian church subdues them. Thus it will be seen Caliban is sometimes a spectator of pageant or play, some-



FACADE OF STAGE OF SHAKESPEARE MASQUE. "CALIBAN BY THE YELLOW SANDS." DESIGNED BY JOSEPH URBAN

(The chorus and orchestra will be behind the gallery seen at the top—settings, designed by Mr. Jones and Mr. Urban, will be in the center, the "Inner Scenes" from Shakespeare being performed in front of them—processions will enter from the masks of Comedy and Tragedy—Prospero and Ariel will speak from the stage or apron—below is the cave of Caliban, where the forces of evil conspire in full view of the audience, but hidden from the speaking characters above—flanking this stage are two huge light-towers from which all the illumination comes—under this illumination all architectural forms will disappear, and Caliban from below will behold the scenes more as a dream than a stage reality. In front of this structure on the "ground circle" will stand the "Hour Glass" illustrated below. The outer proscenium is 80 feet wide, the inner 40 feet wide)

times an actor in a clash of chorus and principals, of which he is one.

And so on through a kaleidoscopic series of stage pictures the allegory continues, till at last, when Prospero reveals himself as Shakespeare, we see that the brute-man Caliban has been slowly educated by "the co-operative art; that is, the art of the theater in its full social scope."

THE NEW PAGEANT METHODS — MUSIC AND DANCING, PANTOMIME AND POETRY

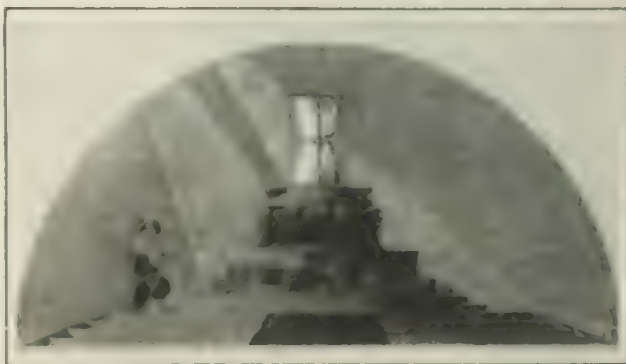
Not many years ago the public thought of a civic celebration as a street parade of militia and firemen, followed by four-horse floats consisting of a figure of Arion bestriding a huge papier-maché dolphin, the four horses nervously ambulating along to the strident throbbing of a steam calliope.

But to-day the steam calliope is hidden away with the papier-maché dolphin in some circus storage barn, and, in its place, in the Shakespeare masque we shall hear an orchestra of a hundred pieces and a chorus of five hundred voices. The music has been especially composed by

Arthur Farwell to fit the "book" by Percy MacKaye. A choral hymn entitled "Glory and Serenity" in the second interlude on "The Field of the Cloth of Gold" is rich in tonal color, its harmonies in keeping with the costumes and lighting effects.

As a community expression the Masque will reflect the culture of a metropolis, a long list

of coöperators includes such art workers as Miss Hazel MacKaye, Mrs. Ben Ali Haggin, the Misses Lewisohn, Cecil Sharp, Howard Kyle, Louis Koemmenich, Percival Chubb, Ernest Peixotto, and Franklin Sargent.



"HOUR GLASS"

(For the "community altar" of the Masque. Designed by Joseph Urban. Will be placed on the "ground circle"—the yellow sands—will be the center for the dances and processions at the interludes as in the Greek theater's orchestra. After plot and counterplot, the magician Prospero summons to the aid of art a last grand ally, "Time," symbolized by the Hour Glass, which stands firm while the objects on the stage become enshrouded in darkness)

In the supplementary celebrations are held many civic manifestations in the form of school and church performances of Shakespeare's plays and Elizabethan music and dances, and public gatherings where oratory pays its homage to the great word architect.

The preparation of the Masque has not been effected without much planning and or-



PROF. RICHARD ORDYNSKI

ganization on the part of the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration Committee, of 7 East Forty-second street, in the ranks of which we find such ardent workers as Miss Beegle, chairman; Mrs. Axel O. Ihlseng, executive secretary; Miss Kate Oglebay, chairman of the Supplementary Celebrations;

Miss Josephine Beiderhase, on the Board of Forms of Celebration; Mrs. Frances Fisher Beers and Hiram Kelly Modewell, in the Press Department; J. Forbes Morgan, Jr., and Otto Kahn, on the Finance Committee, and a host of others performing a task not so easy in a city lacking community spirit.

FLOOD LIGHTS FROM PYLONS—A STEAM CURTAIN IN NEWARK

It was the late Dion Boucicault who used to say that were Shakespeare alive to-day he would be a newspaper editor. That conceit makes a pleasant subject for speculation as to what Shakespeare might write were his reincarnated avatar "assigned" to report for the press his impressions of Monday night, May 23, at the Stadium.

Of one thing we may be sure, and that is that the lighting effects would appeal to him most intensely.

We do not know whether he would epitomize his impression with some Latinism like "the re-



© Miss Johnston—Mrs. Hewitt

MRS. FLORENCE FLEMING NOYES

(Whose pupils will take a prominent part in the Ariel interlude, in the Masque. Mrs. Noyes is sometimes called a teacher of dancing, but there is as much difference between her method of body expression and formal ballet dancing as there is between a baby embracing its mother and a German army officer saluting the hand of a *fräulein*.)

verberate hills," "the multitudinous seas incarnadine," or whether he would resort to a terse Anglo-Saxon phrase like "every inch a king," "the play's the thing"—paraphrasing the last epithet perhaps into "the light's the thing!" but we are certain that he would coin some memorable epigram for the marvelous illuminations that Mr. Urban, Professor Ordynski, and Mr. Jones have designed.

No footlights will be used, but spot and floodlights will be thrown from the two towers that flank the stage. These lights will often be colored and will allow the stage manager to bring out any single group or keep down any unimportant group at will; thus a Rembrandt effect will be given to the hundreds of pictures the actors will make.

Professor Ordynski, who was on the staff of Max Reinhardt in the production of the stupendous mime drama, "The Miracle," will cooperate with Mr. Joseph Urban in staging the Masque. ("Caliban



© The Associated Press

"THE MIRACLE"

An English translation of "The Miracle" from "Hansel and Gretel" by Robert Edmund Jones. The "Miracle" is a story of a boy and a girl who are taken into the home of a witch. The story is a classic of the fairy tale genre. The production of "The Miracle" is a collaboration between Professor Ordynski and Mr. Joseph Urban. The production is a collaboration between Professor Ordynski and Mr. Joseph Urban. The production is a collaboration between Professor Ordynski and Mr. Joseph Urban.



MRS. GRACE JENKINS
ANDERSON

(Who will direct the community dances, including the ritualistic and funeral marches)

By the Yellow Sands: A Community Masque." By Percy MacKaye. Doubleday, Page & Company.)

When the layman reads in Mr. MacKaye's book the stage direction in this baker's dozen of words, "As they conclude, a runner comes hastening from the right gate calling 'Pericles!'" he has but slight conception of what Professor Ordynski's technique will achieve when he translates that bald

statement into terms of human groups, whose movements appeal to the imagination.

It will be remarkable if Professor Ordynski does not obtain some marvelous effects in his masterly grouping under such perfect lighting facilities, and with so large a cast.

The costumes, designed by Mr. Jones and executed under the supervision of Mrs. John W. Alexander, will not in themselves be of fine texture, but will appear gorgeous as they reflect the varied artificial light thrown upon them. In the "Field of Gold" scene a mass of costumes of sunflower yellow will no doubt create an illusion of sumptuous color never before seen in a dramatic display.

At the end of the Masque it will be a pleasant contrast to the Roman orgies in the First Interlude to witness the Third Interlude of "Elizabethan England," with its wholesome "Morris" and "Country Dances." This Interlude will be arranged by members of the New York Center of the U. S. A. Branch of the English Folk Dance Society, under the personal direction of Mr. Cecil J. Sharp, who has devised the action, in conference with Mr. MacKaye.

America cannot be too thankful for all the healthy, sane, and wholesome art that Mr. Sharp has brought over here and taught practically during the last few years.

In Newark, where the lighting will be controlled in an ultra-modern way, there will be a very novel effect of subdued colors obtained by emitting from steam pipes, set where the footlights usually are, a series of jets of steam, so that the whole fairy-like dances will be viewed through a curtain



PROSPERO AND SETEBOS MOTIVES FROM THE MUSIC
OF THE MASQUE BY ARTHUR FARWELL

(The master-soul Prospero, and the primitive god Setebos, represent opposing principles. Prospero commands the powers of both the higher and lower spheres; his motive (above) is a trumpet call which descends an octave and returns. It is in harmony with the higher spheres and in dissonance with the lower. The Setebos motive is the opposite—in harmony with the lower, in dissonance with the upper spheres. In his choral music Mr. Farwell has developed a new mode of pageant music, the vocal parts written in as simple melody as Foster's "Sewanee River," the accompaniment rich in modern harmonies)

of steam vapor, giving a softening effect that Shakespeare would have been delighted to use for his "Midsummer Night's Dream," or his "Tempest."



SYMBOLIC DANCERS IN THE NEWARK HISTORIC
PAGEANT: "HIDES AND LEATHER," "CLAY"

(They are trained by group leaders, selected from Newark's citizens, who in turn have received suggestions from Miss Beegle; their costumes are worked out in Newark's factories and the Pageant House and are thoroughly home inventions. They will move to music by Mr. Henry K. Hadley and especially fitted to the symbol dances, rather than composed to accompany the words of Mr. Stevens' Book of the Pageant)

NEWARK—SOCIAL BENEFITS OF MAKING A PAGEANT

Miss Mary Porter Beegle is head of the dancing of the Newark pageant, written by Thomas Wood Stevens; and while the women, all volunteers, are busy with the needle in the Newark pageant house or consulting the art books, for costume designs, in John Cotton Dana's Public Library, Miss Beegle is visiting the factories and discussing with the artisans how electrical, ceramic, or jewelry industries may best be visualized. Miss Beegle insists that a pageant cannot be bought, but must be made by the people, and its great civic benefit is in the very making. She does not approach her coworkers with any preconceived formulas—as diagrams showing how Greed must stand in the center encircled by a chorus with a phalanx of minions to the right and left. On the contrary, wishing to make the pageant superlatively self-expressive of Newark's citizens, she lets these artisans themselves suggest just what pantomimes they feel will be expressive. One idea after another is discussed, till finally the consensus of opinion is that the mob in seething riot will run after a man

with a bag of gold, that many will fall to the ground in the wild scramble, and finally one man wrestles the treasure from its custodian! Thus we see the actors will work out their own ideas on the stage.

Such a method makes the factors in pageantry not mere dressing up and performing at another's fiat, but it makes the citizens *be* the pageant, and think in many different directions during its preparation. Indeed, it is in making the pageant that the greatest benefit comes to the city. "Things won are done; joy's soul lies in the doing."

NEWARK PAGEANT PART OF SIX MONTHS' CELEBRATION

Newark's Pageant gains potency from being part of a six months' program, including an industrial exposition, a music festival, the dedication of civic monuments, a poster and a poem competition, public and parochial school parades, and a number of athletic contests and conventions of various sorts.

The amphitheater in Weequahic Park will seat 40,000 persons and half the seats will be free, as was the case in the St. Louis pageant.



COMMUNITY DRAMA ABOVE THE CLOUDS

The second half of the community drama appears in the Newark production will be under the charge of Mr. Ernest Holmes, whose experience in California with community drama has been invaluable for the task. He produced "A Midsummer Night's Dream" under the auspices of the "Up and Up World" above the clouds on Mr. Thompson's own drama about a young man's love. His knowledge of drama is profound, he is the translator with Mrs. Rogers, of the University of California's most recent work in the Hindu drama "Anandashakti," and was for two years at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF CONVENTIONS, CELEBRATIONS, AND OTHER GATHERINGS, 1916

EDUCATIONAL GATHERINGS

Catholic Educational Association.....	Baltimore, Md.
Catholic Summer School of America.....	Chitt Haven, N. Y.
Christianity in America.....	Chattanooga, N. Y.
National Educational Association.....	New York City.
Summer School of the South.....	Knoxville, Ten.

MEETINGS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.....	Toledo, Ohio.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	New York City.
American Missionary Association.....	Minneapolis, Minn.
American Unitarian Association.....	Boston, Mass.
Churches of Christ.....	Des Moines, Iowa.
General Council of the Churches of Christ.....	St. Louis, Mo.
Irish Day Alliance.....	New York City.
Methodist Episcopal Church, General Conference.....	Toledo, Ohio.
Methodist Episcopal Church, General Conference.....	Stratford Springs, N. Y.
Massey Education Movement.....	Blue Ridge, N. Y.
National Conference of Catholic Charities.....	Silver Bay, N. Y.
National Council of Congregational Churches.....	Lake Geneva, Wis.
National Synodality, Albanian.....	Washington, D. C.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.....	Stratford Springs, N. Y.
Northland Baptist Convention.....	St. Paul, Minn.
Northland Conference and Summer Schools.....	Indianapolis, Ind.
Presbyterian Church (U. S. A.), General Assembly.....	Minneapolis, Minn.
Presbyterian Church (South), U. S., General Assembly.....	Northfield, Mass.
Professional Episcopal General Convention.....	Marble City, N. J.
Refined (Orthodox) Church in America.....	Orlando, Fla.
Reformed Presbyterian Church of N. America, General Synod.....	St. Louis, Mo.
Southern Baptist Convention.....	Holland, Michigan.
Study School Conventions.....	Chicago, Ill.
United Presbyterian Church of N. America, Gen. Assembly.....	Alexandria, N. C.
United Society of Christian Endeavor.....	Vicksburg, Miss.
Young Men's Christian Association, International Convention.....	Cleveland, Ohio.
	Atlanta, Ga.
	Cleveland, Ohio.

SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL GATHERINGS

American Academy of Medicine.....	Detroit, Mich.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.....	New York City.
American Chemical Association.....	Chicago, Ill.
American Historical Association.....	Washington, D. C.
American Institute of Electrical Engineers.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.
American Institute of Homoeopathy.....	Cleveland, Ohio.
American Library Association.....	Baltimore, Md.
	Adams Park, N. Y.

DATE

June 26-29
July 2 Sept. 1
July 29-Aug. 27
July 1-8

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Charles Murray, 7 East 42nd Street, New York City.
E. H. Blahodit, Chattanooga, N. Y.
Durand W. Sprague, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Dr. Brown Ayres, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

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Anthony Matre, Chicago, Ill.
Charles J. Ryden, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
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Harry L. Bowley, D.D., 203 Broadway, New York City.
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F. L. Hutchinson, 23 West 29th Street, New York City
Sarah M. Henson, M.D., 917 Marshall Field Building, Chicago, Ill.
George B. Utley, 18 East Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

Assoc. of Med. Associations	Penn., Mich.
American Dental Association	Providence, R. I.
American Veterinary Association	Kansas City, Mo.
American Association of Architects	Albany City, N. J.
American Association of Engineers	Washington, D. C.
American Association of Sociologists	Cincinnati, Ohio.
American Association of Physicians	Cincinnati, Ohio.
American Association of Lawyers	Pittsburgh, Pa.
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American Association of Mechanical Engineers	Washington, D. C.
American Association of Physicians	Philadelphia, Pa.
American Association of Nurses	Indianapolis, Ind.
American Association of Social Workers	New York City
American Association of Social Scientists	Kansas City, Mo.
American Association of Teachers	Atlanta, Ga.
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONFERENCES	
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Milwaukee, Wis.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Buenos Aires, Argentina
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Columbus, Ohio
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Ithaca, N. Y.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Chicago, Ill.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Buffalo, N. Y.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	St. Louis, Mo.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Salt Lake City, Utah.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	El Paso, Texas
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Monk Lake, N. Y.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Washington, D. C.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Indianapolis, Ind.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Cleveland, Ohio
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American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Grand Rapids, Mich.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Chicago, Ill.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	St. Paul, Minneapolis.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Chicago, Ill.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Chicago, Ill.
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	New York City.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, NEW YORK

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.....	Indianapolis, Ind.
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.....	Rensselaersburg, I. I.
.....	New York City.
.....	Chicago, Ill.
.....	Newark, N. J.
.....	Birmingham, Ala.
.....	Kansas City, Mo.
.....	Birmingham, Ala.
.....	Dallas, Texas.
.....	Chicago, Ill.
.....	Detroit, Mich.

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June 25-30
July 27-30
October 17-20
May 23-June 2
Aug. 28-Sept. 2
May 11-15
May 15-17
May 22-26
May 1-Oct. 1
May 13-17
May 15-18
Aug. 20-Sept. 1
May 16-18
November 2
September 4-7
July 9-13

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Walter C. Cole, Board of Commerce Building, Detroit, Mich.



From "The Home of the Blizzard," by Sir Douglas Mawson

THE "ORGAN PIPES" OF HORN BLUFF (1000 FEET IN HEIGHT), PUSHING OUT FROM THE MAINLAND OF KING GEORGE FIFTH LAND—PART OF THE RIM OF THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT

THE HIGHEST CONTINENT

BY CYRUS C. ADAMS

SHORTLY before the war, Dr. Meinardus, Professor of Geography at the University of Münster, Germany, published his studies as to the size and approximate elevation of the Antarctic Continent. It has been certain for years that the continent covers a large part of the area within the Antarctic Circle; and Dr. Meinardus concluded that, considering the proportion of the Antarctic area known to be covered by sea, the area of the land surface is approximately 5,460,000 square miles, which is nearly one and a half times the size of Europe and more than one and a half times the size of Australia. This estimate has been generally accepted by geographers as not far from the fact.

last year the German geographer Mecking referred to Meinardus' "demonstration of the surprisingly high mean elevation" of the Antarctic Continent. There seems no doubt that later studies will confirm the approximate accuracy of Dr. Meinardus' deductions. The mean elevation of Europe is only 960 feet above the sea; but if it vied in stature with the great southern continent, the average height of Europe would be about that of the hotel which crowns the top of our Mount Washington. Asia was supposed to overtop all the continents, but its average elevation is only about half that of Antarctica; and North America has only a little over a third of its height.

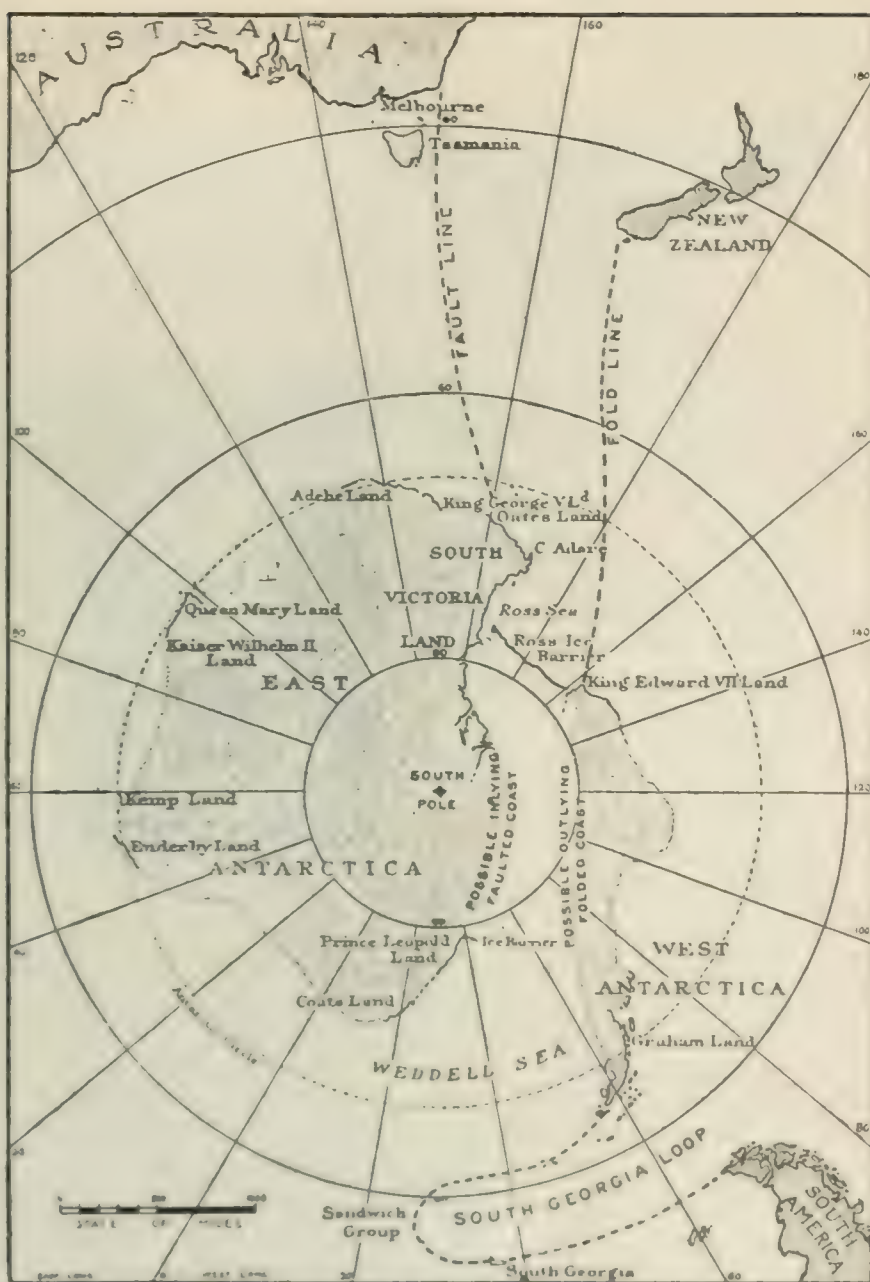
Dr. Meinardus' deductions as to the mean height of the continent are even more surprising. From his studies of atmospheric pressures and temperatures and from other considerations appreciated by specialists, he concluded that the mean height of the continent is 6560 feet, with a possible error, one way or the other, of 600 feet. Of course the thickness of the ice cover plays an important part in the mean altitude, just as it does in Greenland. But all in all, the last continent to join the world group in our knowledge is one of the most impressive and stupendous facts among terrestrial phenomena. The mean height of the land block, as it is called, which was computed by Professor Wagner, in 1894, at 2300 feet above sea level, will have to be

This conclusion has been introduced into foreign scientific tables and books; and late

revised on account of the surprising height of the Antarctic Continent.

The only large work of exploration in the Antarctic, since the journeys of Amundsen and Scott to the South Pole, was done by the Australian expedition headed by Sir Douglas Mawson, which sailed from Hobart, Tasmania, in 1911 and returned in 1914. A part of the expedition returned to Australia in 1913. Mawson's work was along the coast of that part of Antarctica which is south of Australia and is known on our maps as Wilkes Land. Lieutenant Wilkes, of the United States expedition of 1840, sailed along this coast between 95° and 158° E. longitude. He won the distinction of changing the popular conception that the Antarctic was an ocean by proving that it was a continent; and his name should be permanently attached to the whole coast line he revealed.

Some foreigners have tried to wrest this honor from him. Mawson, however, pays high tribute to the work of Wilkes. He found, to be sure, that some of the landfalls reported by

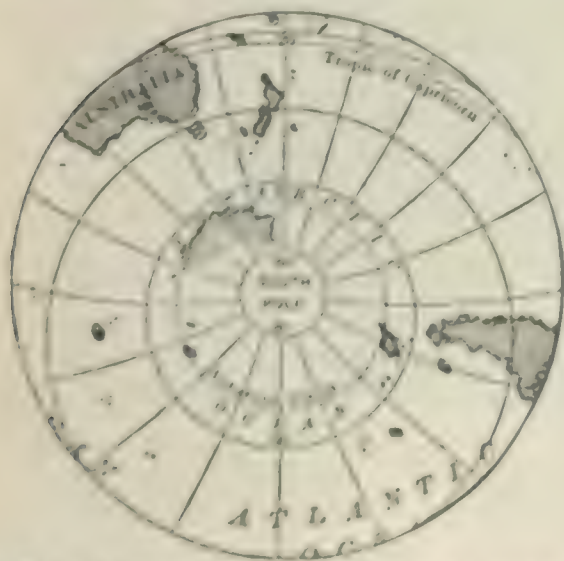


From the *Geographical Journal* (London)

THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT AS NOW DEFINED BY GEOGRAPHERS

Wilkes do not exist, but this is not surprising in a region where both land and sea are covered by ice and snow; and Wilkes skirted this coast in a leaky sail vessel where terrific gales are frequent even in summer. Mawson testifies that Wilkes's work was of much value and will be remembered as a great achievement.

Mawson's enterprise was rich in geographical results. His headquarters were established on that part of the coast known as Adelle Land; and he sent his second party, under Frank Wild, further east to about 92° E. longitude, where Wild made his headquarters about 125 miles west of Kaiser Wilhelm II Land, discovered by German explorers in 1902. Both parties, one at the east and the other at the west end of the Wilkes Land Coast, did the very best of research



MAP OF THE ARCTIC REGION, AS GIVEN, WITH ADDITION, OF BERNHARDT ALLEN

work on the rugged ice-cap of this eastern edge of the continent.

On Adélie Land, Mawson and some of his men made long sledge journeys up the rising slope of the continent. Though they found at their camp on the coast only gneiss and schists, they discovered coal, shale, and red sandstone further inland; and they found dangers such as Arctic sledge travelers have seldom met, for there were fathomless crevasses in the ice, some of them concealed by roofs of snow. Lieutenant Ninnis, with his dogs and loaded sledge, fell into one of these death traps, and there is no doubt that Ninnis was instantly killed. All the dog food and most of the man food were lost in this catastrophe; and Mr. Mertz died of starvation on the return trip. On this journey, Mawson traveled 311 miles inland, up to and on the lofty continental plateau.

Where Wild and his men made their camp, far to the east, the inland ice-sheet was continually thrusting great avalanches of ice over the sea edge of the continent. Sledging was very slow on account of numerous crevasses. The rocks found along the coasts were all crystalline schists and gneisses, just as Mawson reported more than 1000 miles to the west. The sledge journeys from the two bases aggregated 3200 miles. Everywhere near the sea was enormous wealth of bird life, finding food in the sea; and the incessant gales surpassed anything recorded in other parts of the world. Extended observations were made in the various fields of science and the expedition went home with a great store of new material.

When the Antarctic spring arrived in our fall, last year, Sir Ernest Shackleton and his party, on their ship *Endeavor*, entered Weddell Sea, south of the Atlantic, in the hope to make a good passage through its waters, reach Prince-Regent Luitpold Land, south of the Atlantic Ocean, and start on their journey to the South Pole, then on to Ross Sea, south of the Pacific. Shackleton expected at Ross

Island to join the part of his expedition that had been assigned to work in that region. We know nothing more of his fortunes. He had a good ship and fine equipment for sledging on the inland ice-cap. Neither Amundsen nor Scott found any special impediment to rapid traveling over the high inland plateau of the continent. But we know nothing of the sledging conditions near Weddell Sea.

Strange to say, the Filchner expedition, which discovered Prince-Regent Luitpold Land in 1912, never put foot on the land.

Meanwhile the *Aurora*, the same ship that took Mawson to Wilkes Land and later carried Shackleton's second party to Ross Island, broke from her moorings in a gale and was blown north so badly disabled that, under steam, she could make only two or three miles an hour; but she reached New Zealand in March.

There is nothing to fear for the Ross Sea contingent. Some of the men are now home and the others, even if their food supply should give out, have an inexhaustible resource in penguin and seal; and Antarctic ex-



Photograph by Brady

CHARLES WILKES, THE INTREPID AMERICAN SAILOR WHO, IN 1840, PROVED THE EXISTENCE OF AN ANTARCTIC CONTINENT

plorers have testified to their value as food.

But Shackleton had ordered that a food depot be made for him at the head of Ross Sea, where he and Scott had clambered along Beardmore Glacier to the top of the continent. It is intimated that his order cannot be fulfilled. Will he need these supplies? He is too prudent a man to count overmuch upon them. Was he able to cross Weddell Sea and then the continent? His journey across the continent and then down Beardmore Glacier to Ross Island would not be much longer than the route which Scott followed to the Pole and back, perishing, however, on the last lap. There is reason to believe that Shackleton's journey across the continent and down Beardmore Glacier would be less arduous than the round trip which Scott almost completed; but we can expect no news until a relief party goes to Ross Sea or the *Endeavor* returns to South America.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

AMONG the articles from foreign sources summarized on the following pages, we invite our readers' special attention to the following: An Italian tribute to Carmen Sylva, Dowager Queen of Rumania (page 606); a significant interview with the new Russian Premier (page 609); "The Jews in the Eastern War Zone" (page 610); a Rumanian's call to the neutral powers (page 611); a Dutch protest against floating mines and interference with neutral mails (page 613); a French view of German demands (page 615); and a Cuban comment on Pan-Americanism and Pan-Hispanism (page 625).

Among the American articles of special interest summarized in this number are: William Hard's appreciation of Theodore Roosevelt as a peacemaker while President (page 604); Mr. Rossiter's discussion of "War and Debt" (page 605); "The Philippine Health Miracle" (page 61); and "Bimetallism Again" (page 624).

The *North American Review* (April) has articles on "Preparedness a Political Issue," by the Editor; "Frightfulness as Christianity," by Morrison I. Swift; "International Realities," by Philip Marshall Brown; "India and the War," by Sydney Brooks; and "Federal Financial Railway Regulation," by William Z. Ripley.

In the same number there are ten pages of timely and pertinent information entitled, "A Friend's View of Colonel House," by Henry H. Childers. Mr. L. Ames Brown writes on "Prohibition or Temperance?" and articles on the late Henry James are contributed by William Dean Howells, Joseph Conrad, and Edith Wyatt. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch writes on "Shakespeare's Later Workmanship."

In the *Forum* (April) Rose Strunsky writes on "Gorky and the New Russia," and Antonio Llano analyzes certain unfavorable factors in the relations between the United States and the Latin-American countries.

The opening article in the *Unpopular Review* (quarterly) is a somewhat belated defense of former Secretary Garrison's Continental Army plan. The writer, apparently a military expert, has very little confidence in the State militia plan, believing that a citizen army of 400,000 men can be obtained under this system only by keeping the standard of training dangerously low. The same review has pointed and timely articles on "Organized Labor and Democracy," "Efficiency and Efficiency," "Why Our Shipping Has Declined," "The Feminist Program," "The Hack Reviewer," and "Religion and the Churches."

From the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly* we are summarizing, on page 605, Mr. Rossiter's article on "War and Debt." The magazine opens with "The Record of the Administration" by Prof. Henry Jones Ford, of Princeton. Like Mr. Moorfield Storey's survey in the *Yale Review*, this article is altogether friendly to President Wilson.

"War As an Institution," is discussed in this number by Bertrand Russell; Mr. Alfred G. Gardiner writes on "German Generalship"; "The Machines" is the title of a bit of personal experience and observation in the British army by William J. Robinson; and Webster Wright Eaton gives extracts from a Serbian diary.

In the May *Century* George Creel writes on "Military Training for Our Youth," while John Palmer contributes a study of France in 1914. *Scribner's* is notable for another article by "Captain X" of the French staff, whose recent sketch of General Joffre was widely read. This month's paper deals with "The French Offensive in Champagne." There are also articles on "The Struggle for the Mediterranean," by Frederic C. Howe, and "Honolulu: the Melting Pot," by Katharine Fullerton Gerould.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Boston, is contributing to the *American Magazine* a series of articles on "Better Doctoring for Less Money." The series is noteworthy for its frank discussion of such topics as the surgeon's temptation to perform unnecessary operations, and the proposition to hire doctors by the year.

HOW ROOSEVELT, AS PRESIDENT, KEPT PEACE

IS the diplomatic record of Theodore Roosevelt less known to Americans than to Europeans? An affirmative answer to this question is given in the May number of the *Metropolitan Magazine* by William Hard, who finds that in the two Roosevelt administrations there were many opportunities to plunge the United States into foreign conflicts. Mr. Hard finds that Roosevelt was obliged to face and handle three great crises with three of the greatest countries in the world; that he was obliged to take a hand in the affairs of three small countries which were turbulent and dangerous to the world's peace; that he was obliged to have dealings with many other countries in matters capable of bearing fruits either of friendship or of hatred. A violent European controversy was settled, says Mr. Hard, on terms written by President Roosevelt on a visiting card. Foreigners think of Roosevelt as a great historical figure, "not because of the part he took in railway legislation or in pure food legislation, or in conservation legislation, or in any other activity of domestic politics, but because of the part he took in international politics—in the politics of the world at large. I find that Europe and Asia regard him as having been primarily—for good or for ill—a diplomat."

The Alaskan boundary contention with Great Britain was the first difficulty in which the Roosevelt administration was involved. This difficulty was solved by the appointment of a commission consisting of three representatives of the United States, two Canadians and one Englishman, the latter being England's Lord Chief Justice. In October, 1903, the Commission announced its decision, the Lord Chief Justice voting with the three representatives of the United States against the two Canadians, and Great Britain received due credit for her magnanimity.

Meanwhile the Monroe Doctrine had been brought in question by Germany in connection with the attempt to enforce pecuniary claims on Venezuela. At that time, according to Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, the historian of the Monroe Doctrine, "the United States laid down the terms on which Germany, England, and Italy might approach the coast of Venezuela with hostile ships of war. There was no exchange of notes between the United States and Germany, but

the German Ambassador Von Holleben was told by President Roosevelt personally that he desired assurances from Berlin that Germany would attempt no acquisition of territory in Venezuela. Roosevelt further told the ambassador that such assurances would be expected to arrive within ten days, that if they did not arrive Admiral Dewey, who was maneuvering in the Caribbean, would be ordered to sail southward with a fleet and "to see that no possession, even temporary, was taken of any place in Venezuela." The ambassador at first said that his government would refuse to give such assurances, and a week later when he informed Roosevelt that he had not yet heard from Berlin, he received from the latter this very definite message for the kaiser: "It will not be necessary, then, for me to wait through all the remaining three days; I will wait just twenty-four hours more; twenty-four hours from now Dewey will sail."

At the end of twelve hours the ambassador returned to the White House and said that he had heard from Berlin and that he now had the honor to request the President of the United States to act as arbitrator in the settlement of the differences which had unfortunately arisen between the German Government and the Government of Venezuela. Roosevelt then publicly congratulated the kaiser on his attachment to the principle of arbitration, and then gave to the Hague Court the decision of the Venezuelan dispute. The whole story is told in Thayer's "Life of Hay," which has already been noticed in this REVIEW.

The next great diplomatic event in which Roosevelt was concerned was the difference that arose between the United States and Japan on the California school question. At that time he showed that he was ready to use garrisons and law courts to protect the Japanese in California, but because it began to be thought in Japan that the United States feared the power of the Japanese navy, our own fleet started for Japan in its famous cruise around the world. This action, in the opinion of Mr. Hard, told far more potently for world peace than the famous intervention that led to the Portsmouth peace between Russia and Japan. Says Mr. Hard: "The time when he was a real peace-maker, and not a mere peace-usurper, was when he

himself was a possible combatant, and when instead of waiting for the explosion, he walked up to the burning fuses of war in San Francisco and in Japan, and snuffed them out with his own hand."

President Roosevelt's services in bringing about peace between Russia and Japan in 1905 are therefore lightly esteemed by Mr. Hard in comparison with this and other achievements of his administration.

WAR AND DEBT

IN most of what is said and written about the war debts of the great European powers, reference is made only to those loans that have been floated since the beginning of the present conflict. In an article contributed to the *Atlantic* for May, Mr. W. S. Rossiter, an experienced statistician, for many years connected with the United States Census, analyzes the obligations of the nations now at war. Computing that portion of the national debt in each instance which existed before the outbreak of hostilities and represented a century or more of accumulations, adding these vast totals to the current war indebtedness, he finds that the interest charge upon the aggregate debts of the nations concerned amounts to \$2,300,000,000 annually.

Mr. Rossiter makes an interesting comparison between the national debts in Europe at the close of the Napoleonic era, a century ago, and the debts of the same nations in our own day. He finds that Great Britain, in 1816, carried a debt equal to one-third of the national wealth. It is not so certain, however, that this achievement could be duplicated in 1916. While the national wealth has been greatly increased, so that it is possible to increase the per capita burden of debt, the extent to which this increase can be carried is still undetermined. He finds that since 1816 the increase of population in the various countries has been so great that, had the per capita indebtedness remained the same for one hundred years, a very large absolute increase in debt would have resulted.

Mr. Rossiter finds that, according to reliable authorities, the debts contracted by the hostile powers to provide merely to the end of the second year for expenditures connected with the war appear to be as follows:

WAR LOANS OF NATIONS AT WAR
MARCH 15, 1916

Country	Amount	Unit	Dollars
Germany	34,641,000,000	Mark	\$3,354,073,000
Great Britain	1,662,000,000	£	8,977,125,000
France	40,576,000,000	Franc	7,421,319,444
Austria-Hungary	\$24,200,000	£	1,345,500,000
Russia	2,073,000,000	Rouble	4,117,111,110
Italy	2,212,000,000	Lira	1,474,160,000
Total			\$11,909,159,554

Thus in the short space of less than two years the powers now at war have contracted obligations one-third greater than the total of their indebtedness before the war began. Yet the latter group of obligations had been accumulating for more than a century. Considering the earlier debts and recent war debts merely as parts of the total liability, the aggregate national debts of the nations at war at the present time appear as follows:

Country	Debt	Per capita
Germany	\$13,114,078,000	192
France	12,358,459,444	310
Great Britain	11,269,768,463	242
Russia	8,710,233,110	61 ¹
Austria-Hungary	6,338,300,000	124
Italy	4,015,080,000	113
Belgium	825,518,000	106

Total \$56,631,437,017 Average 145

¹ Based on population of Russia in Europe.

The per capita obligation of Great Britain already exceeds that of 1816. Should expenditure continue at the present rate, a third year of the war would add approximately forty billion dollars to the eighty billion already accumulated, making one hundred and twenty billion in all. This is equivalent to one-third of all computed national wealth in those nations, and in Mr. Rossiter's opinion probably represents fully half of all wealth capable of "mobilization."

The conclusion of Mr. Rossiter's article is suggestive:

Finally, as the indebtedness of the warring powers becomes greater, the more hopeless may become the possibility of payment. The mere burden of interest, indeed, under easily developed conditions, might prove a source of actual revolution. There are, in fact, grave possibilities, for it is clear that an indebtedness of over \$50,000,000,000 cannot be materially increased without becoming a menace. This war may leave Europe, lean, hungry, and desperate, with industrial life interrupted or destroyed, and millions of armed men unemployed. Across the ocean lie the United States, with national wealth of nearly \$200,000,000,000, which has been actually increased by the disasters in Europe.

The attempt of a desperate man to take by force is not unusual. Might not such an attempt be made by desperate nations, even in the twentieth century?

A TRIBUTE TO CARMEN SYLVA



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CARMEN SYLVA, DOWAGER QUEEN OF RUMANIA

WITH the recent death of Elizabeth, Dowager Queen of Rumania, better known under her pen-name Carmen Sylva, there passed away from the world a noble, pure, and gifted soul. It must be a consolation for those who appreciate her goodness and talent to think that, whatever may have been the trials of thought and feeling brought upon her by the European War, she was at least spared the pain of an active participation by Rumania in the campaign against her dearly loved native land, Germany.

A very sympathetic article by Signora Jolanda de Blasi in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence), gives eloquent expression to the sentiments the late queen inspired in all familiar with her life and her literary work. The favorable auspices under which her married life began are thus indicated by Signora De Blasi:

Charles, the crown prince of Rumania, wrote to his fiancée a few days before her marriage: "Love is given in exchange for love. Bring then to your new people the same sentiment you have brought to me; in this way there will be not only one heart beating in unison with your own, but millions of hearts keeping time and harmony to-

gether. An entire people will look upon you with faith and hope, and will thank you for your love, by loving you in turn." The fiancée, filled with anxiety in entering upon her new life in a strange country, brought with her a supreme consolation which she timidly hid in her breast, her gift of poesy destined to render her famous in the literary world under the pseudonym of Carmen Sylva.

However, this was only one side of her rich nature. Her benevolence, her interest in the welfare of her subjects, her ardent desire to encourage their industrial progress, and at the same time to relieve the poverty and distress unavoidable in any modern society, found adequate expression in the founding of many industrial schools and benevolent associations. The Elizaveta Doamna School, the Furnica Society and the Concordia, have created in Rumania a national industry of lace-making and weaving. Another society afforded work for thousands of women, besides providing loans, help and gifts for those in need. Nor were the indigent of higher social station—perhaps the most unhappy of all—forgotten, the "Albina" society rendering them tactful and helpful assistance. The "Elizaveta" gives work to the needy, the "Elena Doamna" cares for the orphan children, and the "Vatra Luminoasa Regina Elisaveta" is a model settlement where thousands of the blind are given opportunity to provide for themselves and for those dependent upon them.

Of the tone of her literary work, apart from its value as literature, her Italian admirer says:

We must recognize and praise therein the qualities of goodness, purity and resignation; duty and self-sacrifice are the dominant notes and are the constant attributes of her feminine types. Each heroine is endowed with something of the inmost thoughts of the writer. She says: "Man, moved by his egoism, has enacted severe laws for woman, without realizing that he has in this way raised her to a higher level than his own." Another thought was always present with her: "A bad story stimulates the senses, a good one, the conscience."

Carmen Sylva wrote rapidly, under the direct influence of her inspiration. Above everything she loved simplicity and naturalness, and she has confessed that she avoided correcting her work, lest she should destroy something of its spontaneous quality. She expressed her ideas with equal felicity in German, French, or Rumanian. This versatility had, of course, the necessary drawback that she could never become so deeply penetrated with the genius of a single language as are those who confine themselves to their mother tongue; but as a compensation she acquired a greater elasticity of expression and wider sympathies.

As with every true woman, the maternal instinct reigned supreme in Carmen Sylva, and in the hour of her greatest affliction, when she lost her only daughter at the age

of four years, she had the courage to write: "I would rather weep like Niobe than never have been a mother. My child has traversed my life like a brilliant meteor, so that it has neither lacked a supreme joy, nor a fearful sorrow." For her a married life without children was "like a campaign without battles." Of the true relation between parent and child she said: "Children have only rights, parents only duties," and regarding the respective part played by the two sexes in the defense of home and land she proclaimed that "man rehabilitates himself on

the battlefield and woman with her maternity."

In conclusion, the Italian writer cites the following tender words from the dedication of one of the queen's works to the memory of her dead child:

Who can restore to me the clasp of your dear arms and the sound of your sweet little voice? Who can render back to me your kiss and the fresh, bird-like melody of your song? Who can revive those mysterious love-words and the pattering of your little feet, when my whole heart was one with you? My child! My child!

A GREAT FARM EDITOR

WITH the recent death of Henry Wallace, the editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, there passed away the second of a famous trio of Iowans who were active for a long term of years in promoting good farming methods throughout the country. Of the other two members of the group ex-Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture survives, while Dr. Seaman A. Knapp died several years ago while busily engaged in teaching Southern farmers the importance of diversified farming.

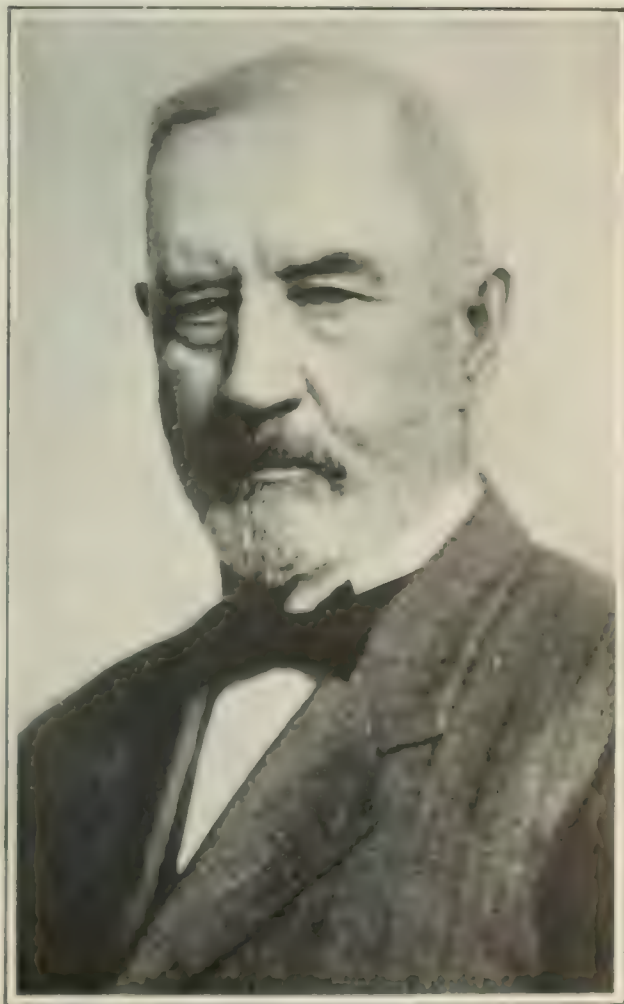
In the *Country Gentleman*, Herbert Quick declares that Henry Wallace will be remembered by the farmers and many others when the great mass of governors, senators, congressmen, justices of the supreme court, and cabinet officers of the day are forgotten, for he worked with the people, not over them.

Mr. Wallace had been a clergyman for fifteen years when failing health compelled him to leave that calling and become a farmer. Through journalism he found a means of preaching to a wide circle of farmers and in his paper he continually emphasized the truth "that good farming is a good way of serving God, and that passing down to future generations a well-kept farm, unimpaired in fertility, and adapted to the nourishment of a happy, wholesome life is in itself an act of worship and the best possible sort of partnership to the purposes of the Almighty, who the Scriptures assure us gave the earth to the children of men."

His slogan for years was Good Farming, Clear Thinking, Clean Living, but it centered about the welfare and happiness of people. Good farming, that the life of the family might be a well-nourished life economically, and that the soil be conserved; clear thinking, that it might be intellectual, and not like that of "sheep and

goats that nourish a blind life upon the soil"; clean living, because the life that is not based upon righteousness rots and makes both good farming and clear thinking impossible.

On this all-embracing text did Uncle Henry Wallace preach quietly, persistently, sanely and effectively for decades to one of the greatest audiences in America. What greater pulpit could he have chosen? Who can estimate the effect this preaching has had in sweetening and uplifting our national life, and shall have for generations to come?

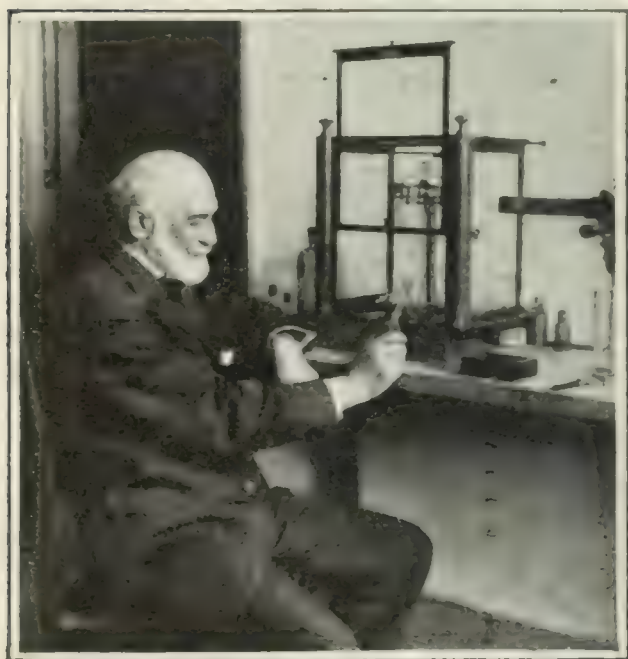


THE LATE HENRY WALLACE, OF IOWA

Mr. Quick was profoundly impressed by "Uncle Henry's" intimate knowledge of the soil. "He not only knew that the soil, instead of being dead, is literally teeming with life—he also understood its moods." If he was writing on such a subject as clods, in the

discussion of soil management, he made his writing interesting and useful because he understood just why the soil gets cloddy and just how harmful clods are to crops. Through him, says Mr. Quick, "the voiceless soil found utterance for its claims."

A DAIRY JUBILEE



From *Hoard's Dairyman*

DR. STEPHEN M. BABCOCK, INVENTOR OF THE CHEMICAL TEST FOR BUTTER-FAT IN MILK

AT the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the invention of the Babcock test for butter-fat was commemorated by holding a dairy products exposition, as described in *Hoard's Dairyman* (Fort Atkinson, Wis.). This exposition was built up around the personality of Dr. Stephen M. Babcock, the inventor of the test, who, a quarter of a century ago, gave his invention to the world and has never received from it any financial rewards whatever.

At the jubilee banquet tendered to Dr. Babcock by five hundred citizens of Wisconsin, Dean Russell, of the College of Agriculture, said:

By means of the Babcock test dairying has been developed from one of the most haphazard of industries to an exact and attractive business enterprise. The Babcock test has been so intimately connected with and largely responsible for the progress in dairying, not only in this state but throughout the country and the world, that proficiency in its use has become almost synonymous with better cows, better milk, and better farming. It has served as the necessary stimulant to raise dairying from a disliked side line to a profession worthy of the efforts of well-trained men. It has made dairymen honest, has

placed dairying on a scientific basis, has promoted factory efficiency, and has stimulated the breeding up of productive herds.

Prof. William A. Henry, the former Dean of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, gave the history of the invention. He said:

Until in the '80's about all the butter in this country was made on the farm in the old-fashioned way. Then came the centrifugal cream extractor which promised quickly to revolutionize the industry. The centrifugal system spread rapidly for a time, then it halted and began to recede. The creameries had to take in milk on the basis of either its volume or its weight. Soon the milk producers found that there was no more money for them in milk rich in fat than in poor, thin milk, or even that which was skimmed or watered. Then, too, the cream separator skimmed well when everything was right, but there was no way of telling when all was right—and so there was trouble all round—serious trouble that threatened the whole great movement.

Professor Henry told how chemists had long been searching for a device that would be a quick, simple and inexpensive means of measuring the fat in milk, and how a sum of money had been set aside at the University of Wisconsin to be used in the study of this problem.

Then Dr. Babcock went at it in his careful, consistent way. First he reviewed all the literature on the subject, spending weeks in the library, poring over books and periodicals, before a move was made in the laboratory. After a vast deal of reading and laboratory effort he thought he had it, sure. But not quite! Again to the library for more reading and reflection, and again back to the laboratory for another try. After some months in the laboratory, the Doctor came to me one day with radiant face, holding up a test bottle for my inspection, saying: "Well, I've got it!" and he had. Do you know, friends, that when the first edition of the bulletin describing the Babcock milk test went forth, the whole subject from A to Z—pipettes, test bottles, their graduation, size, and caliber, as well as the kind, amount, and strength of the acid to be used—all had been so carefully and well worked out that to this day no change in any of the fundamentals of the Babcock test as told in that bulletin has been suggested by any of the hundreds of chemists that have tested and used the method?

A NEW SPOKESMAN FOR RUSSIA

THE appointment of the new Russian Premier, Boris V. Sturmer, was at first interpreted by many as a victory of the pro-German elements in the Russian court, for which the Teutonic name of the new Premier was largely responsible. *Le Journal*, Paris, for March 20th, prints an interview which its special correspondent in Petrograd, Ludovic Naudeau, had with M. Sturmer on the preceding day. M. Naudeau describes him as a typical Muscovite, remarking that Sturmer is no more German than Kléber was, and as the latter was a true Frenchman so the former is a true Russian, being the descendant of several generations of Russians.

The interview, in the course of which the Premier made some historic statements, began with a reference to the battle of Verdun, which was then nearing the end of its fourth week. M. Sturmer, after paying due respects to the "French valor and stoicism" in the name of the Russian people, went on to say:

The thunder of the cannons on the banks of the Meuse are being echoed in our hearts. We are convinced that against the brass wall of the French army the rash hopes of the enemy will be transformed into heaps of his dead bodies. And so we call to our loyal and dauntless allies: "Hold fast!" The enemy once more has sought victory in speed and in a separate fight against one of us, hoping to forestall fighting us all together at one time. We now witness a repetition of what has already happened in the beginning of the war. The first months of it, in 1914, and the beginning of 1915 are being re-enacted now. It was you, the French, primarily, who bore the first shock. Then our turn came. It is the same in 1916. To-day—yes, to-morrow—we

The Premier then spoke of the "full and entire confidence" which Russia had in the outcome of the war. Russia, a young coun-

try, he said, had shown strength and resourcefulness that could not have been expected from her. Almost totally dependent in the supply of her manufactured products on foreign imports before the war, she was now able, to a large degree, to produce those products herself, an adaptability truly remarkable in undeveloped Russia.

With equality in armaments and great superiority in human resources we must be victorious.

Moreover, for the immense majority of our population the question does not even exist. That we shall triumph over our enemies has become a self-evident truth to the Russian peasant. Go, for example, to the banks of the Volga, in the region where my personal estate is located. And what will you see? The people don't ask everybody whether we shall come out victorious. They simply say: "When the war ends," implying that when the Allies will have won.

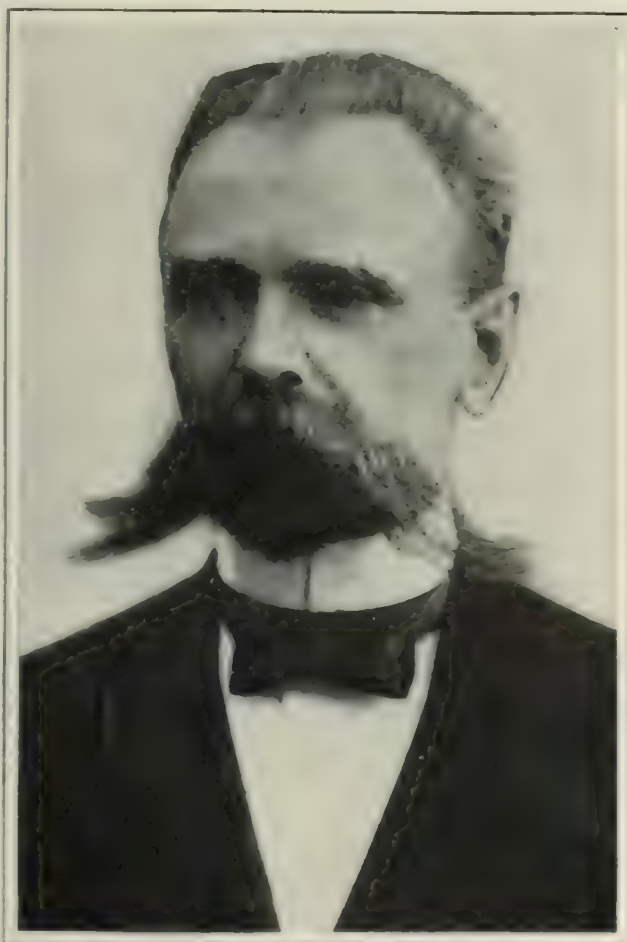
In proportion as one moves away from Petrograd, one finds the calmness of the people more serene. It is the majestic and undisturbed calmness of a people conscious of the vastness of its natural resources, ready to sacrifice, should it be necessary, its last child

and last penny for victory.

The perfect harmony with which the Duma and the Imperial Council are proceeding with their work definitely proves that the resolution of the Russian people is complete and general.

The memorable visit of His Majesty to the Duma was powerfully reverberated in the profound depths of the nation. We are experiencing one of those solemn times when all noble souls suppress their personal grudges, their enmities, their hatreds. All those who in the hour of need do not feel a similar want of collectedness are more to be pitied than blamed.

M. Naudeau here found an opportunity to elicit from the Premier a statement concerning the future fate of Poland, for which country France had always had a great deal of special affection. The correspondent



BORIS V. STURMER, THE NEW RUSSIAN PREMIER

pointed out to M. Sturmer that Germany was trying to conciliate public opinion in Poland with alluring promises for the restoration of Poland in order to raise volunteers from her ten million population, which was still capable of yielding considerable forces to Germany; that Polish leaders in Russia, expressing Poland's deep loyalty to the cause of the Allies, also voiced their regrets at the failure of the Russian government to declare its intentions and projects about the future of Poland; and that from the speeches of the Foreign Minister and Premier it appeared that reference to the Polish question was being evaded. The answer from M. Sturmer came with a spontaneity that was almost retortive:

The policies of the Emperor Nicholas II are based on honor. His policy in regard to the Poles was formally attested on two occasions. The first, at the beginning of the war, by the famous manifesto of the Grand Duke Nicholas to the Polish people. The second, by the speech of my eminent predecessor, M. Goremykin, made on July 19, 1915. This speech was the development of the Grand Duke's manifesto. The program so clearly outlined on those two occasions will be executed in its absolute entirety.

The perfect loyalty of the Poles is well known to us. The bravery of the Polish soldiers, who,

mobilized in the first months of the war, have been fighting since in our ranks, can be equaled only by the unshakable fidelity of the people living in the invaded provinces to the cause of the Slavic race.

That is why I repeat to our Polish brethren: "Be tranquil." The promises given will be kept without modification. The government's policy will remain a policy of honor and loyalty.

Powerful in her inexhaustible human and natural resources, Russia awaits the future with confidence. Though some momentary disturbances may happen in our financial system, caused by temporary conditions created by the war, Russia, the whole world knows it, is rich in latent wealth. Also, during the whole war, the deposits in our savings banks have been constantly growing in an extraordinary fashion. Our rural population enjoys a prosperity, the like of which it has never known before. The mere effects of the prohibition of alcoholic beverages have produced marvelous results.

Alcohol was indeed the scourge that gnawed, decimated, and impoverished our people. We have destroyed this enemy at the beginning of the war. But, in addition to this, bare necessity has compelled us, in the course of the war, to take up the organization of the exploitation of our vast resources, an exploitation before rudimentary and, even at that, frequently left by us to the hands of our enemies.

Russia is getting ready to march with her own power, but she is a colossus who will make enormous strides. Consequently I say to our allies: "Have confidence and have courage!"

THE JEWS IN THE EASTERN WAR ZONE

THE American Jewish Committee publish a report of the condition of the Jews in the Eastern War Zone as a message to the people of America, that gives utterance to their protest against the cruelties to which the Jews have been subjected in certain belligerent countries. It is stated by the committee that the report is not intended as a polemic or for partisan purposes, or to arouse prejudice. "Its sole object is to appeal to human sympathy and to the conscience of the world in the cause of justice."

When the war broke out one-half the Jewish population of the world was trapped in a corner of Eastern Europe that is absolutely shut off from all neutral lands and from the sea. Russian Poland, where over two million Jews lived, is a salient. South of it is Galicia, the frontier province of Austria. Here lived another million Jews. Behind Russian Poland are the fifteen Russian provinces, which, together with Poland, constitute the Pale of Jewish Settlement. Here lived another four million Jews. Thus seven million Jews—a population exceeding Belgium by one million—have borne the brunt of the war. Behind them was holy Russia, closed to them by the May Laws of 1881. In front were hostile Germany and Austria. To the south was un-

friendly Rumania. They were overwhelmed where they stood, and over their bodies crossed and recrossed the German armies from the east and the Austrian armies from the south. . . . The contending armies found it politic, in a measure, to court the good will of the Poles, Ruthenians, and other races in this area. These sustained only the necessary and unavoidable hardships of war. But the Jews were friendless, their religion proscribed . . . the old, the sick, and insane, men, women, and children, were shuttled from one province to another, side-tracked for days without food or help of any kind—the less fortunate driven into the swamps to die of starvation.

The report states that all the evidence regarding Russia has been obtained directly from Russian authority, and that the accuracy of the many accounts of atrocities has been verified beyond all reasonable doubt.

The Jews, unlike the Belgians, have no England to fly to. The sympathy of the outside world is shut off from them. They have not the consolation of knowing that they are fighting for their own hearths, or even for military glory, or in the hope of a possible reward or indemnity. Jews are to-day fighting each other in all the armies of Europe. Russia alone has over 350,000

Jewish soldiers; Austria has over 50,000; altogether there are probably one-half million Jews in the ranks of the fighting armies.

It must not be lost sight of in the consideration of the evil fortunes of the Jews in Russia, that all the liberal elements of that country have protested against the ruthless campaign of extermination pursued by the military government. Priests, publicists, writers, municipal bodies, trade and professional organizations have tried in vain to persuade the Imperial Government to admit the Jews to human equality, or at least to cease its policy of persecution. The sufferings of the Jews in the towns that bore the brunt of actual fighting have been terrible beyond description. Their plight should call forth generous response from those countries which have undertaken the task of alleviating, in part, the untold miseries inflicted by war upon non-belligerents.

A vivid example typical of many other instances is given by the Jews in the villages of Vissiltsy, District Busak, province Kielce. Our delegate found the place razed by hostile shells. The population—mostly Jews—for over three months had been huddling together in cellars where they had taken refuge. They were not to leave their shelter by day; no food was to be cooked; no fire lighted at night—such were the orders from military quarters. A humane military chief permitted them to crawl out of their dingy holes by night and feed out of the soldiers' cauldron. But soon another chief took his place and the unfortunate Jews were left to starve in cellars. Those that succumbed were buried in holes that the survivors dug for them in the very same cellars.

In Galician provinces, within Russian occupation, conditions were very much the same. One of the members of the investigating committee writes:

I found them huddling together in damp and dark cellars, half-naked, sick, and starving. They showed complete apathy, appeared to be in a trance of terror. Only a madman—he had become insane because of superhuman suffering—followed me into the street shrieking for bread. I handed him a coin, but he threw it down and clamored for bread. . . .

The Jews in Rumania are deprived of rights as citizens, and the Rumanian Government since the beginning of the war has maintained a hostile attitude towards the Jews. They were expelled in July, 1915, from all the border towns and localities and sent to the interior. If Rumania becomes involved in the war, it would probably be her desire to win back from Austria-Hungary a territory that would include Transylvania and Bukowina, which would increase the Jews under the Rumanian rule to more than one million.

The exodus of the Jews from Palestine has been described in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

The General Relief Committee, working in coöperation with committees in Moscow, Kiev, and Odessa, is extending relief to over 300 centers situated in the provinces populated with Jews. Approximately the sum of \$242,000 to \$325,000 per month will be required to give relief to the most urgent needs.

A RUMANIAN'S CALL TO NEUTRAL POWERS

THE treaty reported in last month's newspapers, by which Rumania and Germany are to sell to each other such grain and other commodities as may not be needed for home consumption, seems to have disposed for the present of the possibility of Rumania's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. Nevertheless, opinion in this Balkan country, as in Greece, is by no means entirely on the side of the Teuton powers. In fact, one of the strongest voices recently raised in Rumania in behalf of the cause of the Allies was that of Take Jonescu, a former premier.

In a speech delivered in the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies (translated for and

published in the *Morning Post* of London), the ex-premier sounds a strong call to the neutral powers to combine against the peril of a possible German victory. The present war, to his mind, is no mere conflict for material conquest. It is one of those turning points in human affairs like the coming of Christianity, the barbaric invasions, and the French Revolution, all of which were fraught with tremendous consequences for civilization.

We are faced by a catastrophe involving the whole of the human race; we have before our eyes the declining twilight of one world, preceding the dawn of another and a new.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

FORMER PREMIER JONESCU OF RUMANIA

A grave problem is facing humanity to-day. This is why Italy has thrown herself of her own free will into the war. This is why the young republics founded by the Anglo-Saxons across the sea are bestirring themselves—why Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are enrolling 7 to 8 per cent. of their populations as war volunteers—and not for love of the motherland.

Sentiment does not move humanity to such a degree as that. How is it the conscience of the United States of America has become uneasy? Out of love for England? Nothing of the sort, gentlemen. To attack Great Britain has always been recognized as a safe and popular note by orators in the United States; it is known as "twisting the British lion's tail." Why, then, is it disturbed, this democracy of a hundred million souls, engaged in making the most glorious experiment imaginable; the creation of a civilization without prejudices, with no class distinctions, with no monarchy, no militarism, no hindrance of any sort—a civilization based solely on the nationalist sovereignty carried to its extremist limits?

The entire movement can have but one explanation; namely, "that we are confronted with a transformation of the human race. It is a struggle between worlds, and the last

attempt made by a single people to secure for itself a universal hegemony."

A victory for the German military force would lead also to the absorption by her of sea power; Germany would be dominant in the world, liberty would disappear, even for the great American republic; there would be a revival of the world supremacy of a Roman empire, to the fulfillment of the Kaiser's dream of that time when men would boast that they were German, as in time past they were proud to exclaim "*Civis Romanus sum*," and the free life of individuals would be at an end.

M. Jonescu denies that this attempt has any just basis in a superior civilization. He does not withhold credit to Germany for her share in the progress of man. But this contribution is, after all, of no finer quality than that of France, or Italy, or the Anglo-Saxon races. If Germany's contribution to the store of human progress were removed, the accumulated treasure would be reduced in quantity, but not in quality. The one thing characteristic of Germanic culture, declares M. Jonescu, is its political organization, and this to him is a puzzle.

How is it possible to reconcile an ultra-modern economic organization with a political organization dating from the Middle Ages? How reconcile a teaching so generalized, a material well-being so highly developed, with a political system which enables one man to declare, "My will is the highest law," or, "I owe my power not to the assent of the German people, but solely to the Divine mission with which I have been intrusted on earth"?

These are the characteristics of German civilization, of the far-famed Kultur, and they are the result of the manner in which German unity was formed. Had this unity sprung from the liberal movement of 1848, a great new nation would have been added to the existing nations of Europe.

But German unification is the product of Prussian "caporalism," with regard to which a very intelligent Teuton holding a high position remarked to me five or six months ago: "You are right, all you say is true; there is nothing more antipathetic than Prussian 'caporalism,' but it is invincible, and we are forced to accept it just as we accept the Deluge or the locust, just as we accept, in fact, all the ills that Fate may send us."

And the Battle of the Marne was no ordinary battle, but a historic moment, it was proof "That even the brute force of 'Caporalism,' in a state in which one man can proclaim that the highest law is his own will,

may be vanquished by the armies of a democratic republic wherein abuse of liberty was mistaken by fools for moral decline and loss of virtue."

Naturally, a war like this cannot end with a customary peace, with "gold-laced decorated plenipotentiaries" discussing a lot of nothings around a green cloth, or end like a duel, with the opponents shaking hands and going off to drink each other's health. This is a war of nations rather than of armies; the conscience of all the races is awakened and the war will go on "until one of the two sides is crushed in such a manner that the victor shall be able to impose his rule upon the vanquished. No other peace will be acceptable to the nations."

If Germany is victorious her rule will be the rule of the mailed fist, the reign of a single people chosen by God; if the others win—and they will—the law they will impose will be the law of justice, in order that the whole world may enjoy the benefits of civilization.

But Germany is not to disappear. "Who can imagine such a thing? It is Austria that might and should vanish away."

Austria ought to have disappeared long ago. When she has vanished from sight a general

sigh of relief will be heard; every one will be glad that at last she has paid the price of centuries of wickedness, for you may search the pages of her history through and through and you shall not find that she has done good to any one of any sort, while many and many have been the sufferers from her treachery and her brutality. What would I not give to any one who should point out to me a single good action ever done by this monarchy?

And things being as they are, the result cannot be a matter of doubt, for the moral law is as potent in its penalties for nations as for individuals.

And if, says Jonescu, the problem is as he sees it, and the present events as he has attempted to describe them, "how can one talk of neutrality?" Not a single state throughout the world will remain unaffected and untransformed by the war.

But there will be a difference:

There are some states which will suffer from the consequences of the war without power to have their say, because they let their sword rust in its scabbard; others there are which, while suffering no less severely from the effects of the conflict, will at least have a hearing; their utterance will either be that of the conqueror, who decides, or that of the vanquished, who, having done his duty, may rightly claim the respect of the victor.

MINES VERSUS MAIL-INTERFERENCE

TWO subjects in connection with the continuance of the European war are at present occupying the attention of Holland, both the officials and the general public. These are: the placing of contact mines in the mouth of the Thames River and the part of the sea immediately east of the river, and the opening of Dutch mail, sent on neutral steamers to and from the United States. After citing a number of accidents caused by floating mines drifting into the path of steamers, the Dutch political magazine, *Vragen des Tijds*, comments as follows on the problem confronting the Dutch Government:

The increase of such accidents gives us the right to speak of an ever-increasing danger by mines, whatever may be the cause of this increase. Has the stormy weather of the past weeks loosened anchored mines? And why is it that the danger has so greatly increased just in front of the mouth of the Thames? It seems certain that someone is not adhering to the rules made at the Second Hague Conference, regarding the placing of mines. (Our fishing fleet suffered last autumn, is it now the turn of the merchant fleet

to be sunk? We really ought to consider ourselves lucky that only two of the ships were sunk and that the loss of life has not been greater than it is.

We are still more surprised that the accidents which have been caused by these mines have been viewed so calmly by the Dutch people. On the other hand, the confiscating of letters and other mail from Dutch steamers by the English authorities has raised a storm of protest. It is true, of course, that an international treaty has been violated; it is praiseworthy that our government has protested vigorously, and that the United States Government has joined in the protest. But we must state here emphatically that the strewing of mines is a more dastardly work than that of opening private letters; it pleases us immensely to see that the strongly developed feeling of right and justice of the Dutch is shocked by the treaty-violating English censor; but it seems to us as if there is more noise being made over opened mail than there is over lost ships and drowned seamen!

The English say that the censorship of the letters is necessary because all kinds of goods are sent in letters, besides merely written paper—in fact, the government has just sent us a list of objects taken from letters which reads like a "Lost and Found" table from the street railways or railroads. Maybe Germany is going to lose the war because it didn't get the rubber that was

sent in some of the letters—however that may be, there are other reasons for the opening of neutral mail. The English government is compiling a blacklist of persons dealing “with the enemy,” and to keep this list up-to-date all mail is opened. This correspondence, and the sender and receiver are wanted—for the list!

It is well known that the Central Powers do the same thing with mail that passes through

their territory, but they are not violating international law, which specifies particularly the inviolability of mail on the high seas. “It is well known” that the Central States do it—but that does not seem to interest those who, in the Dutch press, have “washed England’s ears” for what it did to the letters—because, forsooth, the opening of mail crossing the country of a belligerent is not “expressly forbidden”!

GEOLOGY AND PREPARATION FOR WAR

BACK of the men behind the guns stand the men behind the test-tube, the retort, the microscope. In other words, war is now an affair of science. The chemist, the physicist, the engineer, and the trained mechanic are indispensable to its successful conduct. More and more it is being realized, too, that the geologist may be called on for information of vital import to the soldier. Professor Gregory, in a recent English review, goes so far as to declare that geologic factors often primarily govern both causes and conditions of conflict. It is for such reasons that for centuries Belgium has been “the cockpit of Europe,” and that Poland has been so frequently devastated. Again, the fact that the richest iron deposits of France and Germany lie along the dividing line between those countries is an economic circumstance of tremendous influence in warfare.

But aside from these general considerations as to the influence of geologic conditions on human conflicts, there is a very immediate and practical sense in which the knowledge of the geologist may be of service to the military man. It is obvious that both in trench warfare and on the march, the comfort, the convenience, the rapidity of action, even the very life of the soldier, largely depend upon the conformation and character of the earth which he must either traverse or burrow into. Moreover, the water supply upon which existence depends is governed by the composition and direction of geologic strata.

And since such questions should be answered, if possible, before a campaign is undertaken, or even planned, it is evident that the geologist should be one of the primary advisers in that work of preparation upon whose necessity most Americans are now agreed. An article in *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt), from the pen of a distinguished German geologist, appropriately named Dr.

Steinmann, deals interestingly with this important subject.

He points out that this war has become to a greater extent than any previous war a “stationary war,” *i. e.*, a trench war, especially on the Western front. Hence the geologic conditions governing the welfare of troops have the importance coming from their greater degree of permanence. On a rapid march, especially an offensive movement into the enemy’s country, strategic movements cannot usually wait upon knowledge of ground structure and water supply, though even here previous geologic information may be invaluable in determining lines of movement. But in trench warfare, which may be prolonged into months, or even years, of actual residence within a limited area, it is vital that there should be ample and unpolluted water supply, good drainage, and earth fairly workable by the spade, instead of refractory stone.

Certainly it can only be of advantage to have such conditions in regard to the choice of a position, especially since it cannot be known beforehand whether such a position, chosen in haste, will not be held for months or even years, as has often happened in the present war. . . . The geologist cannot, indeed, alter the nature of the territory, but can make use of it to the best advantage through his scientific and practical knowledge. An indispensable aid herein is the *geologic map*, which is of as much significance to the geologist as is the topographical map to the commander of the troops.

If a special geologic map for the vicinity concerned is to be had on the scale of 1: 25,000, as is the case for a large part of Germany, but not for France, then extensive dispositions can be made on the basis of the map alone, leaving only superficialities to be determined on the spot. But if only maps on the scale of 1: 80,000, like the French maps, are available, almost all the work must be done in the field. It then becomes necessary to prepare a special map of the locality, with particular reference to the requirements involved.

Dr. Steinmann refers to the work done in

this line both before and since the outbreak of the war by Major Kranz, who may be regarded as a pioneer military geologist. So greatly has such work advanced in esteem among military men that in one division of the German army somewhere on the Western front a "geologic staff" has been formed, composed of a large number of enlisted geologists. Upon this staff has been laid the task of making a systematic study of the territory occupied by the division and evaluating the relation of the geologic structure to military purposes. The author adds the somewhat sinister remark:

Though this investigation is undertaken comparatively late, it will have, besides its immediate practical results, a double usefulness for the future. The extent to which geologic coöperation really assists military purposes will be determined. Hence the general staff will have a foundation upon which to decide whether the permanent formation of geologic staffs, which is being urged from many quarters, is advisable or not in the future. On the other hand, the hostile territory denoted will be exactly known in every direction, and in case war breaks out in this region at a later date, the experience now gained may be of high value, even in an offensive.

It is not enough to know what is *above* the ground in a hostile country.

A FRENCH VIEW OF GERMAN DEMANDS

THE recent speech of the German Chancellor brought into greater prominence than any previous utterance on either side the question of the possible terms of peace. The eagerness with which Mr. Asquith's remarks upon that speech were interpreted in Berlin as a sign of England's readiness to meet her enemy half way further accentuates the impression—on this side of the Atlantic, at least—of the acuteness of German anxiety to bring the war to a close while her military advantage remains unimpaired.

Impartial observers are, however, substantially unanimous in the belief that there is no possibility of any bringing together of the opposing sides until the situation in the field has undergone development far beyond the present stage. Taking a longer view, the crucial question of the time is whether there is any prospect of a conclusion of the war, either in the near or a remoter future, which will be in the nature of a drawn game—neither side victorious, neither side defeated. To this question an extensive article in the *Revue de Paris*, by Jules Sageret, is devoted. The answer he gives is an unqualified negative, which he supports by considerations which he regards as absolutely conclusive:

What is an indecisive peace? It cannot be precisely defined. We get a sufficiently clear idea of it, however, by regarding it as a "drawn game," as a mutual annihilation of the aims of the respective adversaries. It is, then, a peace of exhaustion, since only a very great degree of lassitude would constrain any of the belligerents to resign themselves to the futility of their vast sacrifices.

Let us not forget, however, that not every peace of exhaustion is an indecisive peace.

I do not attach its absolute significance to the word "decisive." A really decisive peace would be one which would make the recurrence of war impossible before a time so distant as to be beyond any reasonable foresight. We must put such a peace—the only one which could compensate the victors for their sacrifice of life and their sufferings—in the category of possible, if not probable, eventualities; in my opinion it is not necessarily deducible from the actual situation. But an indecisive peace, in the possibility of which the logic of the facts forbids us to believe, is one where neither of the warring parties would obtain a very distinct advantage. I mean to push my demonstration to that point; no further.

The writer passes in review the multitude of factors, economic and military, that enter into the existing situation. Germany has definitely failed in her original plan of crushing her enemies. Her military position and her economic resources are such that she can look forward to being able to sustain her part in the war almost indefinitely. Accordingly, henceforward she counts on a termination of the war to be brought about by the breakdown of her enemies' resolution to continue it. And the Entente Allies entertain a similar expectation as to Germany. M. Sageret continues:

The peace of lassitude thus looked forward to cannot be an indecisive peace: it will be either a disastrous one for us if we do not smash the German front, or a disastrous one for Germany if we do.

But, it is said, she is weary; would she not make great concessions to secure peace, would she not go so far as to agree to the *statu quo* of July, 1914? That would be absurd on her part, or rather, it is impossible. The military resources of Germany are, as far as the occupa-

tion of territory is concerned, undeniable, great, very great, but they assure to her only a part of what she desired. And she casts reproaches at the Allies, she is indignant, she washes her hands of the blood which will still be shed. "You take no account of the military situation!" she cries; "just look at the map and you will see how you stand; you are beaten but you are not willing to admit it." If we are beaten, it is because our inability to dislodge the Germans is decisively established; and they would return to us what they hold, what they had desired, and what it is not in our power to wrest from them! That they will never make us believe. They will not let go any part of their booty save through fear of losing the whole. It would be an admission of failure. Their safety commands them not to make it at any cost.

And what would the German public say? Would they agree that the German Empire should restore what it had paid for with at least a million lives, to say nothing of the maimed, the billions of expenditure, the economic losses?

When we speak of German opinion we must understand each other. Beyond the Rhine there are, as there were before, only more pronounced, two bodies of opinion. One the government strives to deceive, the other it wishes to satisfy.

To the first, workmen, peasants, the bourgeoisie, it says: "Peace is approaching, you will celebrate Christmas at your firesides with all our heroes returned from the front. Our enemies are exhausted, etc." But since it knows that peace is not in sight, it is necessary, particularly when Christmas approaches, to make it appear that the continuance of the war is imposed upon Germany by the stubbornness of aggressors who have been completely crushed. Then the censorship, which rigorously prohibited any discussion of peace, allows, or even encourages, the publication of articles which proclaim the conciliatory and merciful spirit of Germany: no conquests, no annexations. Rumors of official negotiations are spread about; it is asserted that neutrals of eminence stand sponsors for a peace of love and forgiveness. Instead of viewing this as a proof of German exhaustion, one must ask: What commanding motive impels the Imperial Government to authorize the spread of rumors which it would be the more interested in suppressing the more they were true? That commanding motive is, to impose resignation upon the German public: they hear it spread about that the German Empire would accept an almost gratuitous peace, and then read in extracts from neutral and enemy papers that the Quadruple Entente would curtly reject such advances. It follows that they need must content themselves to continue the war.

That is the stratagem we witnessed before the last session of the Reichstag.

The other kind of German public opinion, opinion properly so called, is that of the princes, country squires, university men, and the magnates of industry and finance. We shall not dwell upon what they demand. Their claims are very like those of Pan-Germanism, which are sufficiently familiar.

The important thing is to ascertain whether the Government really wishes to satisfy them and to what extent. On that point we can not hope for precise information. Germany will not apprise us how many pounds of our flesh she requires it, after officially announcing that she

will amputate one of our arms she should have to content herself with nail parings, her prestige would not be heightened. However, Bethmann-Hollweg has said enough to confirm what I advanced above: *Germany will yield nothing*, has never for a moment wanted to yield aught of what she holds behind her chain of iron—save, of course, for compensation. She has not as yet even conquered all that she deems indispensable to her;—all the more reason to cling to the portion that is necessary which she has been able to seize.

M. Sageret goes on to show how dominating in German diplomacy, for ten years before the war, had been the idea that "encirclement" must be prevented at any cost—a motive which combined with hatred of England to make the prevention of a union between England and the Franco-Russian alliance the pivot of German policy. He proceeds:

Germany, however, now finds herself more encircled than ever, since she has against her not only the Triple but the Quadruple Entente. The end which she must, therefore, necessarily pursue is to render the recurrence of a like coalition forever impossible. In order to attain it, she must annihilate, politically, one of the three most important powers of the coalition, Russia. The crushing of a country so vast and prolific can be but temporary; crush England? It can not be done without crossing the water, and the seas continue closed to Germany. There remains France; we were the designated victims. Germany can no longer count upon victory. The only chance left her is to pursue in Russia her victorious advance of the summer of 1915 until she paralyzes the principal nerve centers of the great Muscovite body, after which she would turn towards us with all her forces united. But we need not consider this eventuality, since it would not result in an indecisive peace.

Our antagonists will confine themselves henceforth to defending their conquests; that is the hypothesis from which we must start. They have renounced the idea of obtaining from this war the decisive result which they had expected. This means the promise of a new war, since even now they do not cease to proclaim at every turn that the breaking up of the Triple Entente, the definitive rupture of the encirclement, is necessary to their very existence. Their present program of peace is all laid out in accordance with that idea: to weaken as much as possible the adversaries they have not crushed, to retain, in preparation for the future conflict, the best strategic positions.

And the conclusion to be drawn from this is that the Germans would, in case of necessity, sacrifice all the rest of their conquests to remain the masters of Belgium, of our iron mines, of Lille, Roubaix, and our northern collieries; all the rest, even a considerable war indemnity.

An annexation of small extent, but well selected, among our invaded provinces would answer the minimum of the demands formulated by the manufacturers, merchants, and university men of Germany, and would signify to us, proportionately a far greater impairment of strength

than would the loss of the territory on the west of her main front at the close of 1915 to Russia.

And this is nothing to the result Germany would obtain by maintaining her economic and military hegemony in Belgium. In a Belgium reinstated in full possession of her independence and her sovereignty, the anti-German cause would find a considerable increment: seven million inhabitants, industry more concentrated than anywhere else on earth, a heritage of revenge unprecedented in history; all this would result in Germany having against her an army of five hundred thousand men, impassable frontiers, the closing of a great market and a great port. Would it not be an evident piece of folly to create such an enemy against herself in exchange for the vassalage of the Turk and the Bulgarian?

The principal "guarantee against aggression" coveted by Germany is to occupy maritime posi-

tions which would be a menace to England. She would be happy could she block a British commercial passage so important as the Suez Canal, but she is evidently far more anxious to turn her weapon against England itself. To get the better of a merchant it is always more effective to terrorize him in person than to oblige his caravan to go a roundabout way. That is why Germany has shed so much blood in her raids upon the English Channel. She will not be able to take Calais. In lieu of that, she counts upon Zeebrugge, where she could create a wasp's nest. . .

Germany, then, regards Belgium as its military and economic field of deployment.

No annexation—why should there be? The Belgians will retain their entire freedom, except that of providing for their own defense, and of controlling their diplomatic relations and their customs duties.

TAGORE ON THE SPIRIT OF THE HINDU STAGE

WRITING in the current number of the *Drama*, Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu Nobel prizeman, gives us, in a cursory way, a succinct description of the Hindu theater, and incidentally ventures to claim superiority for the Hindu stage, with its lack of elaborate scenery. The Hindu stage is imaginative, the Western realistic. Tagore speaks of how in Bharata's work on the drama—*Natyashastra*—there is a description of the stage, but no mention of scenery. And the author of *Gitanjali* says that "this absence of concrete scenery cannot have been much of a loss." He continues:

In spite of Wagner and his idea of the combined arts, it may be argued that any one of the arts is only to be seen in her full glory when she is sole mistress: it hurts her dignity and degrades her if she is called upon to share her household with a rival,—the more so, if that rival happen to be the favorite of the moment. If we have to sing an epic, the tune needs to become a chant, and to give up all hopes of rising to melodic heights. The true poem furnishes its own music from within itself and rejects with disdain all outside help. . . .

It may seem that dramatic art must needs be less independent than other forms; that the drama is created with the direct object in view of attaining its fulfillment by means of outside help, and therefore awaits the acting, scenery, music, and other accessories of the stage.

I cannot agree with this opinion. Like the true wife, who wants none other than her husband, the true poem, dramatic or otherwise, wants none other than the understanding mind. We all act to ourselves as we read a play; and the play which cannot be sufficiently interpreted by such invisible acting, has never yet gained the laurel for its author.

So far as acting goes, it would be more correct to say that it has forlornly to wait the coming of the charms. But the drama, which cramps and curtails itself to fit in with the actor's skill, becomes, like the henpecked husband, an object of scorn. The attitude of the drama should be: "If I can be acted, well and good; if not, so much the worse for the acting." . . .

It is superfluous to state, for instance, that the actor is dependent on the words of the drama; he must smile or weep, and make his audience smile or weep, with the words of joy or scorn which the author puts into his mouth. But why pictures,—pictures which hang about the actor, and are not, even in part, his own personal creation?

To my mind, it shows only faint-heartedness on the actor's part to seek their help. The relief from responsibility which he gains by their illusion is one which is begged of the painter. Besides, it pays the spectators the very poor compliment of ascribing to them an utter poverty of imagination.

Tagore deplores the innovation of the elaborate paraphernalia of Western stagecraft in India; and he thus urges his countrymen to free the Indian theater of this unnecessary incubus:

The theaters which we have set up in India to-day, in imitation of the West, are too elaborate to be brought to the door of all. In them the creative richness of the poet and the player is overshadowed by the mechanical wealth of the capitalist. If the Hindu spectator has not been too far infected with the greed for realism; if the Hindu artist has any respect for his own craft and skill, the best thing they can do for themselves is to regain their freedom by making a clean sweep of the costly rubbish that has accumulated and is clogging the stage of the present day.

SOCIAL IDEALISM: ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL



RATAN DEVI (MADAME COOMARASWAMY) WHO SINGS THE SONGS OF INDIA

THERE is a growing demand in the West to know more of the culture of the East. The East, too, is anxious to know more and more of the basic principles of the cultural life of the West. The cultural union between the East and the West will be fruitful of the best results for the future well-being of the human race. Elsewhere in this issue we are publishing Rabindranath Tagore's ideas on Hindu drama. Music is not far from drama. Americans are about to have an opportunity to hear a sympathetic interpretation of Indian music. A lady known as Ratan Devi, the wife of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the leading art critic of India, sings the songs of India, and has been highly praised by Tagore, Bernard Shaw, and William Butler Yeats. She has just come to America. It remains to be seen how we, the matter-of-fact Americans, appreciate this strange music from India.

Whether we appreciate her music or not, we do appreciate Dr. Coomaraswamy's attempts at interpreting the arts and ideals of the East for the self-centred peoples of the

West. In the London *Athenaeum* Dr. Coomaraswamy thus speaks of the fundamental differences between the East and the West and of the ultimate solution of them:

The heart and essence of Indian experience is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life—one source, one essence, and one goal. This unity is the highest good, bliss, salvation, freedom, the final purpose of life. This is for Hindu thinkers eternal life; not an eternity in life; not an eternity in time; but the recognition here and now of All Things in the Self and the Self in All.

Where the Indian mind differs most from the average mind of modern Europe is in its view of the value of philosophy. In Europe and America the study of philosophy is regarded as an end in itself, and as such it seems of but little importance to the ordinary man. In India, on the contrary, philosophy is not regarded primarily as a mental gymnastic, but rather, and with deep religious conviction, as our salvation from the ignorance which for ever hides from our eyes the vision of reality. Philosophy is the key to the map of life, by which are set forth the meaning of life and the means of attaining its goal. It is no wonder, then, that Indians have pursued the study of philosophy with enthusiasm, for these are matters that concern all.

There is a fundamental difference between the Brahman and the modern view of politics. The modern politician considers that idealism in politics is impractical; time enough, he thinks, to deal with social misfortunes when they arise. The Western sociologist is apt to say: "The teachings of religion and philosophy may or may not be true, but in any case they have no significance for the practical reformer." The Brahmins, on the contrary, considered all activity not directed in accordance with a consistent theory of the meaning and purpose of life as supremely impractical. . . .

The debt that Europe already owes to Asiatic thought is not yet fully realized, for the discovery of Asia has hardly begun. And, on the other hand, Europe has inflicted terrible injuries upon Asia in modern times. I do not mean to say that the virus of "civilization" would not have spread through Asia quite apart from any direct European attempts to effect such a result—quite on the contrary; but it cannot be denied that those who have been the unconscious instruments of the degradation of Asiatic society from the basis of *dharma* to the basis of contract have incurred a debt.

The debt, then, of Europe can best be paid—and with infinite advantage to herself—by seeking the cooperation of modern Asia in every adventure of the spirit which Europe would essay. It is true that this involves the hard surrender of the old idea that it is the mission of the West to civilize the East; but that somewhat Teutonic and Imperial view of *kultur* is already discredited. What is needed for the common civilization of the world is the recognition of common problems, and to cooperate in their solution.

THE BOYHOOD OF A HINDU POET

THE saying of Rudyard Kipling that "West is West, and East is East, and never the twain shall meet," seems amply refuted in the far-reaching influence of the genius of India's greatest poet, Rabindranath Tagore. Notwithstanding the fact that two biographies of the poet have been published in this country, the public will welcome a series of articles by Tagore, entitled "My Reminiscences," which began in the January number of the *Modern Review*, a monthly magazine published in English at Calcutta. Tagore presents a series of pictures that endeavor to show what he has "felt," because that is of "importance to one's fellow-men." He does not wish that these memory pictures should be taken as an attempt at an autobiography; they are simply the vivid high lights of an extraordinary life, or, they are part of something that goes on after the actual events have passed, even as the poet says—that while the words of a poem may come to an end, its "ring" does not, and that is the reason why rhyme is so needful in poetry.

The early pictures are varied. There is the remembrance of the old servant, Kailash, of jingling sentences in the Bengali "Child's Primer," of his first school, the Oriental Seminary, and of the details of the simple life of the household.

Luxury was a thing almost unknown in the days of our infancy. The standard of living was then, as a whole, much more simple than it is now. Apart from that, the children of our household were entirely free from the fuss of being too much looked after. The fact is that, while the process of looking after may be an occasional treat for the guardians, to the children it is always an unmitigated nuisance.

Our elders were in every way at a great distance from us in their dress and food, living and doing, conversation and amusement. We caught glimpses of these, but they were beyond our reach. Elders have become cheap to modern children; they are too readily accessible and so are all objects of desire. Nothing ever came so easily to us. Many a trivial thing was for us a rarity, and we lived mostly in the hope of attaining, when we were old enough, the things which the distant future held in trust for us. The result was that what little we did get, we enjoyed to the utmost, from skin to core nothing was thrown away. The modern child of a well-to-do family nibbles at only half the things he gets; the greater part of the world is wanted on him.

An immense banyan tree in the garden often attracted his childish attention. It was beneath the shade of this spreading tree that the people of his dream world came and "ling-

gered on in the light of modern day." Later, Tagore wrote of this banyan tree:

With tangled roots hanging down from your branches, O ancient Banyan tree,

You stand still day and night like an ascetic at his penances.

Do you ever remember the child whose fancy played with your shadows?

The poet's first outing was a visit to a villa on the banks of the Ganges, which he felt welcomed him like a friend of a former birth.

Every day there was the ebb and flow of the tide on the Ganges; the various gait of so many different boats; the shifting of the shadows of the trees from west to east; and, over the fringe of the shade-patches of the woods on the opposite bank, the gush of golden life-blood through the pierced breast of the evening sky. Some days would be cloudy from early morning; the opposite woods black; black shadows moving over the river. Then with a rush would come the vociferous rain, blotting out the horizon; the dim line of the other bank taking its leave in tears; the river swelling with suppressed heavings; and the moist wind making free with the foliage of the trees overhead.

When Tagore was at school he commenced to write poetry in his "blue manuscript book." His teacher Satkari sent for the lad one day and asked, "So you write poetry, do you?" Upon receiving an affirmative answer, he commissioned Tagore to write a poem on some high moral precept. Tagore writes in the reminiscences:

When I finished and handed him the verses next day, he took me to the highest class and made me stand before the boys. "Recite," he commanded. And I recited loudly. The only praiseworthy thing about this moral poem was that it soon got lost. Its moral effect upon the class was far from encouraging—the sentiment it aroused being not one of regard for the author.

His first critic was a minstrel, Srikantha Babu, an old man "like a perfectly ripe Alphonso mango—not a trace of acid or coarse fibre in his composition."

He was of the old school of Persian culture and knew not a word of English. His inseparable companions were a bubble-bubble at his left, and a *man* on his lap, and from his throat flowed song unceasing. . . . On one occasion I had composed a hymn, and had not failed to make due allusion to the trials and tribulations of this world. Srikantha Babu was convinced that my father would be overjoyed at such a perfect gem of a devotional poem. With unbounded enthusiasm he volunteered to personally acquaint him

with it. By a piece of good fortune I was not there at the time, but heard afterwards that my father was hugely amused that the sorrows of the world should have so early moved his youngest son to the point of versification.

The "Reminiscences," so far as they have been published, give a succession of pictures of the life of the poet up to the age of twelve or thirteen. At that period of his life Tagore was a pupil at the Bengal Academy, a Eurasian school, that he describes as a petty institution with an insufficient income. Throughout these sketches of his childhood days, one is continually impressed with the wisdom of the fine simplicity of his upbringing. The

world yielded its delights to him slowly, and largely because of the discipline of his unpampered youth, he has brought over into manhood the spontaneity and fresh delight of the Eternal Springtime whose praises he has often sung.

"Come and rejoice, for April is awake.
Fling yourselves into the flood of being,
bursting the bondage of the past.
April is awake.
Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the sun
before you.
All the losses are lost and death is drowned
in its waves.
Plunge into the deep without fear with the
gladness of April in your blood."

BERLIN'S NEW SUBWAY

WITH Germany's main efforts concentrated on the war, the industries of peace within her borders have naturally fallen off. It is all the more noteworthy, therefore, that the chief city of the empire—Berlin—with all its increased responsibility brought by the war—caring for the families of the soldiers in the field and regulating the food supplies of its citizens—has through all this trying period been energetically pushing a great municipal project, the building of a North-to-South subway transit line. The work is described in a recent issue of *Die Woche* by its constructor, Friedrich Krause.

This project has for its object the relief of traffic congestion on the Friedrichstrasse, the principal north and south highway of the city. The subway will start at Müllerstrasse, at the intersection of Ungarnstrasse, and extend to Gneisenaustrasse. The power station will take in an acreage of about the size of a square block. This main stretch of road will be about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, divided into seven construction units. Two of these units have already been completed, and four are now in process of building.

The cost of this line is estimated at about \$16,000,000, which is unusually high, especially as there was no expense for the purchase of land. In fact, the cost exceeds by over a million dollars a mile the roads hitherto built in Berlin. One reason for this high cost is that the road is to run underground for its entire length. Then there are tremendous difficulties of construction along the route. For instance, there are two water-courses in the path of the road, the Spree River and the Landwehr Canal.

These must be tunneled under. The Weidendammer bridge must be removed temporarily and two provisional bridges erected. The Panke stream is crossed at two points also, besides which the route is intersected by a number of surface railroads, which complicates construction, necessitating expensive and time-consuming operations. Two swamps are also to be encountered, requiring reinforced construction along the way.

Inasmuch as the construction work must be carried on without disturbing traffic, the underground work must be kept covered all the way. This again adds to the cost. Then the numerous public-service conduits,—gas-pipes, electricity lines, and water-mains—must all be removed, at a cost per mile of a quarter of a million dollars.

A southerly addition, determined on since the project was begun, will add another mile and three-quarters, giving the road a length of nearly six and one-half miles, which will be traversed in twenty-two and a half minutes. There will be sixteen stations, a little less than a half mile apart. The total cost of this entire stretch of road, including the above-mentioned addition, will be about \$20,000,000. The road will be further lengthened by a mile and a half line being built up from Newköln, a suburb on the south, which will be taken over and tied into the new Berlin underground system. The cars of the new road will be larger than those now in use on the Berlin system, carrying 110 persons, as against the 75 carried by the cars on the elevated road; they are to be equipped with various new devices, and are arranged for the rapid intake and discharge of passengers.



SCENE ON A BUSY STREET CORNER IN BERLIN, SHOWING PRELIMINARY STAGES OF SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION

The construction work on this new subway of Berlin is going on speedily in spite of the war. The decrease in the automobile traffic, owing to war conditions, has been a help to the building work, while on the other hand, the difficulty experienced in ob-

taining material and men at this time has been a hindrance. But even though the road may not be finished in the time originally contemplated, it is confidently anticipated that unless unusual obstacles arise it will be completed by the fall of 1918.

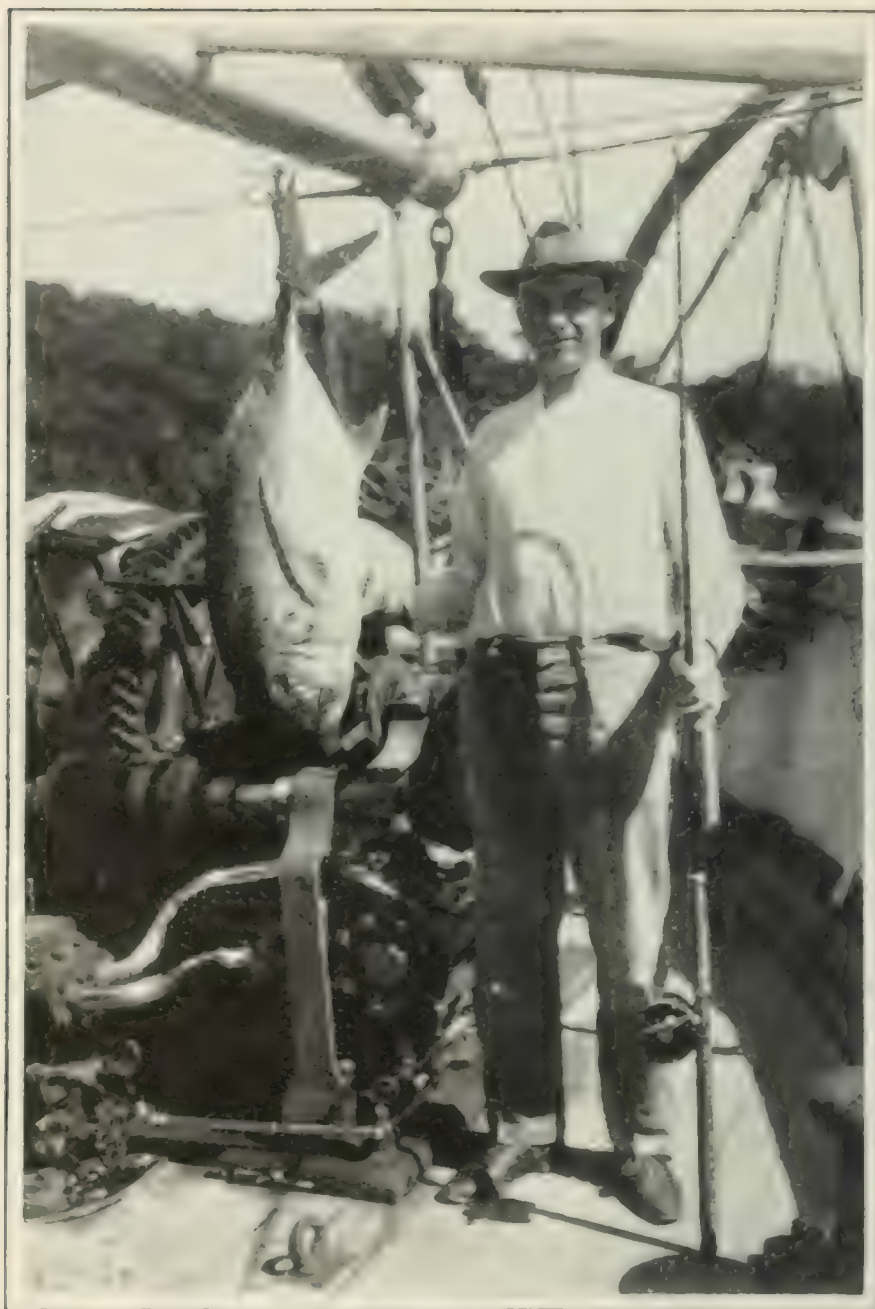
THE PHILIPPINE HEALTH MIRACLE

THE city without odors" is the new and striking name by which Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is now known throughout the Far East. In the last ten years smallpox, cholera, plague, beriberi, and leprosy, which had always been thought essential to existence in Asiatic cities, have either disappeared or been brought under control. It is now declared that Manila is not only the cleanest and most beautiful city in the Orient, but that it is one of the healthiest in the world.

An account of the work of Dr. Victor G. Heiser, the young American sanitarian, who as Director of Health for the Philippine Islands brought about this transformation, is contributed to the April number of *Heiser's Magazine* by Mr. Barton J. Hendrick. When Dr. Heiser entered on his task in 1905, it is said that there was "not a sewer east of Suez," and in all the leading cities the nu-

tive populations were wallowing in the accumulated filth of centuries. In the Philippine archipelago itself smallpox carried off 40,000 people a year, and in the very year the Americans began their health campaign there were 128,000 cases of cholera. In previous years cholera had caused a thousand deaths a day in Manila, and had destroyed whole villages. Beriberi destroyed thousands of lives annually and bubonic plague was as prevalent in Luzon as in India. A majority of the people were afflicted with malaria, dysentery, and tuberculosis. Nearly every man, woman, and child in the Islands was ill.

A sanitation problem of truly colossal proportions thus presented itself to the American health administration. Dr. Heiser attacked this problem by seeking and winning the cooperation of the Filipinos themselves, whom he recognized as intelligent and self-respecting folk, quite capable of being trans-



DR. VICTOR HEISER

formed into a race of sanitarians, although it is doubtful whether any American administrative official prior to Dr. Heiser had dreamed of such a possibility. A beginning was made by establishing three hundred boards of health, one in every province and municipality. These boards were composed chiefly of Filipinos. The health inspectors and workers were invariably natives, always acting under American direction. Thousands of vaccinators were Filipinos.

Hygiene and sanitation were introduced as studies in the public schools, along with reading and arithmetic, and it is said that the Filipino school child knows far more about bacteria and flies and mosquitoes than the school children of the United States. Both native and American newspapers were also made auxiliaries to the health campaign.

ators, for lack of roads, in time to preserve the strength of the virus.

The Philippine General Hospital, at Manila, ranks with the best hospitals in the United States or Europe. Many of the provinces also have modern hospitals and dispensaries. There are medical colleges and schools for nurses, and even the non-Christian tribes have learned to collect garbage daily, sweep the village streets, and clean up the yards. "Igorotte vaccinators, pricking the brown arms of their fellows with vaccine points, are now a common sight."

Colonial experts throughout the Far East are following Dr. Heiser's lead in eradicating plague, smallpox, and cholera. Heiser's methods have been introduced in Japan, Indo-China, the Straits Settlements, Java, India, Australia, Ceylon, and Siam.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Philippines, the Most Reverend Jeremiah Harty, worked effectively for the cause and secured the coöperation of priests in all parts of the Islands.

Some reforms have been advanced in Manila far beyond any stage yet reached in the United States. For example, Filipinos can now purchase food only in public markets, where it has been thoroughly inspected. Mr. Hendrick suggests that if New York bought its food under such conditions a marked decrease might be expected in typhoid, infantile diarrhea, and other diseases.

There are said to be no anti-vaccination societies in the Philippines. Ten million Filipinos have been vaccinated without a single death. Manila, where formerly thousands died every year from smallpox, has not had a death from that cause since 1906. The mortality in all the islands has dropped from 40,000 a year to 600 or 700, and it is said that these comparatively few deaths occur at interior points that cannot be reached by the vaccin-

JAMES B. ANGELL AND THE GROWTH OF THE STATE UNIVERSITIES

THE death of Dr. James B. Angell early last month reminds the *New York Nation* that of the group of four university presidents who in the '70's and '80's of the last century held places of undisputed leadership, two still remain among us—President White, of Cornell, in his eighty-fourth year, and President Eliot, of Harvard, in his eighty-fifth. The death of President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins, in 1908, at the age of seventy-seven, made the first break in that notable group. President Angell, of the University of Michigan, was older than either of the others, and at the time of his death had reached the age of eighty-seven.

The dates of birth of these four educational leaders were all comprised in a space of five years—from 1829 to 1834—and they all reached places of great influence in American university life at about the same period. When Dr. Angell assumed the presidency at Ann Arbor, Dr. Eliot had been for two years the incumbent of the corresponding office at the oldest and greatest of American universities, while Dr. White had been serving for four years as the first president of Cornell, and Dr. Gilman was to undertake four years later the pioneering work at Johns Hopkins.

As the *Nation* points out, it was during the twenty years following the close of the Civil War that "our colleges emerged from what may be called the colonial type, and our universities became institutions of the character to which that name is applied in Europe." During this period the college curriculum became liberalized, university faculties were developed in "non-professional" studies, and at the same time the standards were raised in schools of medicine and of law. In each of these directions the influence of this quartette of university presidents was marked. The *Nation* writer contrasts the influence of these men with that of such a representative college president of an earlier generation as Mark Hopkins, of Williams, who was above all a teacher and whose impress on Williams men was that which came directly from his own intellect, character, and spirit. The work of the modern university president relates in the main to organization, development, and method. Yet the writer concludes that the source of strength and of influence is still to be found primarily in personality.



THE LATE DR. JAMES B. ANGELL
(For thirty-eight years president of the University of Michigan)

Dr. Angell's name will always be associated specifically with the development of the State universities. In this group of institutions the University of Michigan long held a unique position. It was the first of the State universities to win recognition from Eastern institutions, and a position of primacy in its class it long retained. President Angell did much to further the development of the university and to extend its influence. He served as president for thirty-eight years, retiring from active service at the age of eighty, and his contribution to the cause of higher education in America was universally recognized.

Before he began his work as a university administrator, Dr. Angell had served an apprenticeship in journalism as editor of the *Providence Journal* throughout the Civil War, and still earlier he had held a professorship of modern languages and literature at Brown University.

BIMETALLISM AGAIN

ONE curious effect of the war, as pointed out by Mr. W. H. Allen, in *Moody's Magazine* (New York), is the rise in the price of silver, which in two months last year rose from 47 cents an ounce to 54½. That this advance will continue, even after the war is over, is the prediction of bullion dealers. One explanation of this phenomenon given by Mr. Allen is the increased demand from the armies in Europe for a currency that has universal value. Paper money passes current in the countries where it is issued, but when the armies are shifted to other countries, their paper currency loses its purchasing power. Metallic currency, however, finds general acceptance. Gold is needed at home to serve as bank reserves, and also to satisfy the demand from America and other countries in payment for war munitions and supplies; hence the recourse to silver. Another reason for the advance is the demand from China, where standardization of coinage is about to be put into effect. About 150,000,000 ounces of silver, it is said, will be needed there.

Those who believe that the present advance will continue after the war are undoubtedly looking forward to a return to the double standard on the part of the leading nations of Europe. It is argued that England and France, and possibly some other countries, will seek to avoid the repudiation of their debts, and the suspension of gold payments, which some financial experts have predicted, by adopting the double standard. As for France, Mr. Allen points out that it would not be much of a change because she has always reserved the right to pay out silver wherever it is not convenient to part with gold.

England, however, has the greatest need of the double standard because of her much larger issues of paper money. She will, of course, seek to retain her old position as the world's financial center, but since it would be impossible to maintain this position on a gold basis, any more than on a paper basis, bimetallism is regarded as her only hope, and it is thought that she will use all her great influence with other nations to make it a world-wide policy. On account of her growing debts and enormous issues of paper money, it might not be difficult to bring Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia to favor this policy.

So far as the United States is concerned, with gold coming here in large quantities and

with a new currency system that reduces the amount of gold needed for bank reserves, why should anyone advocate at this time a return to bimetallism? The reason urged by Mr. Allen is that since we are reaching out for control of the world's markets we should favor any policy that will increase the purchasing power of those nations that we ask to buy our goods. In other words, we should meet such countries half way. We are particularly anxious to reach the markets of Mexico and other countries south of us. These countries, along with the United States and Canada, produce over seven-eighths of the world's output of silver; consequently bimetallism would greatly enhance their purchasing power.

Furthermore, the United States, being one of the largest producers of silver, would be more directly benefited by the increased demand for the white metal. This demand would encourage the opening up of many mines that are now undeveloped, because the previous low price of silver did not make it profitable to work them.

The opposing argument of twenty years ago that there is gold enough in the world to do the world's business will not have the weight to-day that it formerly had. Europe certainly has not enough to satisfy her needs, nor can the deficit be met from the surplus in this country. In this connection, Mr. Allen shows that current estimates of our stock of gold have been misleading, in that they have included the metal sent here to be invested in our bonds and stocks.

The bimetallists contend that it is not sufficient that we have gold enough to maintain the single standard; it is equally necessary that those who buy our goods be able to pay us in gold. In reaching out for the world's markets, we propose to inaugurate a system of long credits, but those countries that are issuing such huge quantities of paper money cannot possibly pay us in gold nor maintain the gold standard. If then, the bimetallists argue, we expect to win the trade of those countries, we must agree to the system of international currency that they maintain,—a currency that will serve as bank reserves as well as to make payments for goods. Unless we are willing to cooperate in establishing such a system, the other countries may refuse to buy our goods.

When the rest of the world is practically on a paper basis, why should the United States continue to pay gold on demand?

PAN-AMERICANISM AND PAN-HISPANISM

THE advantage for Latin America of combining the two movements, Pan-Americanism and Pan-Hispanism, is the subject of an article by Señor Eliseo Giberga in *La Reforma Social*, of Havana. The writer notes that many of the opponents of Pan-Americanism have expressed a fear that a freer introduction of the products and capital of the United States would unduly favor the spread of our influence in Latin America. They have even believed that the projected transcontinental railroad, while contributing without doubt to the progress of South America, would be still more useful for the United States, and that the same danger would result from the employment of North American capital for the development of South American industries.

As a counterpoise to this inevitable influence of the United States in economic and industrial matters, this writer proclaims the importance of strengthening the spiritual bonds that unite the various Latin-American countries through their possession of a common language, literature and tradition. To give this tendency its due form, however, a closer intercourse between the South American peoples alone will not suffice; similar relations with Spain must also be fostered. Otherwise the movement would be sterile, having no roots in the century-old common history, in the past of the race. The history of each of the new countries is too brief, and their connection with each other too slight. "The root of these peoples is in Spain. If this root be rent asunder, they will become indifferent to their past and will soon change their individuality, their form and their life."

Of the perils menacing the Spanish individuality of the Latin-American republics, Señor Giberga says:

The various elements of diversity in these peoples, which are even to-day perceptible in some of them, would no longer be restrained and would evolve themselves more energetically. Slowly, but inevitably, they would reach a stage of diversification in which the memory of the past might indeed persist, but in which it would fail to register in the present the old ethnic and spiritual fraternity.

Little by little, the vocabulary of some of our Spanish-American peoples is becoming differentiated under the foreign influences to which they

have been, and are now subjected. In Argentina, which has received a larger non-Spanish immigration than the others, there are those who use an idiom which might be called a national one, distinct from true Spanish. Of course Castilian Spanish must undergo development in all parts of the Spanish world, but is it not true that the slower the process of differentiation, and the less marked the differentiations themselves, the greater will be the moral, social and political power of a language?

What then is the special value of Pan-Americanism for the Spanish-American countries, apart from the development of commerce and industry? In Señor Giberga's opinion this is to be found in the protection it affords against possible European aggression. A political alliance with Spain would afford no help in this direction, as little as in any unlikely complications with the United States, but in case of an attempt on the part of any European power to satisfy its colonial aspirations in Latin America, Pan-Americanism would serve as an effective bar to the gratification of any such ambition, and what greater justification of its utility as a means of national defense can be demanded?

In commercial relations, the aim of the Latin-American republics should be to preserve as far as possible their liberty of action. An American Zollverein is no essential part of Pan-Americanism. Untrammelled intercourse with one another, with the United States, and with Spain, should be maintained by the Spanish-American countries. This policy would tend to enrich and stimulate their culture, by blending American with Spanish influences, by bringing to them ideas sprung from two distinct sources. Nor, while cultivating especially close relations with the United States and Spain, should the Spanish American countries fail to foster the interchange of products and of ideas with the various European nations. For it must be borne in mind that dependence upon commercial intercourse with a single nation is likely to result in subordination to the interests of that nation. The more varied the relations of a country, the greater and the more effective will be its independence.

THE NEW BOOKS

CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED STATES

PROFESSOR FARJENEL, of Paris, is an authority upon China. It happens that his more recent travels in that country coincided with the period of the great revolution which culminated in the abdication of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the republic. This period covered a portion of the year 1911 and most of the year 1912. M. Farjanel had the advantage of knowing the Chinese language in advance, and he had for traveling companion a young French officer who was his nephew. He began with the French colony of Cochin-China, and first visited the southern provinces of the Chinese Empire. Afterwards he went up the Yangtse-kiang, visited Shanghai and Hong-kong, and spent a long time at Peking. He had every opportunity to meet officials, the revolutionary leaders, missionaries, and foreigners of all races.

He wrote out his observations in the form of a simple and unpretentious journal,¹ which important public men in France persuaded him to publish. M. Farjanel's modest observations form so incomparably the most valuable work on Chinese political conditions in our day and upon the great revolution, that has appeared from any pen, that the discriminating reader is in a mood of gratitude with each succeeding page. This is the only book extant that could make an American or Englishman or Frenchman understand what has taken place in China. M. Farjanel does not reason or argue or attempt to write a book in the field of history or diplomacy. He merely tells his readers what he saw and heard; and, as it happens, he is a man of as high a power of observation and analysis as was De Tocqueville or as is Lord Bryce.

To have read this book several months ago would have been to know that Yuan Shih-kai could not possibly have succeeded in making himself Emperor. China had become a republic because of a profound revolution. There had been an awakening that the Chinese people themselves regarded as in many respects like that of the French Revolution. Of many leaders, Sun Yat-sen was the foremost. Yuan Shih-kai was subsequently made President, not because the revolutionists preferred him, but as a practical step toward having the republic accepted, getting rid of the Manchu dynasty, and making a provisional start.

M. Farjanel has a rare power of sympathy and understanding. The idealism of France has enabled him to grasp the spirit of the new Chinese leaders, who are as devoted to their conceptions of a new and free China as were the most enthusiastic French revolutionists to their ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Our

author's pages are full of charming bits of description of places, phases of life, and representative men. They will survive and be read in future generations like the books of Arthur Young.

The title of Mr. Scherer's little volume about Japan is quite misleading.² The book is a moderate and useful essay on the relations of Japan and the United States. No chapter of it has any reference to a crisis. The author lived in Japan many years ago and has recently lived in California. He deals with the tendency of the Japanese to become a growingly important factor in Californian agriculture. He favors a prohibition of land-holding by all aliens. This would avoid discrimination against Japanese. California's alien land law of three years ago prohibited land ownership to classes of people not eligible for naturalization. Mr. Scherer's book is conciliatory and helpful in its suggestions.

If we are to have intensely controversial books and articles printed in this country, dealing with the relations between China and Japan, it will be much better that the authors be scholars and writers of Japanese or Chinese nationality. A man like Mr. Tong, who wrote from the Chinese standpoint in the last number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, has a right to speak for his country and nobody can question his motives or his point of view. Dr. Iyenaga, who has recently written for this REVIEW and is equally well known in Japan and the United States, is an accredited spokesman for Japanese policies. Dr. Iyenaga's little book, called "Japan's Real Attitude Toward America," contains, besides material of his own, several chapters from other pens.³ It is largely devoted to repudiating the extremely bitter and harsh attacks upon Japan of an American who lived for some time in China and who is regarded as now engaged, on behalf of some official or unofficial Chinese interests, in trying to stir up feeling in the United States against Japan. The fact is that the great American public is very friendly in its feeling towards both China and Japan, and hopes that both countries may prosper as friends and neighbors, and that there may be even better relations in future than in the past between our own country and the two great and admirable nations across the Pacific. Americans with some knowledge of one or the other of these countries may help to improve our relations with both. But Americans who try to involve us in controversies between China and Japan are not to be encouraged.

¹The Chinese Revolution. By Fernand Farjanel. Stokes. 148 pp. 75 cents.

²Japan's Real Attitude Toward America. Edited by Takakichi Iyenaga. Putnam. 94 pp. 75 cents.

³Through the Chinese Revolution. By Fernand Farjanel. Stokes. 148 pp. \$2.00.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A DOZEN years ago Mr. Samuel B. Crandall, of the New York bar, wrote a valuable work entitled "Treaties: Their Making and Enforcement." He has now brought out a new edition, revised and brought down to date.¹ This is much more than a mere essay in the field of diplomacy and international relations. It is worked out of the actual proceedings of our courts of law touching upon every aspect of the interpretation and application of those international agreements called by the general term of "treaties." The book has great value, not only for lawyers but for all careful students of history and policy.

Mr. Sherrill's book entitled "Modernizing the Monroe Doctrine"² bears no resemblance at all to the important work of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart that we commended in these pages three months ago. Professor Hart's work is the formal presentation of a student of history and international relations. Mr. Sherrill's much smaller work is very informal, concrete rather than abstract—the notes of a diplomat and statesman rather than the treatise of a scholarly student. The two books taken together and carefully read would do much to guide the people of the United States in their relations with the other peoples who inhabit the Western hemisphere. Mr. Sherrill, who spent two or three years as United States Minister at Buenos Aires, while a great

optimist regarding South America, is not superficial or merely flattering in his estimates of our Latinic neighbors. He looks to the future for larger confederations and goes so far as to predict two federated Spanish-speaking republics, one of the north and the other of the south, with the Portuguese-speaking republic of Brazil occupying the tropical heart of the continent. He believes that the right development of Pan-American principles will strengthen North and South



HON. CHARLES H.
SHERRILL

America in relation to Europe on one side and Asia on the other. The frankness with which he discusses many current issues gives a timely and readable quality to a book that is only too brief in view of its wisdom and its worth. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler contributes a commendatory introduction.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

Victory in Defeat. By Stanley Washburn. Doubleday, Page Co. 189 pp. Ill. \$1.

Mr. Stanley Washburn, who had for some months been with the Russian armies in Poland as a newspaper correspondent, and whose interesting article on Russia in the war appeared in last month's issue of the *Review of Reviews*, has now returned to the scenes of the war. While on his recent vacation in this country, however, he wrote a book entitled "Victory in Defeat," mostly compiled from his newspaper articles dealing with the great Russian retreat, its strategic character, and its bearings upon the war as a whole.

Before, During, and After 1914. By Anton Nyström. Translated by H. G. de Walthenstorf. Scribner's. 368 pp. \$2.50.

A discussion of the war by a scholarly Swedish radical, a disciple of Comte. Dr. Nyström, who was a volunteer for Denmark in the Danco-German war of 1864, has been for more than half a century a consistent opponent of Prussian militarism.

Antwerp to Gallipoli. By Arthur Ruhl. Scribner's. 104 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A member of the rather large group of Ameri-

can war correspondents here relates his experiences and describes many phases of warfare as he has observed them on the different fronts.

War Letters of an American Woman. By Marie Van Vorst. John Lane Co. 328 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Miss Van Vorst, the American novelist, was living in Paris at the outbreak of the war, and brought her mother to London for safety in the early days of the conflict. There she took a course of Red Cross lectures, and later turned to good account the knowledge thus gained at the American Ambulance in the Pasteur Institute at Neuilly. Things that she heard and saw during this and other experiences in the war zone make up the present volume.

My Fourteen Months at the Front. By William J. Robinson. 24 pp. Ill. \$1.

A twenty-two year old Boston boy joined the British army on October 2, 1914, and served as dragoon guardsman, dispatch rider, and motor-car driver, visiting every part of the British line in France and Belgium. In this unpretentious book he tells his story very simply and effectively, and reveals the daily routine of the fighting man's life as he has learned it. Although it is known that many Americans have volunteered for service with the Allies, this is possibly the first published narrative of the experiences of such a volunteer.

¹ *Treaties: Their Making and Enforcement*, by Samuel B. Crandall. Washington: John Byrne & Co., 1914. 164 pp.
² *Modernizing the Monroe Doctrine*, by Charles H. Sherrill. Houston, Texas: Co. 214 pp. \$1.00.

Canada in Flanders. By Sir Max Aitken, M.P. Doran. 245 pp. 50 cents.

The author of this little book was formerly a prominent business man and financier of Montreal. He later went to England and became a member of the British House of Commons. Because of his natural interest in the doings of the Canadian troops, he went to the front in Belgium and wrote brilliant accounts of their fighting. "Canada in Flanders" sums up the achievements of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. It has been hailed in England as one of the great war books of the year and is now in its tenth edition. All Canadians feel especial pride in the valor displayed by Canadian troops in the battles of Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Givenchy, and Festubert. These are all described in detail in this compact volume.

The Greater Tragedy and Other Things. By Benjamin Apthorp Gould. Putnam. 189 pp. \$1.

Mr. Gould, who is an American living in Canada, deals chiefly in this book with the attitude of the United States to the war.

Germany vs. Civilization. By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton, Mifflin. 238 pp. \$1.50.

A vigorous statement of the case against Germany in the conduct of the war from the viewpoint of the Allies.

The Way of the Cross. By V. Doroshovitch. Putnam. 163 pp. \$1.

This book, said to be the first piece of Russian war literature to be translated into English, pictures the Russian and Polish fugitives fleeing before the German invader in August and Septem-

ber, 1915. The author, a famous Russian journalist, went through the rear of the Russian army and was an eye witness of the scenes that he describes. There is an introductory note by Stephen Graham.

The Assault. By Frederic William Wile. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 413 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Mr. Wile, author of "Men Around the Kaiser," was serving as Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* when arrested by the German police on August 4, 1914, as an "English spy." Mr. Wile is an American who, since the war began, has lived a week in Berlin, three months at different periods in America, and the rest of the time in London. His experience as a journalist and, particularly, his thoroughgoing study of the German people in the years preceding the war make what he has to say especially timely and interesting.

Carlyle and the War. By Marshall Kelly. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. 337 pp. \$1.

An Englishman's defense of Germany, based on the writings of Carlyle, who in the author's opinion "was the greatest man of the nineteenth century, and knew Germany, German character, and German history as no other Briton has ever known."

A Book of Belgium's Gratitude. Lane. 395 pp. Ill. \$2.

In this volume many eminent Belgian writers and artists have coöperated in expressing Belgium's gratitude to the people of Great Britain and the United States for the aid that has been extended to the stricken nation since the war began. The profits derived from the publication will be placed at the disposal of Queen Mary.

WORLD PEACE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Ways to Lasting Peace. By David Starr Jordan. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 255 pp. \$1.

Among American Pacifists Dr. Jordan holds a foremost place. In the present work he attempts to summarize clearly and succinctly the world's thought regarding the abolition of war. The ideal for which he personally strives is the permanence of law.

World Peace. By John Bigelow. Mitchell Kennerley. 291 pp. \$1.50.

When an American army officer gives as many years to the study of the problem of world peace as Major Bigelow has given, his conclusions are deserving of serious attention. It hardly needs to be said that Major Bigelow does not believe that war can be abolished in our present civilization. He gives his reasons for his disbelief in this book. The first sixty pages of which are devoted to "Illusions of Pacifism." He proceeds however to elaborate plans for arbitration, a

world court, and a world state. In these rests his hope for an ultimate world peace.

God and War. By Daniel Roy Freeman. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 144 pp. 75 cents.

An exposition of the absurdity of war and of the principles underlying creative peace.

Wake Up, America! By William R. Castle, Jr. Dodd, Mead Co. 111 pp. 50 cents.

In these essays the author seeks to emphasize our individual and national responsibilities in this time of stress.

The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1914. By J. Holland Rose, LL.D. Putnam. 410 pp. \$2.75.

This fifth edition of a standard history of modern Europe includes three new chapters in which are described the most important and best-ascertained facts of the period 1900-14.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

Charles Francis Adams—an Autobiography. Houghton, Mifflin. 224 pp. Ill. \$3.

It is a long time since so frank an autobiography as this has come from the press. It possesses an added charm because of the distinguished personality of the author and his place in a New England lineage that included two Presidents of the United States and the most eminent diplomat that ever represented this country in England. Mr. Adams is frank not only concerning himself and what he regards as his personal shortcomings, but also in his characterizations of his distinguished father and grandfather and their contemporaries who occupied the seats of the mighty for two generations. Furthermore, Mr. Adams himself had a national reputation in the field of railroad organization, and his career of fifty years, beginning with noteworthy service in the Civil War, has enabled him to make in these memoirs a distinctive contribution to American history.

The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and Their Movements. By S. Parkes Cadman. Macmillan. 596 pp. \$2.50.

The three leaders here associated—Wycliffe, whom Dr. Cadman characterizes as the real originator of European Protestantism; John Wesley, the founder of Methodism; and Cardinal Newman, "the spiritual genius of his century who reinterpreted Catholicism, both Anglican and Roman,"—are treated in this volume in their relations to the social and religious movements of

the times in which they lived. The book was suggested by a course of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Geraldine Farrar: the Story of an American Singer by Herself. Houghton, Mifflin. 115 pp. Ill. \$2.

A popular American singer's own story of her career. Those who have heard Madame Farrar in opera will be glad to read this simple personal record of her years of training abroad and her final successes in Berlin and New York.

Old Familiar Faces. By Theodore Watts Dunton. E. P. Dutton. 303 pp. \$1.75.

"Old Familiar Faces," by the late Theodore Watts Dunton, is a most fascinating volume of literary reminiscences that includes studies of the personalities and criticisms of the work of George Borrow, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Dr. Gordon Hake, John Leicester Warren (Lord de Tabley), William Morris and Francis Hinds Groome. This man, sometimes called the "reformer of genius," will be long remembered for his extensive literary work, but perhaps even longer for the brilliant circle of friends which surrounded him and for his devotion to the rare art of friendship. His favorite lines from John Keats are the key to his temperament:

"Charmed magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas in faery lands forlorn."

LITERARY CRITICISM

The Twentieth Century Molière: Bernard Shaw. By Augustin Hamon. Stokes. 322 pp. \$2.50.

The author of this book is the authorized translator of Bernard Shaw's plays into French, and a lecturer at the Sorbonne and the University of Brussels. In this book he institutes a comparison between Shaw and Molière in their use of comedy. He includes in the volume a study of Bernard Shaw, the man, an analysis of his dramatic methods, and an exposition of the principles of dramatic technique. The book has been translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul. A thirteen-page Epistle Dedicatory is addressed to Shaw by the author.

The Pageant of Dickens. By W. Walter Crotch. London: Chapman & Hall. 260 pp. \$2.25.

A series of character sketches from the pages of Dickens. As the author describes his own method, he has "taken groups of Dickens characters, and tried to lead them part in orderly array, allowing them each and anon to reveal their human foibles, to break out into exhilarating song or exuberant mirth, to pull at our heart strings and stir sorrow, and to show us the gift of healing in their tears."

Rudyard Kipling. By R. Thurston Hopkins. Stokes. 357 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

The sub-title of this volume, "A Literary Appreciation," is hardly descriptive of the book's contents. The author's purpose is better expressed in his preface, where he says that he has tried to furnish a popular guide to the attitude and writings of Kipling. He gives at the outset a good outline of Kipling's career, following this with an intimate account of his school life, in which many readers will recognize incidents in "Stalky & Co." The book is quite largely anecdotal, and this fact gives it an interest that would be lacking in an ordinary literary "appreciation." The author brings out very clearly the human side of his subject, giving many references to Kipling's experiences as a traveler in various parts of the world, and particularly in the United States. Kipling himself is authority for the deduction that Americans have never forgiven him for not dying in New York.

A Book of English Literature. Edited by Franklin Bliss Snyder and Robert Grant Martin. Macmillan. 339 pp. \$2.25.

Selections from standard authors, covering the field of English poetry, exclusive of the drama, from Chaucer to Meredith, and English prose,

exclusive of the novel and the short story, from Malory to Stevenson.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward, and A. R. Waller. Vol. XII. Putnam. 619 pp. \$2.50.

It was a part of the original plan of this comprehensive work to devote the last three volumes to the literature of the nineteenth century treated as a whole, omitting living authors from the scope of the work. Volume XII of the series is the first of this nineteenth-century trio and brings the record down to the early years of the Victorian era. Among the authors treated are Sir Walter Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Hazlitt, Lamb, Leigh Hunt, De Quincey, and Jane Austen. One good feature of the "Cambridge History," however, is its inclusion of authors of secondary rank. Many of the minor poets who flourished

from 1790 to 1837, as well as some of the lesser novelists and essayists of the same period, and the historians and antiquaries who rose to eminence later in the century, receive due attention in this volume.

Social Studies in English Literature. By Laura Johnson Wylie. Houghton, Mifflin. 216 pp. \$1.75.

One of the series of volumes published in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Vassar College. There are four of these studies, entitled, respectively, "The English Essay," "The England of George Crabbe," "The Social Philosophy of Wordsworth," and "Shelley's Democracy," and the purpose of the author in each of these essays is to trace the relation between a certain body of literature and some aspects of the social conditions out of which it grew.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open. By Theodore Roosevelt. Scribner. 373 pp. Ill. \$2.

This particular book-lover has never permitted his adventurings in the open to deprive him of

the companionship of those book friends that seem to hold a place in his affections second only to the human comrades of the wilderness. The present volume, however, is not chiefly concerned with the books to be taken on outings, although a very stimulating chapter is devoted to them. Colonel Roosevelt's hunting adventures and his observations in various parts of North and South America make up the bulk of the book. In this form of narrative and description the author is at his best. The stories are simply told and the facts stated have a reason for presentation. There are no dull passages in any of the chapters. One especially effective piece of writing is the essay on primitive man in three continents and his association with the horse, the lion, and the elephant. The chapter on the great bird reserves at the mouth of the Mississippi is probably the most complete popular account of those institutions that has been published anywhere.

Camp Fires in the Yukon. By Harry A. Auer. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd. 204 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

Besides being a lover of big-game hunting, Mr. Harry A. Auer is perhaps as well acquainted as any other American with the region in the Great North where big game is most abundant to-day. This book relates numerous hunting adventures and describes journeys through country of great scenic interest in the Canadian province of the Yukon. The writer's observations are recorded in the form of a daily journal. The illustrations are from a series of unusual photographs.

The Dune Country. By Earl H. Reed. Lane. 288 pp. Ill. \$2.

Within a few hours' ride of the city of Chicago Mr. Reed has discovered a region as little known to the average American tourist as any bit of "back country" in the South or West. His book introduces us not only to the sand dunes that skirt the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan, but to the odd varieties of human



From a photograph by Alexander Lambert, M.D.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND ARTHUR LIRETTE WITH ANTLERS OF MOOSE SHOT SEPT. 19, 1915

(From "A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open," by Theodore Roosevelt, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.)

types that inhabit those wilds. The sixty illustrations made from the author's drawings are varied and characteristic.

The Romantic Shore. By Agnes Edwards. Salem, Mass.: Salem Press Co. 202 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This is the famous North Shore of New England, about which much has been written, but in which each latter-day visitor seems to discover new points of interest.

The Cruise of the Tomas Barrera. By John B. Henderson. Putnam's. 32 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A narrative of a six-weeks' cruise to western Cuba and the Colorados Reefs for the study of the land and marine fauna and flora and the salient geological features of the region. It is announced that the material collected by the expedition is now being critically studied and the

results will eventually be published in the Smithsonian Reports. There are numerous illustrations—several in color—and helpful maps.

The Mountain. By John C. Van Dyke. Scribner's. 234 pp. \$1.25.

Professor Van Dyke's field of descriptive writing is unique. In his books on "The Desert" and "The Opal Sea," and in this new volume, devoted to the Mountain, both the esthetic and the scientific aspects of the subject are treated. This is done with a degree of literary charm quite unusual in technical descriptions. The opening chapter of the present volume is concerned, however, with the plains rather than the mountains of the Great West. Professor Van Dyke styles his chapters "renewed studies in impressions and appearances," and in form and method the book is a fitting sequel to "The Desert."

RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Russian literature is being widely read just now, largely on account of its realism. The dreams of the idealists have been shattered by a world-war; there is a tendency to turn away from fiction that presents a world of illusion and glosses over the ugly facts of life. Serge Persky's treatise, "Contemporary Russian Novelists" (John Luce & Co., Boston), covers a large field of Russian literature. There are many Russian writers whose works have scarcely been discovered in this country. With Dostoievsky, Gorky, Gogol, Turgenev, Artzibashev, and Tchekhov, we are fairly familiar. Others that we should know include Vikenty Veressayev, whose famous work, "The Memoirs of a Physician," created a sensation in Europe; Sholom Ash, Michael Kouzmine, Sergiyev-Tzensky, Madame Hippus-Merezhkovskaya, and Feodor Sologoub, who writes exquisite fairy tales.

Alexander Kuprin's powerful novel, "The Duel" (Macmillan), gives us a vivid story of life in an infantry regiment stationed in a barracks near the German frontier. It is incidentally an arraignment of the terrible mismanagement of the Russo-Japanese campaign. Four short stories by Kuprin are published under the title of "The River of Life" (John Luce & Co.). The genius of this brilliant novelist reaches its height in his magnificent short stories. He has been called a painter with words, so vividly does he convey the illusions of color, form and light, and his stormy descriptive passages are unexcelled among modern Russian writers. His books are less harrowing to read than those of other Russian writers, for he is a storyteller pure and simple.

"The Bat and Other Tales," by Tchekhov, and "With a Diploma and a Whirlwind," by Dantchevsky, two short novels that from the vantage ground of city and country discuss the question of women's rights, are now available in English translation. (John Luce & Co.)

There are many books that tell one about Russia and the Russian people, but one of the books that make us feel the actual potentiality of the Russian nation is a volume of trans-

lations, "The Epic Songs of Russia," by Isabel Hapgood, first published thirty years ago, as the author states, "before the public was ready for it." The new edition is presented with an introduction by J. W. Mackail, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. The book contains selections from the song of three cycles: "The Elder Heroes," "The Cycle of Vladimir or of Kiev," and the "Cycle of Novgorod." Information about the various heroes, their signs and wonders, is given in an appendix. The "Songs" are marvelous and fascinating, a combination of human emotion, mysticism and Oriental imagery, combined with the simple religious faith of the Russian peasant. They relate the adventures and feats of super-mortals and hero-gods. The original facts upon which many of these tales were founded have been practically lost in the splendor of their literary garment shaped by humble peasants whose extreme poverty and isolation were recompensed by their imagination and power of lyrical expression. The epic songs date from a period when Russia was touched with the tide of the Renaissance that reached its apex in the thirteenth century in Western Europe. The poetry that springs from life itself, that is always living in every age and clime, the music that flows in the best of all old ballads, still pours through these Russian songs in spite of the centuries through which they have been handed down by oral transmission.

Dostoievsky: His Life and Literary Activity," by Eugene Soloviev, translated by C. J. Hogarth, gives a picture of the life of the great Russian genius that enables one to understand the morbidly and hysteria of much of his work. His unhappy boyhood, the influences of his joyless youth, his revolutionary activities, his imprisonment in Siberia, the constant irritation of his poverty and literary bondage made him regard life as a matter of utmost gravity, a conflict in

¹ "The Epic Songs of Russia." By Isabel Hapgood. Scribner's. 234 pp. \$1.25.
² "Dostoievsky: His Life and Literary Activity." By Eugene Soloviev. Translated by C. J. Hogarth. Macmillan. (1) 30.

which man was perpetually the loser. "Not for pleasure's sake did man exist, but for the maintenance of a moral ideal to which man was bound to sacrifice his ego." In this belief one sees that Dostoievsky shared in the simplicity of religious faith that characterizes the Russian peasant and felt more than all else a resignation to duty and a patient acceptance of suffering along with all the other hard facts of his life.

Four stories from the Russian of Vladimir Korolenko have been translated by Marian Fell. They are published under the title of the story that made Korolenko a personage in Russia, "Makar's Dream."¹ It is a delight to read these stories. They have been compared to a "fresh breeze blowing through the heavy air of a hospital," that is a breeze of springtime and simple optimism blown through the morbidity of the

modern Russian realists. Vladimir Korolenko was born in Little Russia in 1853, of mixed Polish and Cossack stock. The hardships of his early years have given him a profound sympathy with the struggling peasants. "Makar's Dream," "In Bad Company," "The Murmuring Forest," and "The Day of Atonement," reveal Korolenko as an idealist whose creative imagination will not vision an earth where injustice shall reign forever, nor a heaven wherein the slightest wound of the soul shall not be healed. He was exiled for a time in Siberia on account of his advanced social doctrines. In 1895 he became editor of the magazine *Russkoye Bogatsvo*, and has continued in journalistic work until he is to-day one of the greatest publicists in Russia. The poetic beauty of the translation of these tales, in particular "The Murmuring Forest," gives added charm to these masterpieces of peasant life.

SOME NEW POETRY

THERE is too much fine intellectuality in Edwin Arlington Robinson's new book of verse, "The Man Against the Sky,"² for the survival of any mirage of illusion. The poems are simple, direct lyricism, so effortless as to seem magical, and possessing more insight into the kingdom of the mind than the work of any other American poet. Mr. Robinson's poetry was first given recognition by poets; now it has gained wide general popularity. He retains the classical forms, and using no unnecessary words drives straight at his ideas. The title poem, not forgetting "Captain Craig" of a previous collection, is the best thing he has done. It is the statement of a creed, that of the thinker who views dispassionately the jangling of human passion, the futility of most of our activities, and still holds life worth while, if for no other reason than for its gift of vision.

"But this we know if we know anything
That we may laugh and fight and sing
And of our transience here make offering,
To an Orient Word that will not be erased,
Or, save in incommunicable gleams
Too permanent for dreams,
Be found or known."

The satire dominates the song in Edgar Lee Masters' new book, "Songs and Satires."³ This volume reveals a different phase of artistic personality than that which was given us in his tremendous success, the "Spoon River Anthology." It is a collection of many kinds of verse. In the main it has distinction and insight, and some of the poems show the pure vein of genius that blazed out in the former book. For the rest it seems experimental in a large measure—a groping along divers paths of poesy. The portrait of William Marion Reedy is a pleasant bit. Mr. Masters is decidedly best at portraiture—as, for

instance, the "primrose" portrait of Julia in the poem "Jim and Arabel's Sister," and other brilliant sketches scattered throughout the volume. He might well be called the Sargent among poets. Occasionally in this collection a quiet lyric charms with sheer music, the mimicry of rain, the sound of the wings of gulls over fields of barley and wheat, the ripple of unleashed waters in the "fresh flags by the lakes."

"Sea and Bay,"⁴ a gracious tale of New England, tells the life-story of Alden Carr. His life is divided into three parts—the boy's experiences in the sheltered haven of the "Bay"; the man's adventurous years on the "Sea," and the quiet years of later life when he has returned to the Bay. This admirable work, which might be called a novel in verse, is by Charles Wharton Stork, whose early years were spent on Narragansett Bay. "Seraphine," the gentle French wife of Alden Carr, is a particularly happy characterization.

"Songs of the Streets and Byways,"⁵ by William Herschell, is a collection of human, appealing verses that were formerly printed in the *Indianapolis News*. Those who are charmed by the verse of James Whitcomb Riley will like these songs. They lead away from care to an inner joy and sympathy that makes life worth while. Mr. Herschell explains his book in a poem, "The Vocalizing Vulcans": "There's some who find life sweet enough to blend its toil with song."

For lovers of Celtic mystery and Celtic magic, Eleanor Rogers Cox has written a volume of exquisite verse, "Singing Fires of Erin."⁶ The old tales are retold with fresh melody and moving passion. "Cuchulain to the Poets," "A Song of Cormac Conloingias," and "To One Who Died in Murias" are intrinsically beautiful poetry.

¹ Makar's Dream. By Vladimir Korolenko. Trans. by Marian Fell. Duffield. 297 pp. \$1.00.

² The Man Against the Sky. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. Macmillan. 149 pp. \$1.

³ Songs and Satires. By Edgar Lee Masters. Macmillan. 172 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Sea and Bay: A Ballad of New England. By Charles Wharton Stork. John Lane. 182 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ Songs of the Street and Byways. By William Herschell. Bobbs Merrill. 148 pp. \$1.

⁶ Singing Fires of Erin. By Eleanor Rogers Cox. Designed by John Campbell. John Lane. 112 pp. \$1.

The collection is aptly named, for the verse seems to spring from out the fires that are still ablaze—so mystics tell us—on the ancient hills of Erin.

Those who have known Mr. James Hervey Hyslop, secretary of the American Society of Psychical Research, only in his philosophical and scientific writing may be surprised to find that he has written a volume of poems and translations.¹ There are original poems both in English and in German, and translations from the German which are given with their German originals. The poems are characterized by insight, spirituality, and the calm philosophy of a life that is turned away from the forces of materialism toward the eternal verities. Mr. Hyslop states that his object in giving these poems to the public is to give testimony to the fact that science does not always—as in the case of Darwin—destroy the poetic sense.

"Little Verses and Big Names"² is a large volume by poets, and non-poets, artists, politicians, scientists, actresses, and by men and women of all professions and of widely differing interests. The material is arranged and published in most attractive form, together with a prefatory note by Woodrow Wilson, expressly for the purpose of providing pure milk for sick babies and maintaining a Visiting Nurse. The publishers call the book "a topsy-turvy miscellany of rhymes, jingles, and personal anecdotes, business axioms, moral aphorisms and the like." There is verse from all the people one expects to write verse, and from others who are not expected to be lyrical. The latter class includes S. R. Guggenheim, Katherine Bement Davis, James J. Hill, and John D. Archbold. There are witty limericks, prose sketches, music, and many fine drawings alternating with the poetry. The public have the opportunity to make the wish of the President come true. He has written:

"I wish I had the wit to send something which would add interest and vivacity to this little volume. As it is, I can only express my deep

and sincere interest in the work to which it is dedicated and the hope that it may bring rich returns to those who are seeking to help little children."

The remarkable range of selections in "High Tide" (Houghton Mifflin), the songs from present-day poets of America and Great Britain, arranged and selected by Mrs. Waldo Richards, renders the book exceedingly valuable for lovers of poetry who have not time to read through each volume of poems that comes from the press. Beyond the value of the content as poetry they are aids to optimism and the pursuit of Joy and Beauty. A notice of this book appears in our April number.



A NEW "GIRLSON GIRL," SKETCHED FOR "LITTLE VERSES AND BIG NAMES"

PLAYS AND PAGEANTS

"MASTER SKYLARK," a play of Shakespearean times, is an exquisite thing, fine and delicate of sentiment, historically accurate, a splendid re-creation of the brilliant color of the Elizabethan age. About twenty years ago a charming story of Elizabethan England, "Master Skylark," by John Bennett, appeared in the *St. Nicholas Magazine*. From this story, Mr. Edgar White Burrill has written a play in five acts. The play opens in Stratford-on-Avon. Nick Atwood, a young cousin of Shakespeare's, rebels at his father's stern discipline and runs away with a company of strolling players. Gaston Carew, the leader of the company, takes the lad to London where he is accepted as head choir boy in St. Paul's. Later he slips before Queen Elizabeth

in the great throne-room of Greenwich Palace. Master Nick Atwood had a voice like a lark. The old precentor of St. Paul's says of his voice: "Soft as a flute and silver clear—'Twas his soul that set a song on fire in the sky and dropped it quivering and bright into our shadow world." This play is especially appropriate to this year of the tercentenary Shakespearean celebrations. Clayton Hamilton, the dramatic critic, has praised it as the only play that has appeared worthy of the great occasion.

"Master Will of Stratford," a mid-winter night's dream, is a sprightly play built around the youthful Shakespeare. Sir Thomas Lucy accuses the boy of poaching when he catches him cursing a wounded pheasant. Queen Elizabeth rescues the lad from punishment because of the

¹ *Poems and Translations*. By James Hervey Hyslop. Houghton Mifflin, Inc., pp. 100.

² *Little Verses and Big Names*. Edited by Mrs. Waldo Richards. Houghton Mifflin, Inc., pp. 111.

³ *Master Will of Stratford*. By Edgar White Burrill. Century Co., 10, 11, pp. 11.

quickness of his wit. That night, safe at home, the lad dreams of a fairy world and Puck, Oberon, Titania, and all the fairies and witches visit him in a dream. The next morning he makes a resolve to write for men "all the dreams that lap me 'round with shining witchery." One could hardly conceive of a more delightful drama for boys and girls and for all who are young in heart. The author, Louise Ayres Garnett, has handled the Warwickshire dialect of the period with great skill, and the effect of the quaint words enhances the value and heightens the atmosphere of the play.

"The Acorn Planter," by Jack London, is a California forest play that is planned to be sung. Red Cloud, the first man of men, sings of the duty of life, which is to make life more abundant. The Shaman, the medicine man, sings of his prophecies, and the war chieftain sings that war is the gateway to abundant life. Red Cloud tells them that the way of life is that of the "acorn-planter." A thousand years pass, and again in the forest appear contending figures—Red Cloud, the Shaman, the War Chief and the Dew Woman, the types of philosopher, soldier, priest and woman that are ever re-appearing in each age of the world. The Sun Man arrives—one of a group of wrecked explorers. Red Cloud recognizes them as "acorn planters," as world builders, but the War Chief triumphs and they are slain. A hundred years later when the white men are streaming into California, the Sun Men massacre the Indians, saying that "blood debts must be paid," but Red Cloud dies firm in his belief that the day shall dawn when "all men shall be kind to all men, and all men shall be sowers of life." It is a fine and a beautiful play—a call to the world of men to awaken and know that constructive effort is the highest duty man can realize.

"The Fairy Bride," by Norrys Jephson O'Connor, is the only play written in this country that shows the Celtic Fairyland on the stage. The theme is that of the blemished heir who may not succeed to the throne. King Fergus gives Dermot, who has been blemished by the evil magic of Queen Buan, a year for healing. He goes to Fairyland, where he is healed and wins the "fairy bride." The play is delicately phrased and creates an atmosphere of illusion—the feeling that all the movement of the drama may be the veritable phantasmagoria of the fairy world, and vanish into the trickery of shadows in the moonlight or the sound of the wind among the leaves. It is an excellent play for amateur performance, for use in schools, or for reading. The appendix gives directions for the costumes and also the music for three lyrics used in the play.

"The Honeysuckle," a new tragedy by Gabriele D'Annunzio, takes for its motif a motto from an ancient lay of Marie de France: "All lovers who enter into the dominion of the Honeysuckle must fulfill the ritual of fidelity." The plot is a combination of that of Macbeth and Hamlet, with

the preponderance toward that of the latter play. The prototype of the mad Prince of Denmark is Aude, the lovely stepdaughter of Pierre Dagon, the girl who is born to suffer, and is obsessed by the desire to revenge the suspected murder of her father. D'Annunzio sets this noble tragedy in all the beauty of springtime in Italy. Through the purity of her soul, the unerring intuition of innocence, Aude drives the stepfather to confession, and tortures her mother until she accomplishes his death. It has all the inevitableness of the old Greek tragedies, and through the lines sounds the fiat of primitive races of the world—that men are but puppets who serve to fulfill the will of the gods. In "The Honeysuckle," it is not Aude nor her mother Lawrence who is revenged, it is *love*. The play has been admirably rendered into English by Cecile Sartoris and Gabrielle Enthoven.

Theodore Dreiser's "Plays of the Natural and Supernatural," are as gripping as the work of Galsworthy and Synge. The "Natural" plays are realistic dramas. The "supernatural" might be called metaphysical dramas in that they are dependent upon the essential nature and relations of those realities of being that lie beyond the domain of the senses. They are startling, significant episodes of life wherein the most of the action takes place in the unseen world, yet so closely coordinated with actual physical reality is the play of beings and forces in the unseen, that the reader may hardly know where the one ends and the other begins. There are seven plays in the volume: "The Girl in the Coffin," "The Blue Sphere," "Laughing Gas," "In the Dark," "The Spring Recital," "The Light in the Window," and "The Old Ragpicker." Everyone who is interested in the progress of the American drama will welcome this new departure in the field of dramatics.

The perfect and noble tragedy that expresses the genius of John Masefield at floodtide, "The Tragedy of Nan," is published together with two other plays, "The Camden Wonder" and "Mrs. Harrison." The author has written concerning "The Tragedy of Nan," that "tragedy at its best is a vision of the heart of life. The heart of life can only be laid bare in the agony and exultation of dreadful acts. The vision of agony or spiritual contest, pushed beyond the limits of the dying personality, is exalting and cleansing. It is only by such vision that a multitude can be brought to the passionate knowledge of things exalting and eternal."

Mr. Percival Wilde's "Confessional and Other American Plays," are excellently written plays that show a distinct gain in compactness and characterization. "According to Darwin," the best play of this collection, exposes the sins committed by organized charity. "The Beautiful Story" shows the reactions in a little boy's mind when he accidentally discovers that there isn't any Santa Claus. These plays are excellent for reading as well as for the stage.

¹ The Acorn Planter. By Jack London. Macmillan. 84 pp. 75 cents.

² The Fairy Bride. By Norrys Jephson O'Connor. John Lane. 99 pp. \$1.

³ The Honeysuckle. By Gabriele D'Annunzio. Stokes. 214 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Plays of the Natural and the Supernatural. By Theodore Dreiser. John Lane. 228 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ The Tragedy of Nan. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 114 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Confessional and Other American Plays. By Percival Wilde. Holt. 173 pp. \$1.20.

"An excellent and appropriate "Memorial Day Pageant,"¹ arranged for communities and schools, comes from Constance D'Arcy Mackay, author of "Plays of the Pioneers." Explorers, Minute Men, the lads of 1812, the North and South, war veterans and impersonations of America's industries are among the characters.

"The Porcupine,"² a play by Edwin Arlington Robinson, tells the story of a domestic entanglement.

Twelve plays by the late Clyde Fitch are issued in four volumes.³ They are edited with an introduction by Montrose Moses and Virginia Gerson.

Clyde Fitch held a unique position among American playwrights. In technic, in invention, humor, and the unexpected twist that means genius, he excelled most of the playwrights of his day. These plays are issued as a Memorial Edition. They include "The Stubbornness of Geraldine," "Girl With the Green Eyes," "Her Own Way," "Lovers Lane," "Nathan Hale," "Woman in the Case," "The Truth," "The City," "Beau Brummel," "Barbara Frietchie," "Captain Jinks," and "The Climbers."

"Criminals,"⁴ a one-act play by George Middleton, presents an intimate study of marriage. The theme is handled with great delicacy.

NOVELS AND STORIES

"CAPTAIN MARGARET"⁵ was among the earlier writings of John Masefield. Although published some years ago in England, it was never extensively circulated in this country, and in its new form, as brought out by Macmillan, the story will reach many American readers for the first time. It is of the Joseph Conrad type of fiction. Here is a romantic novel, a capital tale of adventure, a yarn of the sea with plenty of zest and color and mystery, a story that has all the conventional characters of romance—a beautiful heroine, a brave hero, a villain, picturesque seamen and odd characters in good measure. And every realistic touch—there are none who will deny that Masefield knows the sea—perfects a mirror of physical reality upon which is cast the image of the soul of man questing after the ideal. Captain Margaret sails for Panama on the good ship *Broken Heart*. He wishes to found a just government for the Indians, and incidentally to escape from the memories of Olivia, the lovely English woman who has chosen to marry another man. By a curious twist of fate, Olivia and her husband, the coarse-natured villain, sail with Captain Margaret and the trio are buffeted about by the chance of fortune and the scant mercy of the sea. If some of the characters seem shadowy, the ship is real—this noble vessel of a past century, built of aromatic cedar, the veritable spirit of her builder, a Peruvian Spaniard: "She had the impress of her builder in her, a mournful state, a kind of battered grandeur, a likeness to a type of manhood." The tale unfolds its many adventures cunningly; the ending is the inevitable ending, but you will not be able to perceive it until you near the close of the story.

Nina Wilcox Putnam's new novel, "Adam's Garden,"⁶ starts its hero off on his career in the small hours of the morning on 42d Street, New York, with a dress suit, the memory of a wasted inheritance, and a hurdy-gurdy as his sole pos-

sessions. He plays and collects pennies and then takes refuge with a hospitable junk man. The junk man steals the hurdy-gurdy and embarks on the fascinating profession of an itinerant musician, leaving Adam with the junk and a sign on the front gate to the effect that the owner of the establishment boards dogs and cats and conducts an animal hospital. The story is too fascinating to spoil for prospective readers by giving the gist of ensuing incidents. Suffice to say that Adam accepts the gifts of Providence, raises flowers and boards the brindled terrier of the heroine, who amuses herself by flying an aeroplane. Later he rescues an unfortunate girl, falls in love, and behaves in an altogether human and lovable fashion. The big-heartedness of the characters, with the exception of the real stage villain, redeems the story from its amazing structure. It is full of warmth and sunlight, and its inner urge is—that come what may—the world is a good place to live in if we only make the best of that which lies nearest to hand.

"The Shades of the Wilderness,"⁷ by Joseph Altsheler, is the seventh volume of the Civil War Series. It relates the adventures of a Southern officer, Harry Kenyon, and gives a singularly vivid and impressive picture of General Robert Lee. The historical details are accurate and much of the narrative is drawn from sources of personal reminiscence.

A New England Bishop, who studied at Harvard and at Louvain, transplanted to the heart of the Adirondack country, is the hero of "The Shepherd of the North,"⁸ by Richard Aumerle Maher. The Bishop's field of ministration is that part of the Adirondack country in which the population is largely French-Canadian. In the dual capacity of spiritual advisor and great-hearted friend, the Bishop gives his flock the comforts of religion, leads a fight against a greedy railroad, and plays a dramatic part in the fighting of the great forest fire that sweeps through the hills and brings tragedy in its wake. Several matters of honor are brought forward in the story, one being the question as to the

¹ Memorial Day Pageant. By Constance D'Arcy Mackay. Potters, 20 pp. 25 cents.

² The Porcupine. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. Macmillan, 144 pp. \$1.25.

³ Clyde Fitch. Four vols. Little Brown, \$1.00.

⁴ Criminals. By George Middleton. E. W. Henschel, 43 pp. 50 cents.

⁵ Captain Margaret. By John Masefield. Macmillan, 271 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Adam's Garden. By Nina Wilcox Putnam. Lippincott, 248 pp. \$1.25.

⁷ The Shades of the Wilderness. By Joseph Altsheler. Appleton, 312 pp. \$1.20.

⁸ The Shepherd of the North. By Richard Aumerle Maher. Macmillan, 242 pp. \$1.25.

actual guilt of a man who contemplated committing a crime, but was prevented from actual commission only because another man forestalled him. A love story with a happy ending gives romantic interest to this fine book.

"Stamboul Nights,"¹ by H. G. Dwight, author of that entrancing book "Constantinople Old and New," is a collection of haunting tales of Constantinople, remarkable for their atmosphere, the musical quality of their diction, and for the ever recurring suggestion of more than can be set down in words. The first story, "The Leopard of the Sea," was included in a list of the twenty-one best short stories from a year of American magazines. It is equaled and in some respects excelled by "The Golden Javelin," "For the Faith," and that slight tale weighted with heavy import, "The Place of Martyrs." Rarely, if ever, has tragedy been told in so few words, or with such rare art. Once read, the picture of the squatting faun-like youth, and the Armenian funeral procession is ineffaceable. The frontispiece, which illustrates the story, "The Golden Javelin," is by W. T. Benda.

"On the Side of the Angels,"² by Basil King, contrasts two kinds of love, that which is purely passionate and illusory, and the love that springs from some divine intention of the soul and is permanent and constructive. The character of the heroine, Lois Willoughby, illustrates just what the author means by his title. Her qualities of mind and spirit conquer all difficulties and lead the bewildered people who surround her out of darkness and misunderstanding into sunlight and happiness.

"Young America"³ is a novelized version by Fred Ballard of a play by the same name by Samuel Field. It has been one of the current successes of the year as a play, on account of the problem it presents and the inherent value of the characters. The problem is, what shall be done with the bad boy of a small town, and what duty as a theoretical guardian does each citizen of the town owe the growing children. A human boy, a dog that is almost human, their friends and neighbors are the characters of this fine story of American life.

"Hugh Graham,"⁴ by Frank S. Townsend, gives a fascinating account of pioneer life and times in the country that is now the Virginias and the adjoining states. It is a revelation of those early dreams and aspirations out of which was shaped the commonwealth that arose succeeding the days of the adventurous pioneers. A charming love story renders the book doubly attractive.

"The Battle Months of George Daurella,"⁵ by Beulah Marie Dix, is a fantasy of war of no country and no clime; the story of the development of a man and a girl and their love through war. The characters are symbolic and awaken our pity and shame, that the fine young manhood of many lands, who should be shaping the weal of future generations are living in loathly trenches, dying in military prisons and enduring the horrors of actual conflict.

There are so many serious books and so few merry ones! "Signs Is Signs,"⁶ by Royal Dixon, is the merry tale of a "befo'-de-war" colored mammy, Aunt Moriah, who believes in "hants," and has the habit of marrying ministers. The story of Aunt Moriah's matrimonial pursuit of the Reverend Sinkiller Sneezeweede, and her final triumph in leading him to the altar, will endure more than one reading. The pen-and-ink sketches by L. S. Geer give an additional note of humor to this unusual book.

"Legends of Old Honolulu,"⁷ collected and translated by W. D. Westervelt, is the first of a forthcoming series of seven volumes of Hawaiian and Polynesian legends which are admirably illustrated and attractively bound. The first volume has been compiled from stories told by old natives in Hawaii. Mr. Westervelt has been for many years a resident of Honolulu; he is president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, therefore beyond the delight of reading these quaint legends one gets much information about life past and present in Hawaii and Polynesia. Notable among the stories of the first volume are the legends of "The Bread-Fruit Tree," "Lepe-a-Moa," and of the origin of the native cloth "Kapa." This fabric is made from the mucilaginous bark of certain trees. In the legend of the "Creation of Man," the earth was a "calabash," the cover was thrown upward by the gods and became the sky, the thick flesh, the sun, another part the moon, and the stars came from the seeds. A fine chant describes the appearance of the earth:

"The sky is established
The earth is established
Fastened and fastened,
Always holding together
Entangled in obscurity,
Near each other—a group of islands—
Spreads out like a flock of birds.
Leaping up are the divided places.
Lifted far up are the heavens.
Polished by striking,
Lamps rest in the sky.
Presently the clouds move,
The great sun rises in splendor,
Mankind arises to pleasure,
The moving sky is above."

¹ Stamboul Nights. By H. G. Dwight. Doubleday, Page & Co. 371 pp. \$1.25.

² On the Side of the Angels. By Basil King. Harper Bros. 395 pp. \$1.35.

³ Young America. By Fred Ballard. Duffield. 280 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Hugh Graham. By Frank S. Townsend. The Algonquin Press. 368 pp. \$1.35.

⁵ The Battle Months of George Daurella. By Beulah Marie Dix. Duffield. 320 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Signs Is Signs. By Royal Dixon. Jacobs. 209 pp.

⁷ Legends of Old Honolulu. By W. D. Westervelt. Geo. Ellis & Co., Boston. 282 pp. \$1.50.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORKS

Industrial Leadership. By H. L. Gantt. Yale University Press. 129 pp. \$1.

Mr. Gantt is one of the most scholarly and scientific of the group of trained leaders who are analyzing productive industry and in the name of "efficiency" are endeavoring to obtain better results and a higher fruitage of civilization for all elements and factors concerned in business life. The present little volume consists of several lectures recently given before the seniors of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University. Mr. Gantt believes that factories may be so run as to develop manhood while producing goods. He raises leadership in business to the dignity of a profession having great social and public value. There is much food for thought in the brief compass of this volume.

The Boy Scout Movement Applied by the Church. By Norman E. Richardson. Scribner. 445 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

In a foreword to this volume, Mr. James E. West, Chief Scout Executive of the Boy Scouts of America, states that while the Boy Scout movement has developed in this country on non-sectarian lines, it has proved to be distinctly a religious movement, because nearly all of its leaders are interested in religion and nearly all its troops

are connected with religious institutions. This manual has been prepared for the use of church officers who are entrusted with the leadership of Scout bands and require practical directions in their work. The book is illustrated from a series of excellent photographs of Scout activities, and is of general interest.

Hermeneutic Interpretation of the Origin of the Social State of Man. By Fabre d'Olivet. Putnam. 548 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

The first English translation of the principal work of the great French anthropologist who lived in the last third of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries.

Free Homestead Lands of Colorado Described. By George S. Clason. Denver: The Clason Map Company. 318 pp. \$2.

This is a handbook for settlers compiled by a man who has had extensive experience on the undeveloped lands of Colorado.

Bankrupting a Great City (The Story of New York.) By Henry H. Kline. Published by the author. 188 pp., ill. 75 cents.

REFERENCE BOOKS

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Vol. III. 1910-1914. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Co. 2868 pp. \$32.

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. 1915. Fifteenth Annual Cumulation. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company. 617 pp. \$6.

All the entries to be found in the annual volumes of the readers' guide for the years 1910 to 1914, inclusive, are arranged in one alphabet in the third volume of the series of five-year cumulations. This volume contains about 225,000 entries representing perhaps 60,000 magazine articles in 7,000 separate issues. The periodical literature of the United States and Great Britain was never before so thoroughly indexed. Although this volume covers the five months of European war, the references to that subject fill eleven pages of two columns each. The five-year cumulation ending with 1914 is supplemented by the annual volume covering 1915. For those twelve months the mass of periodical literature

relating to the war enormously increased and the editors of the index declare that the arrangement of this war material is hardly less complex than the strategy of a battlefield itself.

The American Year Book. 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, B. A. Appleton. 862 pp. \$2.

This is the sixth issue of a publication that has grown in usefulness from the beginning. The scope of this work has been outlined in our notices of regular issues and remains virtually unchanged. One hundred and twenty-five contributors have cooperated in preparing this volume, all of whom are experts in their respective fields.

A History of South Africa. By W. C. Scully. Longmans. 327 pp. Ill. \$1.

For the first time South Africa's story is here related in a single volume. It is a concise narrative, well adapted to the wants of the general reader.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—INVESTING IN FOREIGN GOVERNMENT BONDS

THE personal political bias has a prominent place unfortunately in the present estimate placed on the value of foreign bonds and their standing in the portfolio of the American investor.

One reads editorials to the effect that bonds of European governments now at war should not be bought for the danger of repudiation that lies in them and one also reads that they are the "bargains of a lifetime." Inasmuch as approximately \$1,000,000,000 of good American cash has already been placed in issues that will be directly affected by the outcome of the war, and as the outlook is for additional investment in the same direction, it is well to glance over the ground and try and make an appraisal of conditions, past and to come, that have and will again determine the worth of bonds issued in a time of war and on a wartime interest basis.

Until 1915, the United States was a poor place in which to float a foreign loan. About the only experience her bankers had had on a large scale was in the promotion of Japanese government 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds during the Russo-Japanese war. Such Mexican, Cuban, and South American securities as were brought out here eventually found their way to London or the Continent even though it would have been the better part of American business policy to have bought these issues for the trade they produced in normal times. It was, however, fortunate that in the cataclysms of recent years there was no writing off of depreciation on foreign issues such as England and France have experienced as the largest holders of "overseas" investments of the creditor nations.

Great War Loans in America

The Anglo-French loan of \$500,000,000 was the first great test of American faith in the stability of the two richest countries in Europe. Placed at an underwriting figure of 96¼ it has sold in the seven months since it was issued as high as 98¼ and as low as 93½, or between a premium of 2 points and a discount of 2¼ points. The first semi-annual coupon, amounting to \$12,500,000, has been paid and on the New York Stock

Exchange over \$100,000,000 of the issue has been dealt in. In no other bond have the transactions meanwhile been so large.

Next in size to the Anglo-French loan was the \$75,000,000 Canadian Government offering of 5 per cent. five-, ten-, and fifteen-year bonds. These have already gone to premiums of from 1¼ per cent. on the ten-year maturity and about 4½ per cent. on the longest term issue, and next to the Anglo-French 5's have been the most freely dealt in of any listed bonds. Prior to the war nearly all of the Japanese bonds sold here ten years ago had been resold to London, Paris, and Berlin, but now they are crossing the ocean a second time and finding their freest market in New York. American subscriptions to the French "Loan of Victory" were about \$5,000,000.

Bonds of the Lesser Nations

The interest that American bankers have taken in promoting the sugar industry of Cuba has stimulated buying of Cuban Government bonds at the highest prices ever quoted for them. Since the war began, approximately \$75,000,000 of American money has gone into the short-term and discount loans of Argentina. We have also financed the pressing requirements of Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, and China. The bond list of the New York Stock Exchange is coming to have a very cosmopolitan aspect. It is common nowadays to read the advertisements of banking houses offering issues of Argentina railways, and the government and municipal issues of such widely separated places as Brazil, Russia, and Mexico. There is undoubtedly a bid for foreign bond business and there will be more of it as time goes on and it is necessary to make markets in the United States for the securities of all those countries with which we carry on a commercial relation.

It certainly cannot be any great risk to-day to buy the depreciated securities, say, of a republic like Mexico, which has gone through every political and financial ill possible for a government to contract. Nothing worse than has occurred can occur in Mexico.

South American republics had a gruelling experience before the war, and their troubles increased because of the war, but having liquidated their commercial position and reduced their debts, they are probably in a safer condition to-day than in five or more years past. So there is no great danger in buying the best of the securities they issue if offered on an attractive basis.

In the case of such powerful neutrals as Holland, Norway, and Sweden, whose gold deposits have become almost cumbersome, or of Japan, isolated, though a member of the alliance fighting Germany and Austria, but making such large profits from Russia that she can every month or so redeem a large block of her bonds, the values underlying loans are steadily increasing. These countries are not asking much new capital from the United States, and their old government issues, save those of Japan, are not familiar on this side of the water.

Comparative Safety of English, French, and German Bonds

Coming to the obligations of countries directly at war, different problems confront the investor. No one can judge how long the struggle is to continue or what the gross cost of it will be in the end. And these really are the facts that one ought to have an approximate idea of before one can say arbitrarily whether the bonds are or are not available, even for a semi-investment purchase. When the first huge costs of the war began to be observed people spoke under their breath of "possible repudiation of internal debts." Now they shout it from the house-tops as one of the possibilities if not a probability. There is a distinction between an internal and an external debt, however. A nation might be willing, might think it could afford, to cancel obligations held by its own people, while not disposed to run the risk of loss of credit or prestige abroad involved in failure to pay interest on money borrowed from foreigners. It is our opinion, therefore, that whatever the straits to which Great Britain, France, or Germany were put they would manage to meet their coupons on that part of their debt held in the United States.

Under no circumstances, however, would we recommend the buying of Austrian or Hungarian bonds, and the average private investor would do well also to let the large banking groups or corporations finance Russia during the war. There are, of course, many small countries that are in a chronic state of insolvency and whose bonds are hazardous in

all kinds of political weather. During 1915 no less than seventeen states, mainly in Central and South America, defaulted. Honduras has had forty-three years of uninterrupted default. Just what the condition of the exchequer in Turkey and Greece is to-day it is hard to determine. Greece has large balances in the United States but finds it hard to raise enough money to pay her army. Turkish unified 4's have dropped as low as 45, which is lower than Mexican government bonds have sold. Greek 5 per cent. bonds have declined about 20 points to 72.

Business Benefits

In a very able paper recently read by J. Santilhano, before the International Trade Conference, this statement was made:

In order to derive the greatest benefit from our national wealth, we must invest it in such a manner as to obtain, not alone a reasonable return on the money invested, but, following the old maxim that "capital follows the flag" (the commercial flag at any rate), we should prudently place such of our savings as we do not need for domestic development in those fields where our trade and commerce expect to find the greatest opportunities. Is it not a natural sequence that countries requiring apparatus for agricultural and irrigation purposes; locomotives, rails, and trucks for new railroads; cranes, etc., for harbor and dock work; mining machinery, etc., should give the preference to those countries that are willing and able to extend the necessary financial facilities?

Carrying out this idea a corporation composed of powerful American banking interests, in a loan of \$5,000,000 just made to Uruguay, has stipulated that material for the work covered by the loan "shall be purchased in the United States." This is absolutely new foreign business.

Situated as this country is to-day, as the wealthiest nation in the world, with the greatest amount of free capital, and possessing the only market in which securities can be liquidated in payment of commercial debts, it is obvious that its investors and institutions will be compelled to take foreign issues so long as the war lasts, whether they want to or not. Therefore, there should be two points of resistance, viz., that prices are legitimate and that with the purchase should go those commercial benefits attaching to the original issue. If, for instance, France, as seems likely, borrows here heavily again and offers part of her foreign investments as collateral, the concessions that accompanied the loans she made in South America or elsewhere should be a bonus for the participant in the new credit.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 728. INVESTING TRUST FUNDS

I would like to get your recommendations regarding reliable investments suitable for trust funds. Keeping in mind that such funds should be placed on as sound a basis as possible and that good bonds come nearer to that purpose than other investments, I should like to have a detailed list of securities of that kind with good yield.

It is our understanding that if the funds in question are to be invested for a beneficiary whose legal residence is in the District of Columbia, there are no specific restrictions as to the manner of their investment—that is to say that the investment is not subject to the kind of laws that are in force in States like New York and Massachusetts, for example, which prescribe with much precision the securities in which trust funds may be placed.

The guiding principle for an investment to be made under conditions such as those with which you are confronted would be, therefore, merely the exercise of due discrimination to the end that the securities purchased should measure up to the highest standards of their respective types and classes. We make this observation for the reason that, if you were to invest the funds in question in the type and grade of securities prescribed for the investment of trust funds in New York State, for instance, it would scarcely be possible for you to obtain an average yield of more than 5 per cent., if one as high as that. To illustrate, we might mention a few of the standard railroad bonds that are legal investments for savings banks and trust funds in New York. Such are:

- Jamestown Franklin & Clearfield, first mortgage 4's, due in 1959, selling to yield about 4.40 per cent. net;
- Baltimore & Ohio, refunding and general mortgage 5's, due in 1995, selling to yield about 4.95 per cent. net;
- Cleveland Terminal & Valley, first mortgage 4's, due in 1995, selling to yield about 4.55 per cent. net;
- Pennsylvania Railroad, consolidated mortgage 5's, due in 1919, selling to yield 3.95 per cent. net.

It is very often the practise among people in charge of the investment of trust funds, who are not specifically restricted by law as to the securities they may buy, to make their selections for a somewhat higher average net yield from among the better grades of real estate mortgages, which may be based upon either farm or city property, and municipal bonds. In respect to the latter class of investments we have always considered it excellent practise to choose for such a purpose issues that conform to the standards set up by the Federal Government in accepting security for the deposit of Postal Savings Bank funds.

When we come to the matter of making specific recommendations in either of these two latter classes of investment, we are confronted with the difficulty that neither of them contains securities that are well known in the general market. They are, in fact, handled almost altogether in a private way by the investment and mortgage banking houses of recognized standing by direct offering to their clients.

No. 729. CAVEAT EMPTOR

I am sending you some of the literature of a corporation which is offering its stock to a limited number of people in each state. The proposition looks plausible and I am inclined to venture. But I have no money to throw away and feel that I need some advice before taking definite action.

Aside from the fact that the corporation in question does not appear now to be a "going concern" in the sense that it is actually turning out and marketing its product, and that the stock in question, therefore, ought not to be purchased except on the basis of buying into a mere prospect, there are a number of other phases of the proposition which we think call for close consideration.

We have thus far been confronted with difficulty in satisfying ourselves as to the reason why this proposition is not being brought to the attention of the investing public with the sponsorship of some reliable banking house. From experience and observation, we have learned that in the average case of the offering of a stock proposition of this kind without such sponsorship there are underlying reasons inimical to the interests of the individual purchaser of the stock.

Moreover, we think the scheme adopted by the corporation for the distribution of its shares lacks sincerity to say the least. There is, we suppose, nothing fundamentally wrong with it, but it is one which has been used so frequently in connection with the promotion of doubtful stock propositions, that it is not recognized as involving the best financial practise. To make it appear that you are one of a chosen few especially favored residents of your State to be selected as participants in the prospective profits of the enterprise may be excellent psychology from the stock-selling point of view. But do you yourself believe it stands analysis in the light of reason?

No. 730. ILLINOIS CENTRAL

I should be greatly obliged if you would give me information regarding Illinois Central Railway stock, including the present condition of the company and its prospects.

We are at some loss to know whether you want general information about the history and capitalization of this company or whether you are merely desirous of knowing something about the present status of the road in respect to earnings, etc. The following suggestions, however, may prove adequate to your requirements.

For the fiscal year ended June 30 last, Illinois Central reported net income, after charges, amounting to \$6,859,162 compared with \$8,138,824 for the previous fiscal year. In other words, indicated earnings on the capital stock outstanding were the equivalent of about 6¼ per cent. for the last fiscal year compared with nearly 7½ per cent. for the previous fiscal year.

From official figures reported thus far, for the current fiscal year, it appears that when the final accounts are cast up surplus earnings available for dividends should show the equivalent of about 9¼ per cent. on the stock. This, you will note, is a considerable improvement over the last two years and in fact over every year since 1911, when the equivalent of about 10¼ per cent. was earned on the common stock. The present rate of annual dividend is 5 per cent.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE GREAT PREPAREDNESS PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY ON MAY 13

More than 100,000 of the city's business and professional men and women marched up Fifth Avenue, passing the marching band, troops, etc., at the rate of 100 ft. per hour. The resolution of organization they made early in March possible was due to the executive genius of Grand Marshal William H. Stearns.

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No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Chicago, the
Political
Focus*

During the opening days of June, Chicago will become our political Mecca, crowded with pilgrims from every part of the country. The fate of the Republican party is at stake. A notable chapter of political history is to be written. It was predicted four years ago that the period of great quadrennial conventions was virtually at an end. It was believed that the system of party primaries would become perfected with the passage of a national Presidential primary act, and that the choice of candidates would be so effectively determined by these preliminary methods that the conventions would have little more to do than to adopt party platforms and provide for campaign committees. It has not, however, worked out as appeared probable three or four years ago. No national primary system has yet been adopted, and only a portion of the individual States have enacted primary laws of their own that provide for expressions of prefer-

ence as to Presidential candidates. Thus the Republican convention of 1916 will act with full responsibility. Even in the States where the primaries were of the highest significance four years ago, when the Republicans were definitely choosing between Taft and Roosevelt, the results this year have been of such character that they have been quite inconclusive as to selection of national leaders. Where such State primaries have resulted in favor of a particular candidate, they have for the most part designated the State's own "favorite son" as a matter of compliment. These "favorite sons," by a tacit agreement, did not allow their names to appear in the primaries of each other's States. Thus Mr. Burton in his own State of Ohio had a clear field as regards such candidates as Senator Sherman of Illinois, Mr. Fairbanks of Indiana, and Senator Cummins of Iowa. As for the names most prominent in the newspapers and among the voters—these names being Roosevelt, Hughes, and Root—they were not presented at the primaries. Thus it happens that the Republican convention of 1916 will be made up of uninstructed delegates to a far greater extent not only than that of 1912, but it will also be less affected by positive instructions than any convention held within more than twenty years.

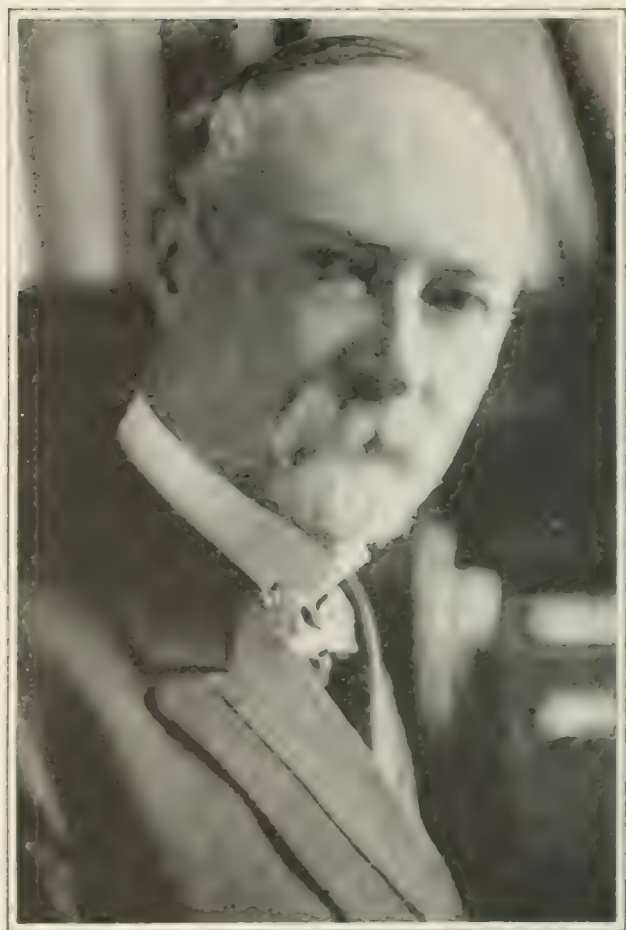
*Some
of the
Candidates*

There have been many people willing to venture a prediction as to the outcome of this Republican convention. But most of the men whose political information is extensive do not pretend to know what will happen. There are exceedingly able and shrewd political observers in Indiana who have canvassed the entire country and persuaded themselves that Mr. Fairbanks will be the candidate. There are others, using somewhat the same processes of logical elimination, who think that Senator Harding of Ohio (who will be the



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LEAP YEAR—AND THE WEDDING DAY SO NEAR!
From the *Tribune* (Chicago).

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HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, OF INDIANA,
FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT

temporary chairman of the convention) will emerge as the Presidential nominee. So important a newspaper as the *New York Times* has allowed its most conspicuous political writing to be done by a member of its staff who has convinced himself that the head of the Republican ticket will be either Mr. Herbert Hadley, of the State of Missouri, or Major-General Leonard Wood, the distinguished officer now in charge of the military Department of the East. The friends of Senator Weeks and Governor McCall of Massachusetts still see reasons for thinking that after fruitless balloting the delegates may unite upon one or the other of these typical Republican statesmen of New England. There will be an influential group of delegates supporting Mr. Root of New York. Their arguments will be as positive as those supporting the Fairbanks movement are of the opposite character.

Senator
Sherman

The supporters of Senator Sherman, of Illinois, use a third method also recognized in the textbooks on logic—namely, the method of analogy. They recall the situation in 1860. The affairs of the nation then were critical, and they are critical to-day. An Illi-

nois man of humble origin, Abraham Lincoln by name, gained the nomination over Seward, Chase, and the other great party leaders. The chief argument for Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, as presented in the campaign literature distributed by his supporters, lies in their claim that he is as crude and ungainly as it was the fashion once to regard Lincoln. Yet we know now—and many people knew then—that Lincoln was a much abler man than Seward, with a finer knowledge and use of the English language and a greater power of leadership. But if there were those who knew that Lincoln was equal to Seward in many ways, and superior to him in others, it is not yet claimed by Senator Sherman's supporters that he is a statesman like Root, a lawyer and orator like Hughes, or a supreme leader and administrator like Roosevelt. Senator Sherman has not yet secured a following outside of his own State. That he has virtues and merits nobody doubts. That he is another Lincoln is incredible on the face of the evidence as yet presented.

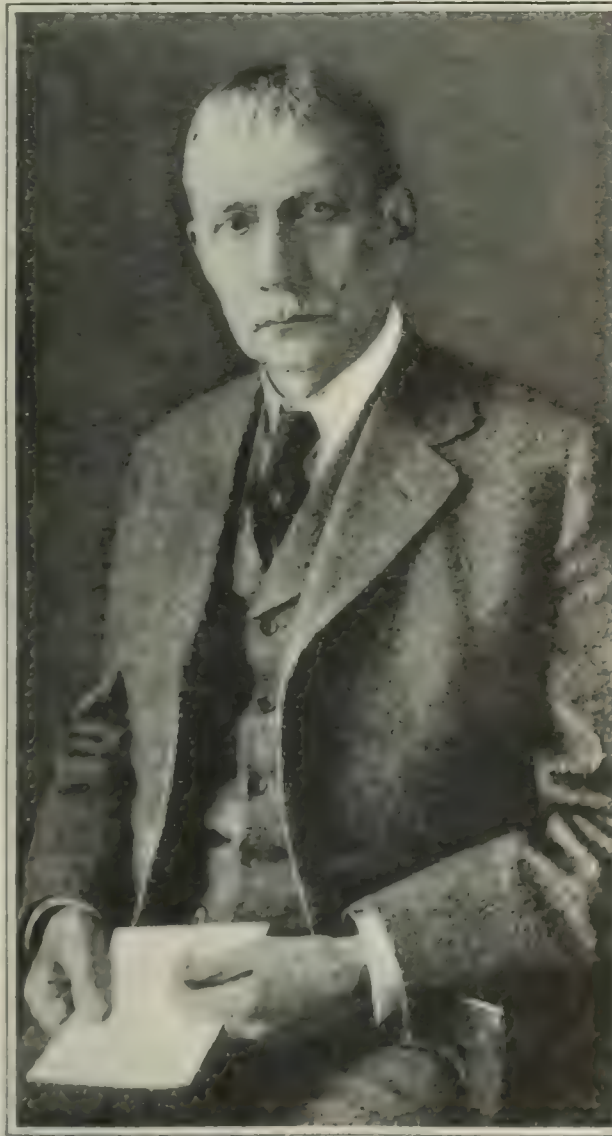
Senator
Cummins

Senator Cummins, of Iowa, is incomparably the ablest and best qualified of the Western candidates. All lawyers respect him for his deserved eminence at the bar. All administrators know of his remarkable record as Governor of Iowa for three terms. Men of intellect in the Capitol at Washington know him as a fellow-legislator of an ability that places him in the highest rank. But the railroad and corporate interests of the East have thought of Senator Cummins as a little too radical; the "standpatters" remember his undaunted fight—along with Dolliver, Beveridge, and others—against the worst features of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill; and there are many politicians who remember that, after calmly studying the facts of 1912, he repudiated the Taft nomination and supported Roosevelt while successfully maintaining his position in the Republican party. Senator Cummins' record is singular in that he had refused to be identified with any one of the several great blunders of the Republican party. Thus there would seem to be four men whose candidacies will be considered in the convention on positive grounds, these being Roosevelt and Hughes, Root and Cummins. Others, like Burton, will also be urged as positively desirable; yet the chief arguments for them will be those of compromise and political availability.

Roosevelt,
Root, and
Others

There is a great popular demand for the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. It is natural that the politicians and newspapers opposed to him should have tried to minimize this wave of Roosevelt sentiment. A few months ago it seemed quite impossible that his name should be seriously considered in the Republican convention. If he should be nominated, it will not be due to any scheming or planning, but because of a nation-wide call that the politicians will feel obliged to heed. As the situation shapes itself and the period of the active campaign approaches, it becomes increasingly apparent that Mr. Wilson and the Democrats are not to be easily defeated. The Republicans will have to find strong and positive leadership, and must adopt a definite and courageous platform or they will enter the contest with poor prospects of success. That there is a demand for Mr. Root is beyond doubt; but when carefully tested this demand seems to relate chiefly to Mr. Root's fitness for the portfolio of State. All Republicans and Progressives alike—together with many Democrats—would heartily favor Mr. Root for his old position as Secretary of State. Mr. Roosevelt, as a leader of American opinion, has been more conspicuous in recent months than any other man. His general point of view concerning national issues has always been that of the unbossed mass of the Republican party. It should be said that Mr. Root, through a long period of his life, stood in New York as an opponent of boss rule, that Mr. Hughes came forward upon his merits as an intellectual and moral leader in public affairs, that Mr. Burton, Senator Cummins, and other candi-

dates have made a like record, and that there are no influential schemes on foot to select an unworthy ticket in the Republican convention. But the conditions of the world call for preëminent guidance in public affairs; and no party can go strongly before the country unless it can show itself capable of high patriotism, and unless it can lay aside petty things and recognize the largest issues while accepting genuine and courageous leadership.



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HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK
(From a photograph taken last month)

The Make-up
of the
Convention

The National Committee will not play the determining part in creating this convention, as it did in that of four years ago. In 1912 the committee sat for many days in advance, dealing with contests; and the control of the convention was secured in accordance with the political views of the National Committee by the way in which it seated and unseated claimants. This year the disputed seats will be relatively few in number, and will relate almost entirely to States like Louisiana and Georgia, where the Republican party has no real strength. The great scandal of Republican conventions ever since the Civil War has been the manipulation of the large delegations from the Southern States. The overwhelming preference of the Republican States four years ago was defeated by votes from States and island dependencies which could render no aid in the election of a Republican ticket. Since 1912 the basis of representation has been improved, although the reform has been far from radical. Thus Georgia will have 16 delegates instead of 28; Louisiana and Mississippi will each have 12 instead of 20; and Texas will have 26 instead of 40. Virginia will have 16 instead of 24, and the same is



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THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(1, William F. Stone, sergeant-at-arms; 2, Alvah H. Martin, of Virginia; 3, James P. Goodrich, of Indiana; 4, Fred Stanley, of Kansas; 5, Ralph E. Williams, of Oregon; 6, John T. Adams, of Iowa; 7, Fred W. Upham, of Illinois; 8, T. K. Niedringhaus, of Missouri; 9, George R. Sheldon, treasurer; 10, James B. Reynolds, secretary; 11, Charles D. Hilles, of New York, chairman; 12, Charles B. Warren, of Michigan; 13, F. W. Estabrook, of New Hampshire; 14, Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey; 15, E. C. Duncan, of North Carolina)

true of Alabama. South Carolina will have 11 instead of 18, Arkansas 15 instead of 18, Florida 8 instead of 12, and North Carolina 21 instead of 24. This year's convention allows four delegates-at-large to each State and one to each Congressional district. In addition to these, it allows one more delegate from each district where the Republican vote in 1908 was over 7500. The total number of delegates will be 985, as against 1078 four years ago. There is still an undue preponderance of votes from States which are not expected to give the Republicans any electoral votes. Thus Texas has the same strength in the convention that California or Iowa has. Nevertheless, the new basis is a distinct improvement.

No
Preliminary
Hitches

Furthermore, the Republican party hopes to become established in all States, this being true of the Democratic party, which, in a three-cornered fight, four years ago, stood well even in Vermont, and which is strongly organized in every State of the Union. There are now only about four States in the South in which the Republicans have not even a respectable minority. This year's convention will not be seriously disturbed over contests for seats, and will be able to proceed rapidly to its main tasks when it opens on the morning of Wednesday, June 7. Senator Harding, of Ohio, will be offered to the convention as its temporary presiding officer, and will be accepted. He will make a speech

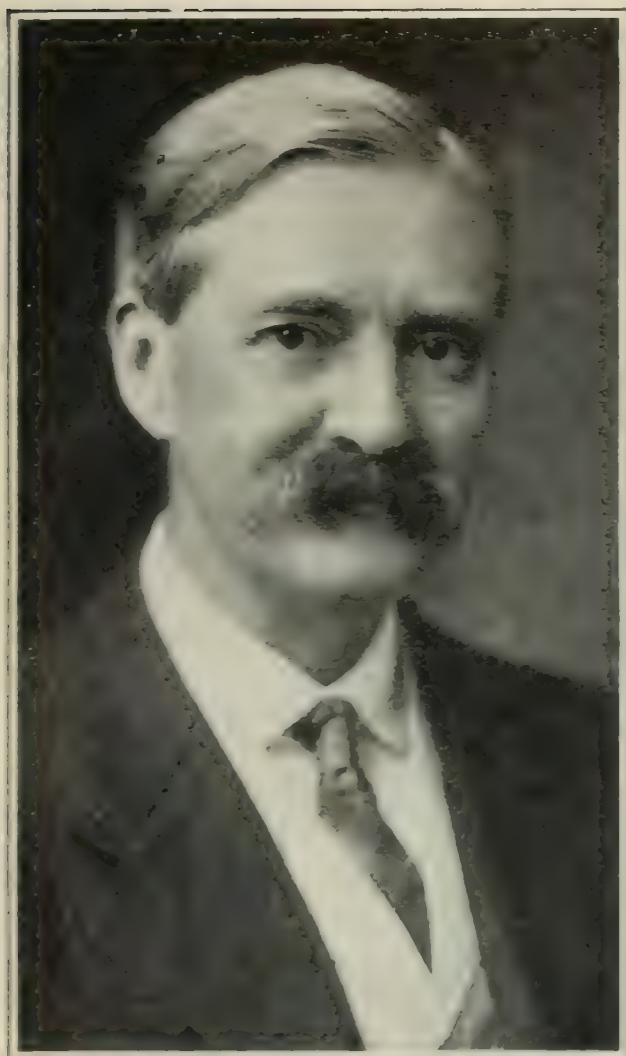
that may have a good deal of effect upon the tone of the convention and the temper of its subsequent proceedings. There is always an attempt on the part of active groups, cliques, or interests, to press upon the Resolutions Committee a platform prepared in advance, and thus to control the formal expressions that are to go before the country as the party's creed for the contest. But it is not likely that a "cut-and-dried" platform will be accepted this year from any quarter.

Progressives
to be
Consulted

It is to be remembered that the Republicans hope to find it possible to make common cause this year with the Progressives. That means that

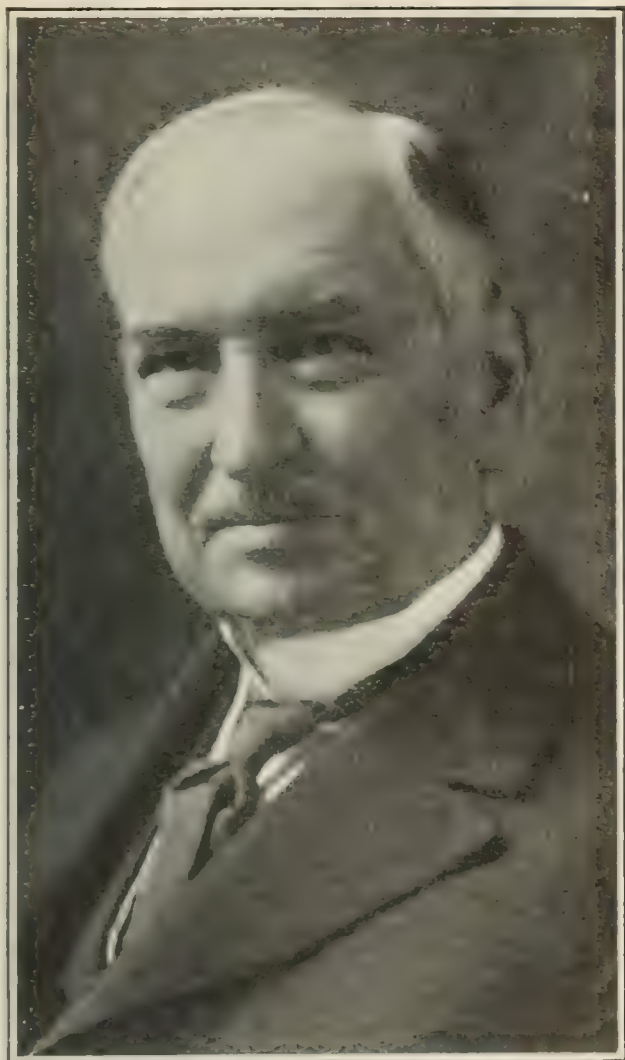


THE AUDITORIUM THEATER, AT CHICAGO, WHERE THE PROGRESSIVES WILL CONVENE



© M. T. S. Chicago

SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA
(Who is the foremost Western candidate)



© Edmonston, Washington D. C.

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, OF OHIO
(Who is one of the leading candidates)

there must be agreement upon the essentials of a platform, as well as upon candidates. Two-thirds of the actual Republican voters are progressive rather than reactionary; while a great majority of the members of the Progressive party are far from being irreconcilable radicals or socialists. The Progressive convention will meet at Chicago on the same date as the Republican. It will be a little larger in membership than the other body, this being due to some peculiarities in the representation. The Auditorium Theater, in which the convention will meet, will have seats for 4000 people. If they cannot cooperate with the Republicans, the Progressives will undoubtedly put a ticket of their own in the field. The people of the United States are not in a partisan mood, and will not look very favorably upon a kind of political jockeying at Chicago that would disregard the large and world-wide problems that ought to engage the attention of all public men. If leading political parties cannot arise to the call of the times, there will be non-partisan tickets before August.

*Common
Sentiment in
Two Parties*

It does not now appear that Mr. Wilson—who will be renominated by acclamation in the Democratic convention that opens at St. Louis on June 14—will be a weak candidate. It will take the united strength of the Republicans and Progressives to bring about a Democratic defeat. If Republican and Progressive voters were all brought together in a solid mass and their preferences were ascertained, it would undoubtedly be shown that Mr. Roosevelt had a clear lead over any other candidate. The Progressive voters are, naturally, all for Mr. Roosevelt. There are several million Republican voters, most of whom would be ready to support Roosevelt if given the chance. The opposition to him is not chiefly in the rank and file, but chiefly among the leaders and their organs. If a comparatively small number of these leaders should finally decide to join the Progressives in supporting Roosevelt, both parties would accept the result with enthusiasm and with the understanding that if he were elected his administration would be made up

of the ablest and strongest public men who were available. As a second choice, the sentiment of the total mass of Republican and Progressive voters at the present time would



HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES, OF NEW YORK, FORMERLY GOVERNOR, NOW MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

(From a new photograph by Bachrach, Washington)

seem to be in favor of asking Justice Hughes to retire from the bench of the Supreme Court and accept the joint nomination. If such a decision were reached at Chicago, it would be accepted and strongly supported by the rank and file as well as the leaders of both parties. Justice Hughes is regarded very highly by Republican members of Congress, has a strong following in the State of New York, would be acceptable to New England, and is much in the mind of intelligent Republicans in some Western States.

Need of a Position Attitude Having recently become a judge, Mr. Hughes was not involved in the political differences of 1912. He is a man of marked intellectual power, and has a reputation for firmness and courage. He has not Mr. Roosevelt's talent for working in close as-

sociation with many men towards the accomplishment of a desired result. His views upon the foremost of current issues are not known to the public. If he is in general agreement with the methods and views of the present Democratic administration, the country might with difficulty be persuaded to elect him even if he were nominated by Republicans and Progressives alike. For the logic of the situation would be mainly on the side of the people now bearing the burdens and responsibilities. The only possibility of Republican victory lies in strong leadership by men who have intense convictions in opposition to the methods and policies of the present administration as regards (1) the preparation of this country to defend itself, and to support its views of peace and its views of right and wrong, in times of world-war; (2) the Mexican situation; (3) the rights of neutrals as trampled upon by European belligerents; (4) the Philippine question; (5) issues relating to Panama and the Canal. Besides these and other questions having to do with our external relations and our world position, there are matters of much less importance in these abnormal times, having to do with the tariff, with public expenditure, public income, and so on.

The Compromise Position Would Fail

It is to be assumed that Justice Hughes would not for a moment consider an invitation to leave the bench and make a campaign for the Presidency if he were not as strongly opposed to the Wilson policies and methods as are Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt. The

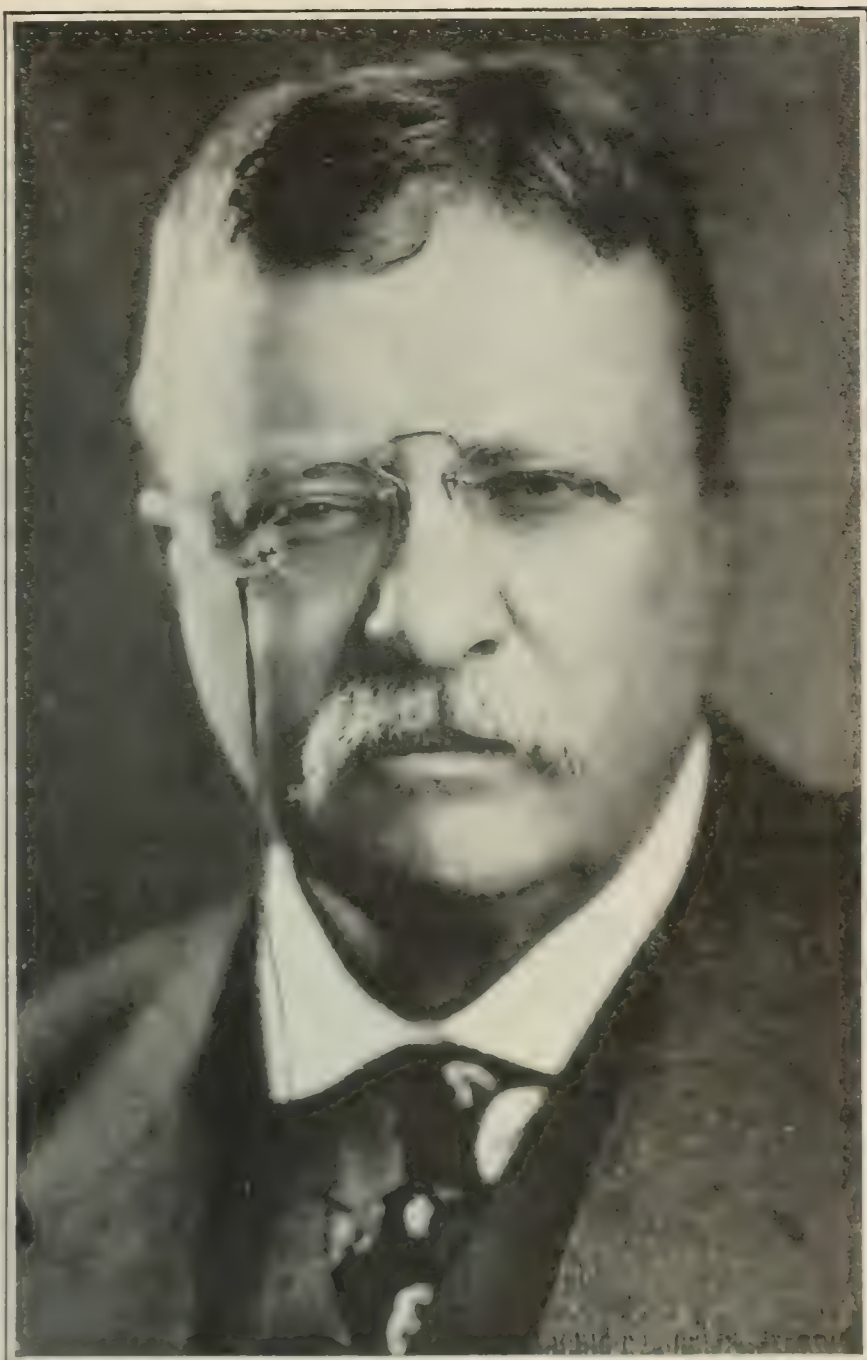


HE MAY COME TO CONSCRIPTION
(From the Dispatch, Columbus)

weakness of some of the other Republican candidates, apart from their lack of a wide recognition as men of the first order of ability and leadership, lies in their having failed to convince the country that they would have handled great issues in a totally different way if they had been in Mr. Wilson's place. Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Root, beyond a doubt, would in this period of emergency have handled army and navy questions, the Mexican issue, the problem of neutral rights as against European belligerents, the Philippines, and the West Indian and Central American situations, in a manner wholly different from the treatment those questions have had at the hands of President Wilson. The times that are immediately ahead of us are regarded by many thoughtful men as more dangerous and critical for our country than those through which we have been passing. Within the next four years there are to be great emergencies and also profound readjustments.

*The Great
American
Program*

There are those who have a conception of an administration that should include Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, and other men of prominence and experience, and which should be supported by a reorganized Senate and House of new and strong leadership. People of this way of thinking know what they want to vote for, and have no doubt whatever as to the importance of working for the program that their constructive imaginations have formulated. It is perhaps true that Justice Hughes would fit into such a plan and program. But there are men who would be willing to support either Roosevelt or Root, and who think that Hughes would have admirable qualities of availability as a candidate, who hesitate because they are as yet in doubt as to what would become of their ideal of a great American program un-



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COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, AS HE LOOKS THIS YEAR

der his management as President. We are not attempting to do anything else in these comments except to bring before our readers the general conditions under which the conventions are about to be held. Mr. Roosevelt has not been trying to force himself upon the country, much less upon a reluctant group of "Old Guard" Republican politicians. He has been proclaiming views and principles, and appealing for his "great American program." Those who are opposed to a program of this kind should bring forward a definitely different one, in order that the Republican party may stand for something explicit when it has adopted its platform. If Mr. Hughes is to be the candidate, it becomes more than ever impor-

tant that the platform should be adopted before the candidate has indicated his acceptance; for in the case of Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Root the candidate would in some real sense be his own platform, while in that of Mr. Hughes there has been no hint of his views upon the foremost issues of the past two years.

*Is the Country
in Heroic
Mood?*

Perhaps, after all, the country is not in a sufficiently heroic mood to justify the Republicans in taking Mr. Roosevelt or even Mr. Root for leadership this year. The revival of business prosperity has brought a good deal of blinded contentment, particularly throughout the great Mississippi Valley. If the Republicans at Chicago try to cater to this mood, they will furnish so good an argument for the reelection of Mr. Wilson and for an increased majority of Democrats in both houses of Congress, that it would be almost farcical to put a ticket in the field. They must either condemn, sweepingly and soundly, the military bill completed last

tell what they know to be the truth about it, they will offend very powerful political elements that have made this military bill the farcical and vicious thing that it actually is. The measure calls for the largest possible looting of the Treasury, for the smallest possible military results. It offers nothing of appreciable value for safeguards against dangers that might arise in the immediate future, and its provisions would amount to very little at any time, if real trouble arose.

*Will Republicans
"Side-Step"
the Army Bill?*

Almost every feature of the act is based upon obsolete and rejected principles. Every intelligent man knows that we need an army highly professionalized as regards officers, equipment, and special services, and highly democratized as respects citizen service. The plan of a small hired army had been clung to by the English, by the United States, and by China. It had been rejected by all other nations, great and small. It is now rejected by England. It is dead in China, as a result of the revolution—we alone remain on the medieval basis of the mercenary army. There is no prospect that we shall be able to hire the additional 100,000 men, more or less, that the new bill nominally adds to the regular army. Under the right kind of system we could train millions of young men, even without resorting to the principle of compulsion. The National Guard feature of the bill is radically wrong, but since it is altogether the creation of politics it will be difficult to denounce it in a convention that must deal with political considerations. The Chicago Republican Convention will be in a truly heroic mood if it allows men like Senator Borah to write the plank denouncing the new military bill and to tell the truth about it explicitly. Yet if the Republicans, in the great emergencies that face the whole world, are afraid to tell the truth about the National Guard lobby and the evils of the new law, why should the Republicans presume to ask the country to let them control legislation instead of the Democrats?

*A Feared
Scheme on
Power*

There had been radical differences in the army-reorganization plans agreed upon in the two branches of Congress, and the measures were referred to a conference committee on April 25. The House steadfastly refused to concur in the Senate's provision for a Federal volunteer army, and was equally firm against the proposal of a standing army of 250,000. In conference committee a compromise was



Illustrated by the American Press Association, New York

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH OF IDAHO

Mr. Borah has been much mentioned as a possible Republican nominee, and has been conspicuous in his opposition to the Democratic military bill.

month at Washington, or they must condone it. If they condone it they will have gone on record as declaring that the Administration and the Democratic Congress are dealing adequately with the problem of "preparedness." If they condemn it fearlessly, and



THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD, WITH MR. THOMAS A. EDISON IN THE CENTER, AS SEEN IN THE GREAT PREPAREDNESS PARADE IN NEW YORK, MAY 13

agreed upon, fixing the maximum peace strength at 186,000 officers and men, exclusive of quartermaster, medical, and signal departments. That is the estimate of Mr. Chamberlain, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Chairman Hay, of the House Committee (the leading opponent of "preparedness" in Congress), has issued a formal statement maintaining that there will be only 175,000 soldiers, and that if ever the army has that strength it will be after five years. Meanwhile he hopes that Congress will repeal the provisions of increase. The conference agreement was reached on May 13. Four days later the Senate adopted the compromise measure without roll call, and it was expected that the House would follow suit without delay. The Army bill is merely a scheme for hiring men to be soldiers on enlistment contract. There is nothing that appeals to patriotism in this method, and the wages are not attractive as against other opportunities. Consequently, the men can not be found, and the army enlargement is merely a futile scheme on paper. On March 15, Congress authorized the enlistment of 20,000 men at once to bring existing regiments to full strength in view of the Mexican issue. After two months fewer than 7000 men had been secured.

"Preparedness" in Civic Demonstrations Certainly it does not appear that the action of Congress will be accepted by the country as a reasonable answer to the demand for preparedness. The bill was approaching completion when the Preparedness Parade in New York City, on May 13, took form as a definite protest. This was the greatest civic demonstration in the history of New York. More than 125,000 people marched in formal array, several thousand of whom were women, including many hundreds of trained nurses. The numbers were restricted, because no more could have passed the reviewing stand in a single day. The parade was organized and led by Mr. Charles H. Sherrill; and upon the reviewing stand were Mayor Mitchel, Major-General Wood, Admiral Usher, and many others. It was a non-partisan expression of the sentiment of the business interests of New York. Chicago is to have a parade of like character on June 3, and it is announced that St. Louis and many other cities have agreed to make demonstrations upon that date. The idea of the training of young men, and the duty of citizen service, begins to take hold of the public mind. Colonel Roosevelt, on May 19, made a great plea for preparedness at Detroit, Mich., this city having been regarded as the



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A FILE OF TRAINED NURSES (OF WHOM THERE WERE HUNDREDS) IN THE NEW YORK PREPAREDNESS PARADE

chief center of so-called "pacifism" by reason of Mr. Henry Ford's influence as a propagandist in his home community.

*New York
Will Train
Its Boys*

Public opinion in the State of New York has resulted in the adoption of bills by the legislature—duly approved by Governor Whitman—providing for compulsory physical and military instruction in the public schools. Physical training will apply to all, boys and girls alike, over eight years of age. Between sixteen and nineteen, schoolboys will receive military and disciplinary training three hours each week, with a period of two weeks in camp. Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, has endorsed the new legislation, although contending that the obligation should rest upon all boys, whether in school or at work. The discipline and physical instruction will be of inestimable value to boys at a most critical period in their lives, and even in times of peace will contribute materially to the welfare of their State and nation. A third measure adopted by the New York Legislature and approved by Governor Whitman provides, under certain circumstances, for compulsory service in the National Guard. If the standard of efficiency or public service demands more Guardsmen than the present system brings forward, the authorities of any city or town may compel enlistments.

*The Military
Training
Camps*

In the army bill provision is made for the expenses of men attending the military training camps. Even without such governmental

aid, however, enrolments for the various camps have been coming in in large numbers. Last year some 2500 men attended the three successive camps held at Plattsburg, N. Y., the one at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, and the one at Monterey, California. This year five camps are to be held at Plattsburg, three at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, three at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indianapolis, one each at San Antonio and Galveston, Texas (if border conditions permit), and one each at Monterey, California, Salt Lake City, Utah, and American Lake, Washington. The number of enrolments for these sixteen citizens' training camps reached a total of 12,000 in the middle of last month. More than eight thousand had at that time registered for Plattsburg alone, with enrolments coming in at the rate of two hundred a day. It has been estimated that more than 20,000 men will this summer attend the various training camps throughout the country. Congress having now decided to pay the expenses of these volunteers for military training, the movement will doubtless be greatly stimulated.

*For Boys, and
Women, Too!*

Owing to an insistent demand, a subdivision of the Plattsburg Camp for the especial benefit of school boys from fifteen to eighteen years of age will be held at Fort Terry, on Plum Island, N. Y., from July 6 to August 10. There is a government artillery post at this place, affording an opportunity to the boys to learn something of the working of the coast-defense guns, while at the same time giving them sufficient leisure for recreation.

Even the women have become interested in military training, and several camps for their sex have recently been held, the most prominent being located at Washington and called the "National Service School." At this camp such things as first-aid and surgical dressing, and telegraphy and signalling are taught, the course lasting two weeks.

A Naval "Plattsburg" An interesting application of the "Plattsburg idea" to the navy is the training cruise planned by the Navy Department for civilians during the summer. This cruise will be made on reserve battleships and will run from August 15 to September 12. Its object is to train a body of reserves for the navy, as well as to give citizens an acquaintance with naval matters and to foster a patriotic interest in that arm of national defense. Recruits for the course must qualify with some knowledge of seamanship and maritime matters, or be familiar with some trade or profession that can be utilized on board ship. This naval training course promises to prove highly attractive to young men who have a taste for the sea, and the date set for the close of enrolments, June 1, will doubtless find applications from more men than can be accommodated.

As to Our Naval Policy The Naval bills, based upon the program announced by the President and Secretary Daniels more than six months ago, are still pending in the committees. During much of that period there have been numerous sittings for the hearing of expert testimony. The fate of the program is wholly uncertain, and it is not even known when the committees will be prepared to report. Many of the Republican Congressmen are opposed to the plan of spreading the building of new ships over a period of five years. They would prefer to issue bonds for the creation of a large navy to be constructed at once. A number of Democratic Congressmen, on the other hand, are opposed to the Administration's plan because they are not in favor of battleships and battle-cruisers. In any case, there will be difficulty about finding men enough to man the ships, and here again the heroic deed must be invoked by the Republicans or else the Administration's views and methods must be condoned. Those who favor a strong navy believe that the United States will not be drawn into difficulties in facing its duties and responsibilities in the world, if it is strong enough to secure whole-



Photograph by American Press Association, New York

REAR-ADMIRAL CAPERTON, U. S. N.

(Who has been in command of the American sailors and marines endeavoring to maintain peace and order in the little West Indian republics of Santo Domingo and Haiti.)

some respect in all quarters. Those who like the way the party now in power has been dealing with the navy problems and the army question ought not to find it difficult to vote the Democratic ticket this year. Thus if the Republican party does not take, in the most explicit way, a different position from that of the Administration and the Democratic Congress, it will be inviting its own defeat.

Men Needed for the Navy Indications late in May were that the Daniels program would not be accepted even by the Democrats of Congress, although there will doubtless be a number of battle-cruisers ordered, and a good many submarines for next year's authorized construction. The provision for aeroplanes is not likely to be as large as the more progressive experts demand. Steps are, of course, being taken to increase the number of young naval officers under training, but some wholly new system will have to be invented for making it to the advantage of young Americans to serve for a time at sea. It is almost im-



THE ARMORED CRUISER "TENNESSEE" IN MIRAFLORES LOCKS, PANAMA CANAL

(Secretary McAdoo, with other officials, was on board this ship, returning from the commercial conference at Buenos Aires and other visits in South America.)

possible to operate the naval vessels now in commission, because of the shortage of men. Our naval officers, including also engineers and constructors, are well trained and worthy of confidence. The American Navy as a whole has a useful and beneficent mission to perform in the years to come. To guard well the interests committed to us will not retard, but will hasten, the day when all navies can be greatly reduced and when international policing can be made a minimum rather than a maximum burden.

*An
Honorable
Service*

Meanwhile the Navy is doing many useful things for the country's welfare and honor. In Santo Domingo and Haiti, during recent weeks, Admiral Caperton has been protecting lawful interests and preventing revolutionary chaos. Upon the cruiser *Tennessee*, Secretary McAdoo, of the Treasury Department, with a group of officials and experts in business and finance, has been attending a trade conference at Buenos Aires and visiting other South American ports and capitals, in the interest of Western-Hemisphere harmony and prosperity. Admiral Fletcher has retired from the active command of the Atlantic Fleet, and has been succeeded by Admiral Mayo. With naval

stations to be developed on the coasts of Nicaragua, and the rapid increase of our interests and responsibilities in the West Indies and Central America, the Navy has new claims for efficiency and enlargement. Furthermore, the sharp and unexpected revolt of some thirty members of the House of Representatives against the Administration's scheme to abandon the Philippines, has significance that must be expressed in naval terms. It means that the United States proposes to support its position in the Pacific, and carry out the undertakings to which it is already committed. A marked enlargement of our naval strength in the Pacific therefore becomes necessary.

*Democrats
in Council*

How all these questions of the Army, the Navy, the Philippines, Mexico, and various others, are to be treated at St. Louis constitutes the chief element of interest in the doings of the great Democratic National Convention that will open on Wednesday, June 14, just one week later than the Republican convention at Chicago. Hon. Martin H. Glynn, of Albany, N. Y., who filled out William Sulzer's term as Governor, has been selected as the man who in his capacity as chairman will make the "keynote" speech.

He will have to justify the work of President Wilson's administration and the doings of two Democratic Congresses. Mr. Glynn is facile and eloquent, and will doubtless hold his own in an oratorical contest with Senator Harding, who has a similar task to perform at Chicago. But it will be easier to secure applause for Mr. Glynn's championship of President Wilson and his clever thrusts at Republican inconsistency than for the Democratic cohorts to agree upon the platform of principles. For twenty years Mr. William J. Bryan has taken the leading part in preparing national Democratic platforms. He was defeated in the Nebraska primaries which chose the delegates; and he declines to accept a delegate's seat from some other State. But he will be at St. Louis in his capacity as editor of the *Commoner*, and he will not be without great influence. Furthermore, there are many Democrats who hold former Secretary Garrison's views; while the Democrats of Texas and the Southwest are far from satisfied with the Administration's Mexican policy. It is agreed that President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall are to be renominated by acclamation. Judge Westcott, of New Jersey, who made the speech placing Governor Wilson in nomination in 1912, will this year nominate President Wilson for another term. Missouri's public men are prominent in this Administration, and the convention will be held in congenial atmosphere. Champ Clark of Missouri is Speaker of the House; Senator Stone is the President's spokesman in all



HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN, OF NEW YORK

matters of foreign policy in the upper chamber; Secretary Houston, of St. Louis, is the most sagacious member of the cabinet; Hon. Joseph W. Folk is a factor in the governing group at Washington; Hon. David R. Francis, Missouri's most distinguished citizen, has now gone as Ambassador to Russia.



THE COLISEUM AT ST. LOUIS, WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WILL BE HELD



HON. JOHN W. WESTCOTT, OF NEW JERSEY, WHO WILL MAKE THE WILSON NOMINATING SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS

(Judge Westcott is now Attorney-General of his State, and is a candidate for the seat in the United States Senate now held by Mr. Martine)

*German
Crisis
Ended*

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the opposing parties will be able to make political capital out of President Wilson's recent dealings with European governments. On April 19 the President appeared before Congress and read to the legislators the principal parts of an arraignment he had just sent to the German Government regarding its use of submarines against merchant ships. He had told Germany to change its policy or face an immediate break of diplomatic relations with the United States. Thoughtful people were not able to discover a clear reason for taking this precise attitude toward Germany now, rather than on any one of a series of occasions extending back for considerably more than a year. Nevertheless, the country was prepared to stand by the President; and the results were awaited with deep anxiety because at least nine-tenths of the American people have desired to maintain official neutrality and not to be at outs with any Government whatsoever. Germany's reply was dated May 5 and published in the American newspapers of the following morning. It was a long document, and exceedingly uncomplimentary to the United States Government; yet it announced a change in German submarine policy. It explained that

German naval forces had received the following order:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.

Herr von Jagow, the Foreign Secretary, paid his respects in a very searching manner to the violations of maritime international law on the part of the Allies, that our Government by its methods of dealing had unquestionably condoned and encouraged. Everyone knows that Germany's submarine policy was entered upon as a mode of reprisal, and that it was not directed primarily against neutrals, although neutrals have greatly suffered by it and are justified in demanding that it shall be made to conform to established rules. On May 8, Secretary Lansing sent a brief and very admirable reply to Berlin, "accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries." The German note appealed to the United States to make more vigorous and efficient attempts to secure the observance of international law by England and the Allies. Our



"IRRITATING, BUT ACCEPTABLE"
From the *American* (Baltimore)

Government in reply declared that it did not understand Germany to make its reformed practice conditional upon England's reforming her courses on the high seas. At this stage of the war, after twenty-one months of fighting, as Herr von Jagow declared, the German people could not contemplate anything "seriously threatening the maintenance of peace between the two nations." We are now told, on the one hand, that the Administration will claim and secure re-election for having kept the country out of war with Germany. We are told, on the other hand, that the Administration's course has created a series of painful crises, extending through an entire year, and that its dallying methods have kept us in constant danger, whereas a clear course from the start would have been both safe and honorable. The country must decide for itself between these two views.

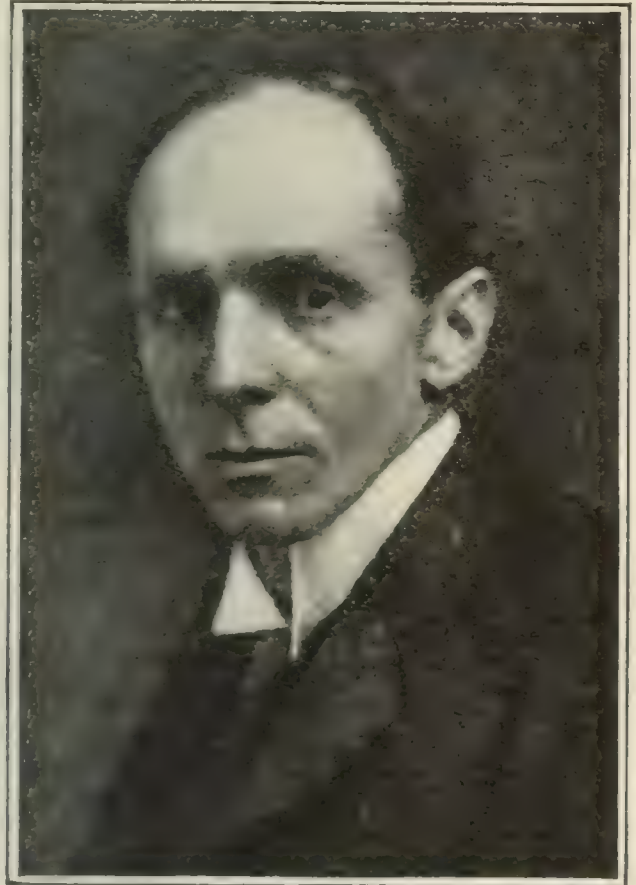


Col. E. M. House, of Texas and New York.

(Who has represented the President in Europe and has been his most ardent advocate in the policy that has resulted in the present improved understanding with Germany.)

Beginning with the date of the German concession to the views of the United States, Lord Robert Cecil, British Minister of Blockade, began to announce a series of modifications in the arbitrary methods that he had been

enforcing under so-called Orders in Council. It remains to be seen whether or not these will amount to anything important. Great Britain and France had, late in April, after more than five months of delay, made answer to our protest of last autumn, in which the illegality of the so-called "blockade" was



LORD ROBERT CECIL, BRITISH MINISTER OF BLOCKADE

(A new cabinet post, entitled "the Ministry of Blockade," has charge of the enforcement of the Orders in Council under which Germany is not allowed to obtain any supplies by sea. Lord Robert is a son of a former Premier, the late Marquis of Salisbury, and a cousin of Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, now head of the Navy Department.)

set forth. This answer defends the broader lines of Allied maritime policy, while paving the way for recessions in detail. Lord Robert Cecil and his colleagues had evidently come to the conclusion last month that they had been at too little pains to speak out and defend themselves. It was correctly assumed in Germany that the American Government had put itself in a position where it could not possibly avoid following up its earlier complaints against British Orders in Council, without stultifying itself. On May 15 it was announced that Secretary Lansing was preparing "a new and sharp note in amplified protest against British seizure and detention of American and other neutral mails." With the announcement there was given out by the State Department much information to

justify the sending of the proposed note. In the middle of May the British Government yielded to the United States and gave up the thirty-eight civilian subjects of Germany and her allies who had been forcibly taken off of the American steamship *China* in Philippine waters some weeks ago. It is the duty of our Government, regardless of sympathy or inclination, to secure the observance of the rights of neutrals.

*Our
Plight in
Mexico*

As the political campaign opens, it will perhaps be found that the Administration's Mexican policy will be a matter of sharper controversy than its methods of dealing with the European belligerents. Nothing could be more drastic than Colonel Roosevelt's attacks, in the Detroit speech and elsewhere, upon Mr. Wilson's entire course in the Mexican troubles. There will be, on the other hand, many to praise a policy that few can explain. A great part of our army is now intrenched along a

line extending more than two hundred miles from the border southward into Mexico. All the rest of our available troops are scattered along the boundary, endeavoring to protect the frightened frontier settlements of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. General Obregon, through protracted conferences, asked General Scott last month why we were using a cannon to chase a rabbit. Whether Villa is dead or alive was not known, Obregon holding to the view that he was dead. Mexican hostility to us has been chiefly in consequence of an invasion that could seem to have no meaning unless we were proposing to intervene and to occupy the country for an indefinite period. The immediate pursuit of bandit raiders across the border is necessary, and can be understood. But the slow invasion of brigades, with artillery, bears no obvious relation to the chase of a handful of bandits who have attacked a small settlement, committed murders, and stolen mules or cattle. Our army stretched in a long line on the Mexican side merely weakens our numbers for the proper patrol of the border on our own side.

*Are We Meaning
to Withdraw
Quietly?*

General Scott's conferences with General Obregon, Carranza's War Minister, are said to have resulted in an improved understanding. But they have not answered the question why we have an army in Mexico, what we intend to do with it while there, and when we intend to bring it back. We may venture the guess that—without any particular reason being given—the troops will be gradually brought northward and in the near future withdrawn from Mexican soil. On May 6, a small band of Mexicans made raids against small isolated settlements in the "Big Bend" district of Texas, far from the railroad, two civilians being reported as killed. On May 9 President Wilson called out the National Guard of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, comprising a total of about 4000 men, and ordered additional regular



General Obregon

General Funston

General Scott

GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, WENT TO EL PASO, TEXAS, LAST MONTH TO CONFER WITH GENERAL FUNSTON WHO IS IN COMMAND ON THE BORDER. HE ALSO HELD PROTRACTED CONFERENCES WITH THE MEXICAN WAR SECRETARY, GENERAL OBREGON. AS A RESULT OF WHICH IT WAS REPORTED THAT FRICTION WAS LESSENED AND THE PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION IMPROVED.



Gov. William C. McDonald,
of New Mexico

Gov. George W. P. Hunt,
of Arizona

Gov. James E. Ferguson
of Texas

THE GOVERNORS OF THREE STATES ADJOINING MEXICO, WHOSE LOCAL VOLUNTEER TROOPS HAVE BEEN CALLED OUT BY PRESIDENT WILSON TO AID IN PATROLLING THE MEXICAN BORDER WHILE A LARGE PORTION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IS ENCAMPED FAR TO THE SOUTHWARD IN MEXICO FOR REASONS THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO EXPLAIN TO GENERAL CARRANZA AND THAT ARE NOT UNDERSTOOD IN THIS COUNTRY

troops sent to the border from distant parts of the country. It should be stated that our soldiers are regarded as having conducted themselves well, and that the army itself is gaining something by its present experiences.

The Philippines an Issue

A few months ago there were pious hopes at Washington that Congress might adjourn before the holding of the June political conventions, but there was never a chance of such a thing and the hundreds of Congressmen who have campaigns on hand in their own districts will be lucky if they can go home before the middle of August. Many measures are hanging fire that were to have been out of the way in May or early June. Thus President Wilson and the Democratic leaders had decided to have the Philippine bill accepted by the House precisely as it had been sent back from the Senate, including the Clarke amendment. Our readers will remember that this amendment provided for the definite withdrawal by the United States within from two to four years. This program was unexpectedly blocked by a group of about thirty Democratic Congressmen, including those from New York City, who refused to be bound by the caucus rule and joined the Republicans to prevent the adoption of so decisive a policy. The Philippine question will now become one of the foremost topics of the pending campaign. Mr. Wilson and the

Democrats are committed to an immediate evacuation. The Republicans believe that this would surely Mexicanize the Philippines and amount to a cruel and cowardly abandonment of a trust deliberately assumed by our treaty with Spain and very worthily sustained in the years that have followed. There is no indication in anything that has been said that the proposed withdrawal has been carefully considered. The President's position on this question was discussed in our March number. He admitted that the Clarke amendment was "unwise at this time," yet he was ready to follow Congress in either direction. One of Secretary Garrison's two reasons for resigning was the President's unwillingness to take firm ground against the Philippine "scuttle." Subsequently the President took his stand with the scuttlers.

Japanese Exclusion Proposed

One of the reasons for the proposed Democratic abandonment of the Philippines was unwillingness to defend them in case of the much-dreaded trouble with Japan. There is no evidence whatever that Japan has the slightest thought of interfering with our continued performance of international duty in the Philippine archipelago. The wise men of Japan wish for perpetual peace and friendship with the United States. They are entitled to our prompt and vigorous support.



"LONG MAY SHE WAVE!"

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

The best way to support them in this friendly view is to have so strong a navy in the Pacific that the most turbulent of the trouble-making element in Japan would give up all thought of war with the United States. Another way to strengthen the hands of our good friends in Japan is to show confidence and friendship, and to remove every possible stumbling-block. Thus the Immigration bill, as it had recently passed the House, contained a Japanese exclusion clause. This was highly offensive, because the Japanese Government had agreed with President Roosevelt and Secretary Root to regulate Japanese migratory labor in such a way as to meet American wishes. That agreement has always been faithfully observed. It is regrettable that Ambassador Chinda should have had to work so hard at Washington to prevent the enactment of an exclusion law. The Senate Committee last month agreed to change the bill in such a way as to make the exclusion apply to other Oriental regions but not to the latitude and longitude of Japan. The Senate will doubtless adopt the view of its Committee on Immigration, and it is to be hoped that the House will accept the amendment. We owe it to Japan and to ourselves to maintain good relations through justice and courtesy, while firmly upholding American policies in the Pacific. Our presence at Manila is for Japan's best interests, and her wisest statesmen realize this fully.

America's
Place in the
Pacific

Our usefulness and general status in the Orient have suffered some loss of prestige that it may take time to recover, by reason of the nervousness shown at Washington during the past year or two. We have no imperial ends to gain, but there is a balance to be preserved that our withdrawal would inevitably upset. The Chinese Republic shows better promise of rapid progress than any other national experiment of our generation. It looks to the United States for friendship and guidance. Great philanthropic enterprises of American origin are on foot in China, and their future would be impaired if the political prestige of the United States in the Pacific were sacrificed. Furthermore, the country as a whole owes as much of guardianship to the commercial interests and the security of our States on the Pacific coast as to those that lie on the Atlantic seaboard. Congress is just now appropriating a large sum for the continued building of a Government trunk railroad in Alaska; and the Senate has ratified a treaty which gives us a new coaling and naval station on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua. We are appropriating a large sum for further fortification of Hawaii and the Panama Canal. If we should not be strong enough to maintain all of our legitimate interests in the Pacific, including our governmental authority over the Philippines, we should certainly not be able to protect Alaska, nor defend the coasts of Washington, Oregon, and California. All that is necessary is to see clearly our duties, and face them with courage.



LUCKY LITTLE JONAH

From the *News* (Minneapolis)

*The Shipping
Bill to the
Fore*

In the middle of May the Democratic leaders in the House began a determined effort to push through the new shipping bill. This revised measure, as now reported by the Committee on Merchant Marine, differs from the bill defeated in the last Congress most importantly in that it limits any possible Government ownership to a period of five years succeeding the end of the European war. This limitation has enlisted the support of a number of Congressmen who were opposed to the former measure. Other changes are the omission of the requirement that all vessels clearing from United States ports shall be licensed, the doing away with preferential railroad rates for merchandise to be exported in American vessels and with the prohibition of the sale of American ships to non-citizens. The present bill also provides for a shipping board of seven instead of five members, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce to serve ex-officio.

*The Bill
as it
Stands*

As in the previous measure, the "United States Shipping Board" is empowered to form a corporation to build or buy ships, to be capitalized at not more than \$50,000,000. In this concern the Government may be, at the discretion of the Board, a majority stockholder under the time limitation referred to in the preceding paragraph. The Secretary of the Treasury is empowered to sell Panama Canal Zone bonds to obtain the funds necessary to construct, lease, or purchase vessels or to create the shipping corporation. The board is given drastic powers to prevent illegal combinations and discriminatory rates in the shipping trade. It is also empowered to stop any unfair agreements or practises and to reduce any rates or charges that it considers unreasonable.

*What
It May
Accomplish*

The new shipping bill is strictly an Administration measure, and is being fought for and against on party lines. Its friends point out that naval experts have testified to the absolute necessity of vessels available for naval transports, supply ships, munition carriers, etc., and that the half million or more tons of shipping to be secured through this measure will be none too much to have at hand for a military emergency. The House Committee, responsible for the bill, believes that the Shipping Board will become as important in the development of an American merchant ma-

rine as the Board of Trade has been in the building up of Great Britain's vast mercantile service. Private interests are expected to take over, either by purchase or charter, the vessels to be acquired by the Shipping Board and use them in our commerce with the east and west coasts of South America, from Pacific ports to the Far East and perhaps in the trade with Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Philippines.

*The Fight
Against the
Bill*

Very active opposition to the measure has come in Congress, the press, and shipping circles. The objections are well illustrated in the statement to the Merchant Marine Committee by the National Foreign Trade Council, an organization headed by the president of the U. S. Steel Corporation and including such men as James J. Hill, F. A. Vanderlip, Robert Dollar, and P. A. S. Franklin, of the International Mercantile Marine. This body states that while only 14.3 per cent. of the United States overseas trade is carried at present in American bottoms, we should in the course of the next ten or twenty years come to carry 60 per cent., and that this would require between six million and ten million tons of shipping, costing from half a billion to one billion dollars. In the face of such need, the five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand tons to be acquired by the Government Shipping Board is regarded as trivial. It is also doubted whether even six hundred thousand tons are now to be procured, inasmuch as American shipyards are



ANOTHER SHIP IN LINE FOR BUILDING
FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES (H. M. J.)

so filled with orders that deliveries of new vessels cannot be guaranteed within two years; and Rear-Admiral Benson has testified that the Government navy yards can at best produce six 10,000-ton ships in two years. It is pointed out that under normal conditions of peace it is more costly to operate ships in the United States than under foreign flags and that under such conditions private companies can be induced to operate Government ships only if the rate of charter is low enough to offset higher American operating costs. When such conditions arise the taxpayers will have to pay the difference, and the opponents of the present measure claim that the American flag in foreign trade will tend to become a Government monopoly. It is also objected that under the present measure the Shipping Board would be at the same time the owner of vessels and a regulator of steamship rates, which is compared to a situation where a single railroad in the United States should be given the power to regulate the rates and practises of all its competitors.

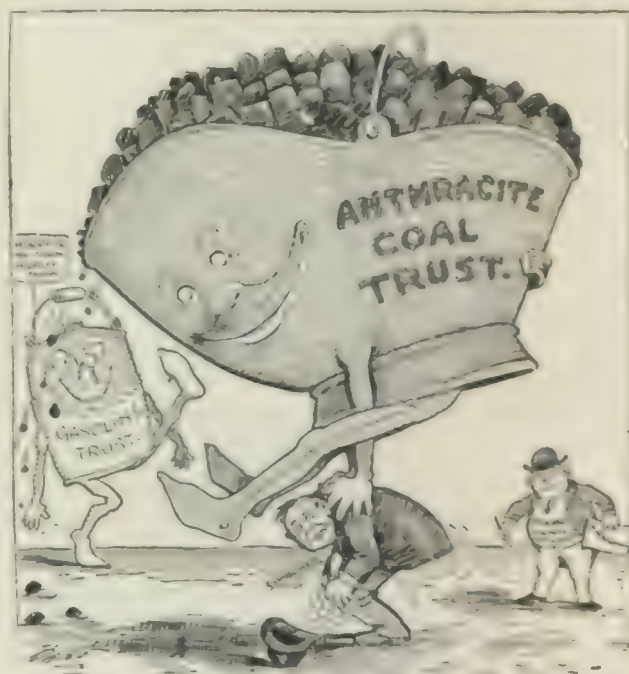
*Export Trade
at Record
Figures*

The reports of the Board of Foreign and Domestic Commerce show that during the first nine months of the current fiscal year exports from the United States were almost \$3,000,000,000—more than 50 per cent. greater than the previous record for such a period. If the volume of exports holds up through the year to the mark made in March, the total for 1916 will reach \$5,000,000,000. Imports for the nine months ending with March were one and a half billion dollars, which was nearly approached in the same period of 1912-13. Our favorable balance of trade for the first three-quarters of the fiscal year is, therefore, approximately \$1,500,000,000—more than double that of last year and more than three times that of two years ago. It is not only an increase of quantity of goods exported that has built up these unprecedented values of foreign trade; the greatly higher prices of many articles have much to do with it. For example, steel billets two years ago showed an export price of \$21.78 a ton; last February it had grown to \$56 a ton. The nominal value of gunpowder is almost five times as great as two years ago, and dynamite, which has been going to Europe at an average rate of more than \$10,000,000 a month, shows an advance of 138 per cent. in price. As against two years ago commercial automobiles have increased 105 per

cent. in price, horseshoes 118 per cent., zinc 90 per cent., horses 65 per cent., and potatoes 62 per cent.

*No Strike
In the Coal
Mines*

The anthracite miners of Pennsylvania have settled their differences with the operators without the threatened strike. In the first week of May, wage increases of from 7 to 15½ per cent., an eight-hour working day and



TURN ABOUT
From the News (Minneapolis)

virtual recognition of the Union brought peace in the anthracite fields at a cost to the employers during the four years covered by the new agreement of from \$9,000,000 to \$12,000,000. The settlement is a compromise, the miners having asked for a 20 per cent. increase in wages. They got their eight-hour day, but not the closed shop and the "check off" system—a method by which Union dues are taken out of the pay envelopes, employers virtually being constituted collecting-agents for the Union. The new arrangements affect 176,000 men and boys. It is thought that if the controversy had not been peaceably settled and if a strike had been ordered in the present active and feverish industrial situation coal would have gone to prices never before seen.

*Passing the
Cost to the
Consumer*

The coal operators have very promptly begun to pass on the added labor cost of coal mining to the householder. It has been the custom in the anthracite trade to make a reduction in the price of coal in the spring, but instead of a reduction, the spring of 1916 brings a

radical advance, the Reading Company having already announced increases to retailers of from 15 to 50 cents a ton. It is expected that coal will generally cost about 50 cents a ton more at retail. It was announced on May 9 that the Federal Trade Commission will investigate any coal prices where there is reason to believe the increased cost to the consumer is more than is justified by the increase in cost of labor. Attorney-General Gregory has addressed a letter to the Commission, pointing out various instances in the past in which he charges the coal companies with taking advantage of such occasions of wage increases to make still greater advances in the price of coal.

The Railroad Wage Conference

On June 1 a committee of railroad managers begins its conferences with the representatives of railroad employees over increased wages. The demands are from the four great brotherhoods of railroad workmen, representing 350,000 employees. It is estimated that full acquiescence to their claims would add about \$100,000,000 a year to the costs of railroad operation in this country. The careful organization of the committees on both sides of the controversy leads to the hope that a vast body of statistics and facts may be assembled and agreed on in advance of any attempt at determination of the dispute over wages. The schedules are so varied and complicated that it would be a misfortune if the final effort to agree on new scales of wages should be hampered and protracted by the simultaneous search for plain matters of fact and the subsequent disagreements over figures that should be accepted by both sides. This is especially important because the occasion is really a momentous one in the history of private ownership of railroads in the United States. It has been pointed out in this REVIEW how water freight rates have suddenly risen with higher costs and increased demand five hundred per cent., while railroad tariffs, confronted by the same kind of conditions, are left stationary under our present policy of government regulation. To live, nearly every industry is now being forced to charge more for its product in order to offset the higher cost of the labor and supplies that it must buy. The railroads have the higher costs along with other industries, and they alone are prohibited from establishing rates that will make proper allowance for the increased cost of production.

A Puzzling Situation for the Roads

It is a particularly difficult juncture from the point of view of the railroad managers because there is a temporary appearance of great prosperity for many lines. This is partly due to the comparison of present earnings with the recent years during which a large portion of the railway mileage of the country was headed straight toward insolvency, and partly due to the hectic and temporary activity in trade incited by the war buying of distracted Europe. With the return of normal times and traffic, the railroads will, with falling revenues, be still confronted with the increased labor costs and the necessity for making great capital expenditures for the safety and service of the public. They have done well to show so good a record of safe operation through the recent period of congested freight operation and suddenly increased traffic, but there is a costly deal yet to accomplish in the installation of safety appliances and methods. The Administration's recognition of this important phase of railroad responsibility is shown in the accompanying picture of President Wilson's Cabinet assembled to inspect the safety devices shown on the "Safety First" special train which left Washington on May 1 on a three months' tour of the country.

The Oregon-California Land Grants

Last month the House Committee on Public Lands reported favorably a bill to dispose of the Oregon and California lands formerly granted to the Southern Pacific Railroad and now claimed by the Government on the ground that the railroad has not observed the conditions of the grant. The attempt of the Government to forfeit the lands because the Southern Pacific had sold part of them to others than actual settlers, at prices exceeding \$2.50 an acre and in lots of more than 160 acres each, was defeated a year ago by a decision of the Supreme Court which left the railroad in ownership but enjoined further sales until new legislation should be enacted by Congress. The Court contemplated that this new legislation would protect the interests of the people and at the same time secure to the railroad all the value the granting act conferred on it. The bill under present discussion aims to carry out this purpose. It provides for a reclassification of the lands into (1) power-site properties, (2) timber lands, and (3) agricultural lands, and for disposal of these under careful restrictions, with payment, out of the proceeds,



MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S CABINET INSPECTING A "SAFETY FIRST" RAILROAD TRAIN LAST MONTH

(In this group, from left to right, are Secretary of Commerce Reelfoot, Attorney General Gregory, Secretary of State Lansing, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Secretary of the Interior Lane, President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Secretary of Labor Wilson, and Secretary of War Baker.)

to the railroad owners of just \$2.50 per acre, this payment to extend over ten years.

*The Railroad
Side of
the Dispute*

President Sproule of the Southern Pacific has published an explanation of his company's attitude in the matter in which he points out that substantially all of the original grant suitable for settlement was sold according to the terms of the Act, at prices not exceeding \$2.50 per acre. It is the remainder, consisting chiefly of timber lands unsuitable for settlement, that has caused the controversy. The railroad contends that it has the same right as any other owner to cut off the timber, sell it and then dispose of the land at not more than \$2.50 per acre. Without hindrance it used the timber for years as fuel, and maintains that the language of the original granting act implied it should do so. President Sproule gives figures to show that when compared with the value of the free transportation given the Government mails, troops, munitions, and stores, the net receipts from all the land grants show a loss to his company, and that there is a perpetual obligation to perform these free services which at an estimate of \$75,000 annually

would amount in 80 years to all the gross receipts from the 2,400,000 acres yet unsold, calculated at \$2.50 per acre.

*The
Water-Power
Bills*

There are two important water-power measures before Congress. One, the so-called Shields bill, provides for the development of power on navigable streams everywhere; the Ferris bill deals with power from non-navigable waters on the public lands. The latter measure has been carefully prepared under the direction of Secretary Lane and is accepted by friends of conservation as a useful and suitable piece of legislation. The Shields bill, on the other hand, has aroused vigorous opposition among the conservationists. They generally agree in condemning that feature of its provisions which requires that the Government in taking over a power site after fifty years of private operation must make payment for the "fair value" of lands, rights, and other property. This, it is held, would oblige the Government to pay for the unearned increment upon lands and water rights which may have cost the private interests little or nothing, yet may come, after fifty years, to be very valuable. The bill is

under consideration by the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and it is understood that recommendations have been made for amendments covering these points.

*War and Peace
Prospects*

The past month has brought no startling changes in the military situation abroad. As these paragraphs are written, it is fully three months since the Germans began their great attack upon the French at Verdun. Whether or not the battle of Verdun may be considered as still going on, or whether the frequency of German attacks upon other parts of the great western line may be said to indicate a lessening or virtual abandonment of the concentrated offensive in the vicinity of Verdun, will be more apparent in the retrospect. Mr. Simonds, whose broad discussion of the war situation as summer opens will be found elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW, attaches the highest importance to the stand that France has made. He sets forth the prospects of peace in the near future as affected by the fortunes of war during the coming half year. There are many indications of a special eagerness for peace on the part of the Germans. The odds against them become heavier with the lapse of time. They are finding the food situation increasingly difficult, and have decided to regulate the whole question of food distribution as well as production through a new Government bureau headed by an autocratic Minister of Food. Germany seems able to fight



A RUSSIAN IDEA OF GERMANY'S VAIN EFFORTS TO ENTER THE PORTAL OF PEACE

KITCHENER: "All in vain, Mrs. Germany! You will have to be as lean as a rail before you can get through that door!" (The door is labelled "Peace.")

From *Odesski Listok* (Odessa, Russia)

on the defensive for an indefinite time; but she has everything to gain by securing honorable peace at the earliest possible moment.

*Possible Gains
and Losses*

It is of course for the Allies themselves to decide whether they have most to gain by postponing peace negotiations. The brunt of the war is falling upon the French. The English have swept the Germans from the high seas, but have not as yet met expectations on land. The longer the war lasts the more effective the English troops will become in determining the final result. But the cost, measured by every standard, is proving so great that even England may be willing to join in peace negotiations rather than carry the war through another long winter. Although the surrender of the small force of English soldiers under General Townshend, at Kut-el-Amara, in the Mesopotamia valley, had no important military character, it was a blow at British prestige, particularly in view of the shocking mismanagement of last year on the Gallipoli peninsula, and British failures elsewhere. Such incidents make it too probable for British comfort that Russia, in case of a complete Allied victory, might insist upon acquiring Mesopotamia as well as Constantinople and much of Asia Minor for her own share. It is possible that peace this year would bring as much of benefit to England and France as peace deferred for another year, not to mention the cost in lives and resources of further warfare.



"WHICH WAY TO THE TRENCHES, GENERAL?"

From the *World* (New York)

(Referring to the arrival of British troops in Mesopotamia, during recent weeks, to assist in the defense of Baghdad.)



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood.

DESTRUCTION IN PRINCESS STREET, DUBLIN, SHOWING BARRICADE OF MOTORCARS AND OTHER OBSTACLES

An Irish Outbreak

England's relation to the war on the continent was somewhat overshadowed, through the last days of April and the month of May, by sensational events within the United Kingdom. Bitter disputes regarding compulsory enlistment were arrested by the startling news of the outbreak of a revolution in Dublin. The leaders of this movement proclaimed an "Irish Republic," and acted as if they expected to achieve important results. In point of fact, the uprising was pathetic in its utter hopelessness. An admirable account of its origin and of the Irish situation in general has been prepared for our readers by Mr. Warren Barton Blake, and will be found in another part of this number. By far the greatest factor in Ireland is that which supports the Nationalist party, whose leader in Parliament is Mr. John Redmond. These are the people who, with the help of the English Liberals, had secured the adoption of a Home Rule bill. They have brought to fruition the great movement for which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell contended, although the present Home Rule measure differs in details from the earlier one. The next largest element in Ireland is made up of the following, in Ulster or the north of Ireland, of Sir

Edward Carson and his associates, who are opposed to any kind of local Home Rule for Ireland, and who would prefer to regard each Irish county as part and parcel of a united kingdom in which English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh counties had all a like status. Neither of these two large Irish elements had anything to do with the rebellion launched in Dublin.

Conditions in Ireland

The extremists who were working for Irish independence were relatively few in number, and were mostly led by young men of sentiment and feeling, rather than by men of judgment and sense. "Home Rule," as understood by the men who have carried it through the English Parliament, turns over to Ireland the making of local laws and the administration of local affairs, but does not separate Ireland from her place in the British Empire. The condition of Ireland has vastly improved in recent years, with the land system reformed and the counties governed by elective councils. As Mr. Blake points out, the most serious recent mistake was the lax attitude of the British Government towards Sir Edward Carson and his Ulster Volunteers, in their plans to resist by violence the enforcement of an act of the British Parliament. Two years ago Ireland was on the verge of civil war by reason of the movements centered at Belfast. There is a sad irony in the fact that the hard-headed and practical leaders of the formidable treason of two years ago have now been rather



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THE INTERRUPTED SONG
From the World (New York)

ostentatiously engaged in crushing out the pitiful and forlorn rebellion of the Sinn Féin leaders at Dublin. Details will be found in Mr. Blake's article, and no repetition is needed here. Although the rebels were so few, they made resistance from the post-office and other buildings in Dublin for about a week. Much damage was done to the city, and perhaps three hundred people were killed, including the fighters on both sides and other unfortunate victims.

The leaders of this rebellion had small sympathy in Ireland, and very little in other parts of the world except in Germany.

It is well known that mischievous plotters in the United States, both Irish and German, had helped to bring it on, and there had been schemes in Berlin to promote it. A well-known, though eccentric, personage of Irish



Photo by American Press Association
AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, RECENT
CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND



Photo by Press Ill. Service
LORD WIMBORNE, LORD LIEU-
TENANT OF IRELAND



SIR EDWARD CARSON, LEADER OF THE ULSTER
VOLUNTEERS OF HOME RULE

origin, Sir Roger Casement, had been in Germany for many months, and had endeavored to make a landing on the Irish coast, with a small cruiser cargo of arms convoyed by a German submarine. This landing was to be simultaneous with the uprising in Dublin. Sir Roger, however, was promptly arrested, and his expeditionary plans were foiled. He was sent to the Tower of London and held for trial on charge of treason. Sixteen of the rebel leaders at Dublin were court-martialed and shot. Included with these were the signers of the proclamation declaring the Irish Republic, which we show in an illustration on page 697. It may be interesting to observe that the summary death of these poets and professors was regarded by many people in England as a blunder. While the American press had no sympathy at all with the rebellion, it was virtually unanimous in deploring the execution of the leaders. There were no conditions of insurrection in Ireland that rendered the restoration of order a difficult matter. There were literally millions of men under arms in England, and except for a handful of people there was no disposition to rebel in Ireland. Many thousands of Irishmen were helping to fight Britain's battles in France. Clemency would have been the wise policy, and the lack of it is most regrettable. Mr. Augustine Birrell, who for a number of years had been in the cabinet as Secretary for Ireland, promptly resigned. He was no more to be blamed than any one of twenty other men, and much

less than at least half-a-dozen others. Premier Asquith visited Ireland; sweeping inquiries were set on foot; but plans for the future administration of the unhappy island were not ready to be announced last month.

Indiana's Centenary

The people of Indiana have just entered on a series of celebrations, marking the completion of one hundred years of Statehood. The manner in which this centenary is observed has its lessons and suggestions for other American communities. The celebration is in the form of historical pageants, reenacting the deeds of the pioneers, and presenting successive episodes in the life of the State throughout the century. Not the merely spectacular, but the quiet, serious development of the commonwealth is brought to the attention of the rising generation. Thus, the first of these pageants, described elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW, was staged at Bloomington, the seat of Indiana University, on May 16-18, and pictured the entire educational progress of the Hoosier State, beginning with the days of "lickin' and larnin'" and coming down to the present era of advanced methods in every school grade, from kindergarten to university. This will be followed by noteworthy pageants at Indianapolis and at Corydon, the first capital of the State; while nearly two hundred other communities will also participate in this remarkable celebration. It is hoped that the example set by these Indiana communities will stimulate like patriotic efforts far beyond the boundaries of the State. Motion-pictures of these pageants, taken at the instance of Mr. Henry Ford, will be exhibited throughout the country.

Setting the Clock Ahead

Some of our readers may have been puzzled by recent press dispatches reporting measures taken by European governments to bring about increased use of the daylight hours during the spring and summer months. Such persons will find Mr. Talman's article on page 715 illuminating and informing. The "daylight-saving" movement, so-called, although resisted by many scientific men, as is shown in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month" (page 726), is nevertheless making wonderful headway and has been reduced to actual experiment by the Great War. Just what were the considerations that had most weight with the governments of Germany, France, and England, in adopt-

ing this reform we do not know, but we may safely assume that the argument of economy in the use of artificial light was not the sole or the most important reason for the change.

Europe's Starving Millions

Last month large quantities of Red Cross supplies intended for the Teutonic powers were held up at the port of New York because of failure to obtain Great Britain's consent to the passage of the goods. It has been understood for some time that shipments containing rubber goods would not be passed, on the ground that even gloves and sheets of that material could be easily made into rubber stock now needed for military purposes. At any rate the embargo has been relentlessly applied. Tons of hospital stores are now lying at Brooklyn docks and seem likely to remain on this side of the Atlantic for some time to come. Meanwhile Premier Asquith has unreservedly praised the "untiring humanity of the United States" and the work of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium under Chairman Hoover. The need of the Belgians and the people of Northern France is as great to-day, it is said, as ever before, because of the exhaustion of native foods, including potatoes. The price of meat, too, has advanced to \$1.25 a pound. The American public has been asked for contributions to the amount of \$70,000 a day to relieve the distress. In Poland also children as well as adults are dying of starvation. The American Red Cross has begun a campaign to secure a million members at one dollar each per year, and gratifying progress is being made.

Labor Disputes

On May 1 wage increases throughout the country estimated at \$64,000,000 and benefiting 700,000 workmen went into effect. Yet reports from many trades indicate serious unrest, and at Pittsburgh, Youngstown, New York, and several other industrial centers strikes and lockouts involving thousands of workers have been declared. The eight-hour day is the issue at Pittsburgh, where 70,000 munitions workers and 30,000 of the Westinghouse employees went on strike. In New York City the lockout of 30,000 garment workers in April was followed on May 3 by a strike of an equal number of workers in the so-called "independent" shops. Efforts to bring the manufacturers and employees together were fruitless.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From April 21 to May 19, 1916)

The Last Part of April

April 21.—It is learned that Field-Marshal von der Goltz, the German army officer responsible for the rejuvenation of the Turkish army, died of spotted fever at the Turkish headquarters.

April 22.—An attempt to land arms and ammunition in Ireland, by a German auxiliary cruiser and a submarine, is thwarted by the British naval patrol; the auxiliary is sunk and a number of prisoners made, including Sir Roger Casement, one of the Irish Nationalist leaders, who had been in Germany since the war began.

The Turkish report of a battle with the British at Betissa, on the Tigris (on April 17-18) declares that the British lost more than 4000 dead and wounded; an earlier British report had set the Turkish losses at 3000.

April 23.—Turkish forces in Egypt attack and destroy a British camp near Quatia, east of the Suez Canal, taking 300 prisoners.

April 24.—A revolution breaks out in Dublin, led by armed members of the Sinn Féin society; the mob seizes Stephen's Green, the post-office, and other buildings (see page 697).

April 25.—The British and French reply to the American protest of October 21, against restrictions on trade through operations of the blockade, is made public at Washington; the note upholds the legality of the policies and methods of the Entente Allies, and announces readiness to consider favorably any proposal for lessening inconvenience to neutrals provided the substantial effectiveness of the measures now in force be not impaired.

A German battle-cruiser squadron, together with submarines and Zeppelin airships, attack Lowestoft and Yarmouth, northeast of London; the attack occurs in the early morning, and after a short but heavy bombardment the Germans withdraw; the British submarine *E 22* is sunk.

A second contingent of Russian troops arrives at Marseilles, France.

April 26.—Announcement is made of the results of the discussion of enlistment at a secret session of the House of Commons; unless 50,000 men are procured by voluntary enlistment by May 27, the Government will ask Parliament for compulsory power.

The State Department at Washington makes public a memorandum prepared in March, setting forth the Government's attitude regarding armed merchant vessels; belligerents, in the absence of conclusive evidence, should act on the presumption that such vessels are of peaceful character, but a neutral government may proceed upon the assumption that they are armed for aggression.

April 27.—In the British House of Commons, the Government's compromise compulsory military service measure is introduced, and withdrawn on account of opposition.

Premier Asquith admits that the situation in

Ireland is serious and that the revolutionary movement has spread to the west and south; martial law is declared throughout the island, and Major-Gen. Sir John Maxwell is sent to take full control.

Activities by the Germans are reported along the British front from Ypres, Belgium, to Arras, France.

The British battleship *Russell* is sunk by a mine in the Mediterranean, most of the crew being saved.

A German submarine is sunk off the east coast of England, and the crew made prisoners.

An economic conference of the Entente Allies is begun at Paris, to discuss conditions resulting from the war.

April 28.—British and Indian troops at Kut-el-Amara, in the lower Tigris Valley, surrender to the Turkish besieging forces upon the exhaustion of their food supplies; 9000 soldiers remained of the force estimated at 30,000, under General Townshend, which attempted to capture Bagdad and had withstood a siege lasting nearly five months, with a relief force halted less than twenty miles away.

A German attack on Russian positions south of Narocz Lake, results in the taking of 5600 Russian prisoners.

A third contingent of Russian troops arrives at Marseilles, France.

April 29.—The revolution in Ireland begins to fall to pieces before the armed forces of the Empire; many of the leaders and large groups of the men surrender.

April 30.—It is reported that Premier Skouloudis, of Greece, has again refused to permit Serbian troops to be transported across Greece to Salonica, and has threatened to blow up railway bridges and tunnels if necessary.

The German attack on Verdun is revived with violent but unsuccessful assaults against Dead Man's Hill, west of the Meuse.

The First Week of May

May 1.—It is officially announced that all the rebels in Dublin have surrendered, and that those in the country districts are following suit; more than 1000 prisoners have been taken.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist leader, is arrested during a May Day demonstration in Berlin.

It is stated at Berlin that of 5,300,000 individual subscriptions to the fourth war loan, 5,000,000 were for amounts less than \$100.

All timepieces in Germany and Holland are set forward one hour as a measure of "daylight saving" (see page 713).

Official figures published at Washington show that exports of war materials from the United States during the first twenty months of war totaled \$440,000,000.

May 2.—Premier Asquith announces that a Compulsory Service bill will be introduced in

mediately in the House of Commons; he declares that 5,000,000 men have entered the British army and navy.

A French official report recounts engagements in the Verdun district, at Dead Man's Hill, which resulted in the capture of 1600 yards of German trenches.

May 3.—Three of the leaders of the Irish rebellion are court-martialed, convicted of treason, and shot; among them is Patrick H. Pearse, "provisional president of the republic."

Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Asquith cabinet, resigns on account of the Irish rebellion.

The British Government's bill providing for immediate compulsory service passes its first reading in the House of Commons.

The British House of Lords is informed that the number of merchant ships lost through the war is exactly balanced by the number of new ships added to the register.

The German Zeppelin airship *L 20* is abandoned on the coast of Norway, near Stavanger; it is presumably one of five or six airships which visited the eastern coasts of England and Scotland during the previous night.

May 4.—Germany's reply to the American note of April 18, regarding the conduct of submarine warfare, is given to the American Ambassador at Berlin; the reply states that the German naval forces have been ordered not to sink merchant vessels without warning and without saving lives, unless a ship shall attempt to escape or offer resistance; the reply also suggests that the United States will now insist that Great Britain observe the rules of international law.

Four leaders of the Irish rebellion are sentenced to death and shot.

A German Zeppelin airship, scouting off the German coast, is destroyed by British warships.

May 5.—A German Zeppelin airship passing over the harbor of Salonica is destroyed by gunfire from the Allied fleet.

May 5-6.—German artillery fire destroys French trenches on the north side of Hill 304, in the Verdun region.

May 6.—It is reported from Petrograd that General Soukhomlinov, former Minister of War, has been imprisoned after preliminary inquiry into charges of negligence and treason during his administration of the Russian army.

The Second Week of May

May 7.—A new canal at Marseilles, France, connecting the Rhone with the sea (48 miles), is opened.

May 8.—The United States replies to the German note of May 4, accepting the declaration of abandonment of the submarine war against merchant ships, but declaring that the new policy cannot be made contingent upon the result of diplomatic negotiations between the United States and England regarding rights of neutrals on the seas.

A supplementary German note to the United States admits that the *Sussex* was sunk in error by a German submarine, and expresses sincere regret.

The *Cymric*, formerly in the Atlantic passenger service, is sunk by a German submarine off the Irish coast while carrying munitions from the

United States; five of the crew are killed by the explosion.

The Germans at Verdun reach the summit of Hill 304, occupying the French trenches on the northern slope and taking 1300 prisoners.

May 9.—Robert Fay, claiming to be a lieutenant in the German army, is sentenced to eight years' imprisonment after conviction in the federal court at New York upon a charge of plotting to blow up munition ships.

The House of Commons rejects an amendment to the Compulsion bill which would have made it applicable to Ireland.

May 10.—Baron Wimborne resigns his post as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, having held office since January, 1915.

May 11.—Premier Asquith informs the House of Commons that the casualties in the Irish rebellion were: Government losses, 124 killed and 394 wounded; civilians, 180 killed and 614 wounded.

Great Britain agrees to permit American relief agencies to send food to the starving inhabitants of Russian Poland under occupation by German armies; German ships flying neutral flags are to be used, and Germany is to contribute money toward the purchase of food and herself feed many million Poles.

The German Reichstag rejects (it is reported) the Government's proposal to increase the tax on tobacco.

It is learned that 82 Norwegian steamships and 53 sailing vessels were destroyed during 1915.

By a sudden attack upon the British lines northeast of Vermelles, the Germans capture 500 yards of trenches.

May 12.—The British military authorities in Dublin execute James Connolly, commander-in-chief of the Irish revolutionists; in all, sixteen of the leaders of the rebellion have been put to death; Premier Asquith, arriving in Dublin, orders the postponement of further courts-martial.

Sweden and Denmark adopt the "daylight saving" plan and set clocks forward one hour for the summer months.

May 13.—Dr. Clemens Delbrück, German Minister of the Interior, resigns office because of ill health, in the face of what is reported to be a food crisis; there is particularly a shortage of meat and potatoes.

A German official announcement states that 96 hostile merchantmen were sunk by submarines or mines during April.

Great Britain acceded to the demands of the United States regarding the seizure of Germans, Austrians, and Turks on the American steamship *China*, agreeing to release them and expressing regret at the occurrence.

The Third Week of May

May 14.—The preliminary trial of Sir Roger Casement, for high treason growing out of his connection with the Irish rebellion, is begun at London.

May 15.—The British Foreign Office announces that differences between Greece and the Entente Powers have been settled amicably, and that there will be no violation of Greek neutrality.

Austrian attacks on Italian positions in the Tyrol, southwest of Trent, result in the capture of 2500 Italian prisoners.

May 16.—The Compulsion bill passes its third reading in the House of Commons, by vote of 250 to 35.

Austria protests against attacks by enemy submarines on peaceful vessels, culminating in the destruction of the Austrian steamer *Dubrovník* in the Adriatic Sea on May 9.

A British assault near Vimy Ridge, near Lens, carries 350 yards of German trenches.

May 17.—Sir Roger Casement, after a preliminary hearing at London, is held for trial on a charge of high treason, for his connection with the Irish rebellion.

Continued Austrian successes in the Trentino result in the capture of 4000 additional Italian prisoners, and cause the Italians to abandon some advanced positions.

Great Britain establishes an advisory aerial board, with Earl Curzon as president.

May 17.—Three German ships are sunk by a British submarine in the Baltic, near the Swedish coast. . . . Upon the assembling of the Swedish Riksdag, it is learned that the Government, although near the verge of war, has reached a satisfactory settlement regarding the fortification by Russia of the Aland Islands, in the Baltic Sea.

May 18.—The German Ambassador to the United States instructs German consuls to impress upon German citizens that it is their duty to obey the laws of the States in which they reside. . . . A commercial treaty between Austria-Hungary and Rumania is signed, similar to that between Germany and Rumania.

May 19.—The Austrian offensive forces further evacuation of positions held by the Italians; in the Lake Garda region the Austrians cross into Italy for the first time.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From April 21 to May 19, 1916)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 22.—The Senate approves the House bill repealing indefinitely the free-sugar provision of the Tariff Law, receding from its own position, which had limited the repeal to four years.

April 25.—In the House, after a parliamentary struggle lasting several days, the Democrats avoid a vote on the Senate provision of the Army Reorganization measure authorizing a regular army of 250,000 men, and send the bill to conference.

May 1.—The House, by a vote of 213 to 165, rejects the Senate bill fixing a definite date for withdrawal from the Philippine Islands and substitutes the Jones bill of 1914, which merely affirms intention to withdraw as soon as a stable government can be established; 30 Democrats vote with the Republican minority and against the Administration.

May 2.—The House adopts the Agricultural appropriation bill.

May 4.—The Senate adopts the Rural Credits bill by a vote of 68 to 5.

May 8.—The Senate passes the Good Roads bill, authorizing an expenditure of \$85,000,000 over a period of five years; the River and Harbor bill is reported from committee, carrying \$41,000,000. . . . The House, considering differences in the Army Reorganization bill as passed both branches, reports the Senate provision for an army of 250,000 and also the volunteer-army plan; the Administration's revised Ship Purchase bill is introduced, providing for a Government-controlled \$100,000,000 corporation, directed by a Shipping Board of five members, which will retire from business five years after the close of the European War.

May 13.—The Senate and House conferees on the Army bill agree upon a maximum peace strength of 125,000 officers and men.

May 15.—The Senate, by a vote of 42 to 36, rejects the President's nomination of George Rublee (made nearly two years ago) as a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

The House, by vote of 295 to 10, passes a Rural Credits bill similar in principle to the Senate bill, although differing in details.

May 17.—The Senate agrees to the conference report on the Army Reorganization bill, without roll-call. . . . The House passes a measure authorizing expenditures of \$50,600,000 for improving the Mississippi and Sacramento rivers with a view to controlling floods.

May 18.—The House Committee on Naval Affairs decides to reject the Administration's five-year naval program, although recommending the construction of five battle-cruisers.



JOHN HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

WHO HAS SIGNED AN AGREEMENT TO TALK, IN ORDER TO TAKE charge of the General and of French and Russian interests.



©Harris & Ewing

HON. DAVID R. FRANCIS, OF ST. LOUIS

(Former Governor of Missouri and Secretary of Interior in the cabinet of President Cleveland, who has gone as Ambassador to Russia to succeed George T. Marye)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 21.—In the Montana Presidential preference primary, the names of Woodrow Wilson (Dem.) and Senator Cummins of Iowa (Rep.) are the only ones printed on the ballots.

April 22.—The President nominates State Senator Robert F. Wagner (Dem.) as Postmaster of New York; Mr. Wagner declared that it is impossible for him to accept.

April 24.—Late returns in the Nebraska primary (April 18) indicate that Senator Cummins defeated Henry Ford in the Republican Presidential preference vote, 29,850 to 26,884; more than 15,000 voters wrote Justice Hughes' name on their ballots.

April 25.—Massachusetts Republicans elect unpledged delegates to the national convention; four candidates for delegate-at-large, avowedly for Colonel Roosevelt, but running without his approval, receive 45,000 votes. . . . Ohio Republicans endorse ex-Senator Theodore E. Burton for the Presidential nomination, while Democrats vote for President Wilson. . . . In the New Jersey Presidential primaries, Woodrow Wilson is endorsed by Democrats; Republicans, owing to technicalities, are unable to express their choice.

April 29.—Ex-President Roosevelt addresses the members of the Illinois Bar Association, at Chicago, speaking on current national and international problems.

May 1.—Maryland Republicans, in Presidential primary, select uninstructed delegates to the national convention.

May 2.—The California Republican Presidential primaries result in a defeat for electors supported by Governor Johnson and the progressive element.

May 4.—The General Board of the Navy estimates that it would cost \$791,441,207 to put the Navy in second place—including new ships, increased personnel, and additional ammunition and supplies.

May 8.—President Wilson, in a letter to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, urges the ratification of his nomination of Louis D. Brandeis for the Supreme Court bench.

May 15.—Governor Whitman signs measures passed by the New York Legislature providing for compulsory physical training for school boys and girls over eight years of age and compulsory military training for boys between sixteen and nineteen.

May 16.—The Pennsylvania Republican Presidential primary results in the selection of a majority of Penrose delegates, opposed to Governor Brumbaugh, although Brumbaugh receives the Presidential preference vote without opposition. . . . In the Vermont Presidential preference primary, Justice Hughes leads other Republican candidates, while President Wilson is the unopposed choice of the Democrats.

May 19.—Colonel Roosevelt delivers a notable address on Americanism and preparedness, at Detroit, the home city of Mr. Henry Ford, the exponent of pacifism. . . . The Oregon Republican Presidential primary indicates a preference for Justice Hughes, of the Supreme Court.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 21.—President Yuan Shih-kai, of China, creates a cabinet with complete control of the nation's affairs; in order to conciliate revolutionists in the southern provinces, Tuan Chi-jui is made Premier and Minister of War.

May 1.—President Jiminez, of Santo Domingo, is impeached in the Chamber of Deputies for alleged violation of the constitution in connection with the budget.

May 2.—Carranza forces in Mexico, under Gen. Pablo Gonzales, capture from Zapatistas the city of Cuernavaca, State of Morelos.



HON. WILLIAM M. INGRAHAM, NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR

Mr. Ingraham comes to Washington from Portland, Me., having been formerly Mayor of that city.



DR. JOHN A. WADTSØE
(University of Utah)

DR. ROBERT E. VINSON
(University of Texas)

DR. HENRY SUZZALLO
(University of Washington)

DR. EDWARD C. ELLIOTT
(University of Montana)

FOUR NEW UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

May 7.—Gen. Juan Jimenez resigns the presidency of Nicaragua, after a comparatively mild revolutionary outbreak in the capital lasting two days.

May 11.—Li Yuan-hung is proclaimed President of South China by the provisional government organized by leaders of the revolution.

May 15.—Forty revolutionists in Tsinan-fu, capital of Shantung Province, China, are killed in conflicts with Government forces.

May 17.—The Santo Domingo Chamber of Deputies elects Federico Henriquez Carvajal provisional president; the Senate must confirm the choice.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION IN MEXICO

April 22.—American troopers of the Seventh Cavalry, under Colonel Dodd, come upon a band of 200 Villistas near Tomachic, in the mountainous district of western Chihuahua; the Mexicans are routed in a running fight lasting until dark, two Americans and ten Mexicans being killed. . . . Major-Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff, confers at San Antonio, Texas, with Major-Gen. Funston, commanding the forces in Mexico and along the border.

April 22.—Secretary of War Baker announces the approval of General Funston's recommendations for a reduction of the forces in Mexico, for the purpose of cooperation and pending cooperation of Carranza troops.

April 29.—The Mexican Minister of War, Gen. Alvaro Obregon, confers at El Paso with General Scott and General Funston; the Mexican officer urges the withdrawal of American troops, while the Americans ask for active cooperation of Carranza forces in the effort to break up Villa bands and capture the leader.

May 4.—Six troops of the Eleventh Cavalry, under Major Howze, surprise a large band of Villistas, south of Cuahachic, and completely rout them, killing 55 and wounding 60, without loss to themselves.

May 6.—A second raid across the border is perpetrated by the bandit followers of Villa (and, it is alleged, some Carranza soldiers), estimated to number from 50 to 100; the small towns of Glenn Springs and Boquillas, Texas, are looted and three United States soldiers and two civilians killed.

May 9.—President Wilson calls out the militia of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona (4000 men), and orders that 4500 additional regular troops, including some units borrowed from the Coast Artillery Corps, be sent to the border.

May 10.—The State Department, through consular officers, warns all Americans to leave Mexico.

May 11.—The conferences at El Paso, between General Obregon, General Scott, and General Funston, come to an end without a formal agreement having been reached; it is understood, however, that the Carranza troops will cooperate more actively.

May 12.—It is learned at Washington that the American forces in Mexico have been withdrawn as far as Namiquipa, less than 200 miles south of the border.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 21.—The Japanese Ambassador lays before President Wilson a protest against certain provisions of the Immigration bill pending in Congress.

May 15.—American marines enter the city of San Domingo, to guarantee the free election of a Provisional President, succeeding General Jimenez, who resigned after a revolutionary outbreak.

May 16.—The United States Senate Committee on Immigration agrees to an amendment of the Immigration bill, to meet the objections of Japan.



Photo by International Film Service

"LIBERTY HALL", HEADQUARTERS OF THE IRISH REVOLUTIONISTS, AS IT APPEARED AFTER THE FIGHTING



Photo by the American Photo Agency, New York

RUINS OF THE METROPOLE HOTEL IN DUBLIN, SHOWING THE DAMAGED POST OFFICE, WHICH HAD BEEN USED AS A REBEL STRONGHOLD, ON THE RIGHT

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 30.—Experimental flights at Newport News, in connection with the plan to establish an aviation corps for the Coast Guard Service, result in the establishment of new records; a hydro-aeroplane carries seven passengers 88 miles in 70 minutes, while a military biplane carrying two persons is piloted to a height of 16,500 feet.

May 1.—The city of Newark, N. J., begins a six months' celebration of its 250th anniversary.

May 2.—Two men are killed and five seriously injured in a conflict between strikers and deputy sheriffs in the steel works at Braddock, near Pittsburgh.

May 6.—J. C. MacCauley flies in a Curtiss hydroaeroplane, with four passengers, from Newport News to Baltimore—178 miles—in three hours.

May 11.—While making the return trip to Newport News, the hydroaeroplane piloted by J. C. MacCauley falls into the Potomac and drowns two of the passengers.

May 13.—More than 130,000 persons participate in a Citizens' Preparedness Parade in New York City, believed to be the greatest civilian demonstration in the country's history. . . . The Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico is completed by the Reclamation Service, forming the greatest storage reservoir in the world, to irrigate 185,000 acres of land in New Mexico and Texas.

May 15.—A cross-country automobile trip, from Los Angeles to New York, is completed in 74 days by E. G. Baker, of Indianapolis.

May 16.—The Methodist General Conference, in session at Saratoga Springs, unanimously endorses the proposed union with the Methodist Episcopal Church South and the Methodist Protestant Church.

OBITUARY

April 19.—Field-Marshal Baron Kolmar von der Goltz, of the German army, 73.

April 21.—Rev. Dr. Adna B. Leonard, secretary emeritus of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 78. . . . John H. Surratt, last of the alleged Lincoln conspirators, 72.

April 22.—Col. Robert Hale Ives Goddard, the Rhode Island cotton manufacturer, 78.

April 23.—William Frederick King, the distinguished Canadian astronomer, 62.

April 24.—Dr. James William White, the noted Philadelphia surgeon, 45. . . . Commodore Charles M. Holloway, prominent Cincinnati business man and pioneer in Ohio and Mississippi River transportation, 81.

April 26.—John A. Patton, a leading Chattanooga business man and educational and religious worker, 49.

April 27.—Stephen Fiske, formerly a widely known New York dramatic critic and dramatist, 71. . . . Col. William J. Youngs, former United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of New York, 61.

April 28.—Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, the noted New York social worker and author, 69.



THE LATE JOSIAH STRONG, D.D.

(Noted as clergyman, social worker, editor, and author)

April 30.—Earl St. Aldwyn (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), the veteran English statesman, 79. . . . Edward J. DeCoppet, the New York banker and music patron, 60.

May 1.—Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills, the lecturer and evangelist, 58. . . . Charles William Harkness, one of the largest holders of Standard Oil stock, 56. . . . Rear-Adm. Samuel F. Coues, U.S.N., retired, 91.

May 2.—Dr. David Fisher Atwater, of Springfield, Mass., oldest graduate of Yale University, 98.

May 3.—Enos M. Barton, former president of the Western Electric Company, 74.

May 4.—Hector Irenaeus Sevin, Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, 64. . . . Prof. Lucien Ira Blake, inventor of the submarine signal, 61. . . . Lord John Hay, former Admiral of the British Fleet, 89.

May 5.—Dr. Samuel M. Brickner, a noted New York gynecologist and medical writer, 49.

May 11.—William A. Gardner, president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, 57. . . . Dr. Edward Leaming, a distinguished New York X-ray specialist.

May 12.—Rev. Nacy McGee Waters, D.D., a widely known lecturer and clergyman of Brooklyn, N. Y., 49. . . . Charles R. Smith, a prominent Wisconsin timber man and manufacturer, 61. . . . Dr. Max Reger, the German composer, 43.

May 13.—Major Robert M. Moore, who cleaned up Havana for the United States Army after the Spanish War, 68. . . . Moses W. Cortright, former Chief Inspector of the New York Police, 77. . . . Albert Basil Orme Wilberforce, Archdeacon of Westminster and chaplain of the British House of Commons, 75. . . . Clara Louise Kellogg-Strakosch, the famous American opera singer, 73. . . . Solomon Rabinowitz ("Sholem Aleichem"), the Jewish humorous writer, 57.

May 14.—William Stanley, the distinguished electrical engineer, 58.

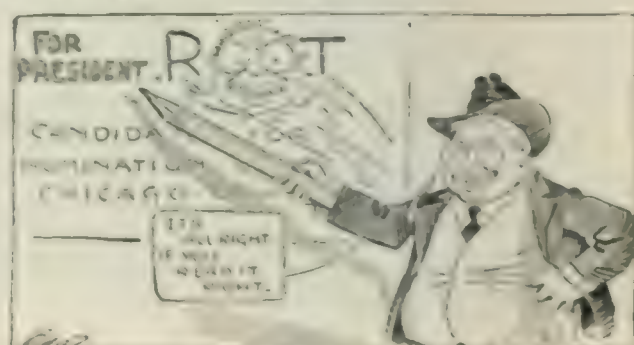
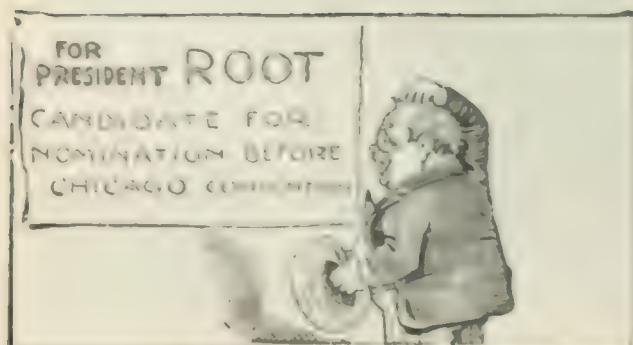
May 16.—Elmer Lawrence Corthell, a noted consulting engineer, 76. . . . Epiphanius Wilson, for many years foreign editor of the *Literary Digest*, 72.

May 19.—Emily Nelson Ritchie McLean, noted as speaker and writer and leading member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 51. . . . Stephen Babcock, a widely known teacher of the blind, 83.

PRE-CONVENTION CARTOONS ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS



From the Tribune (Chicago)



T. R.'S BLUE PENCIL

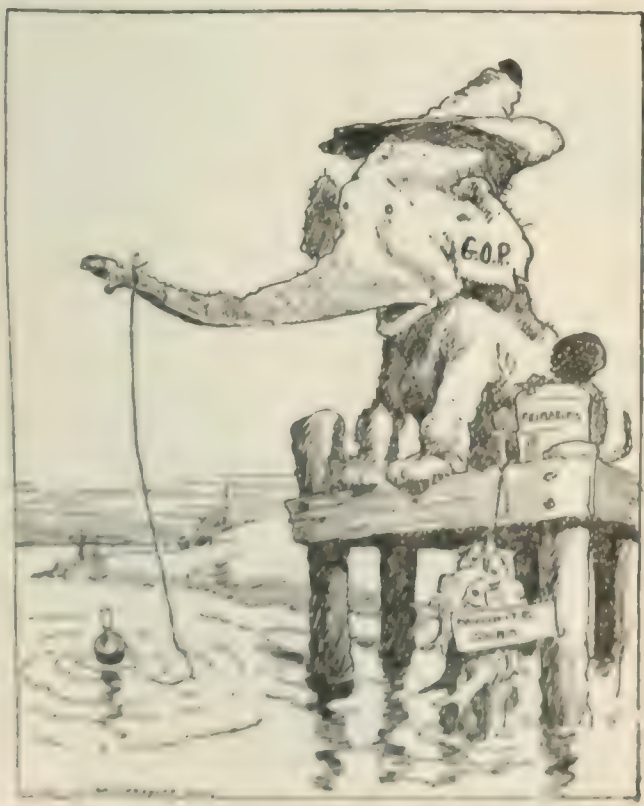
From the News (Minneapolis)



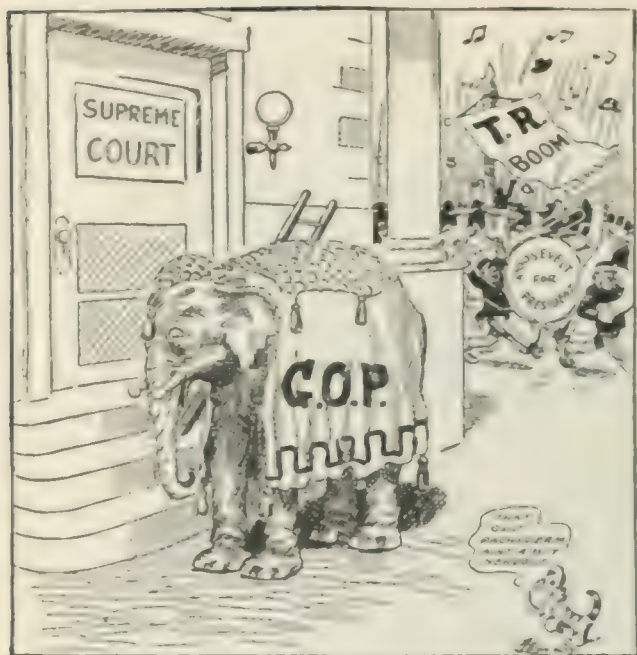
MUCH DEPENDS ON THE VIEWPOINT
From the Leader (Cleveland)



SLEEPING
From the Tribune (New York)



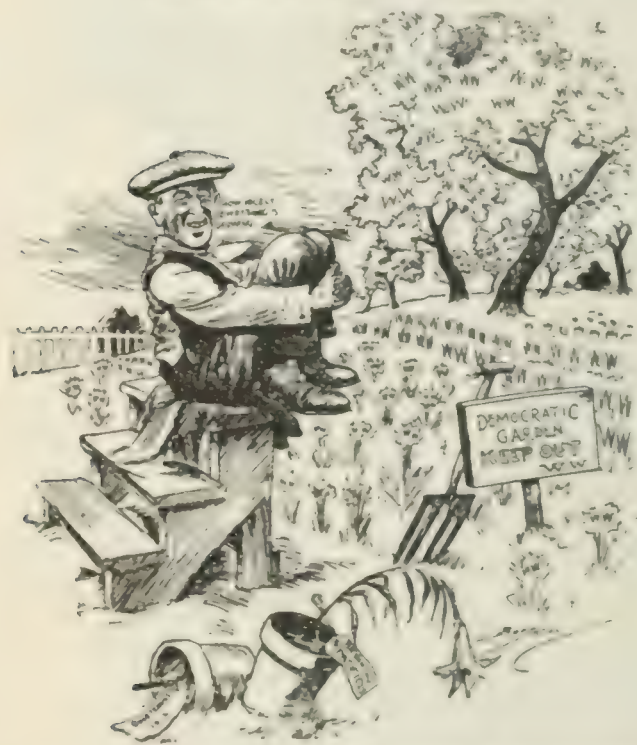
WAITING FOR THE BOAT
From the Mail (New York)



WAITING
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



THE ENGAGED GIRL NEVER HAS A GOOD TIME
From the *Yank* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



CANDIDATE WILSON: "HOW LOVELY EVERYTHING IS GROWING!"
From the *Star* (Washington)



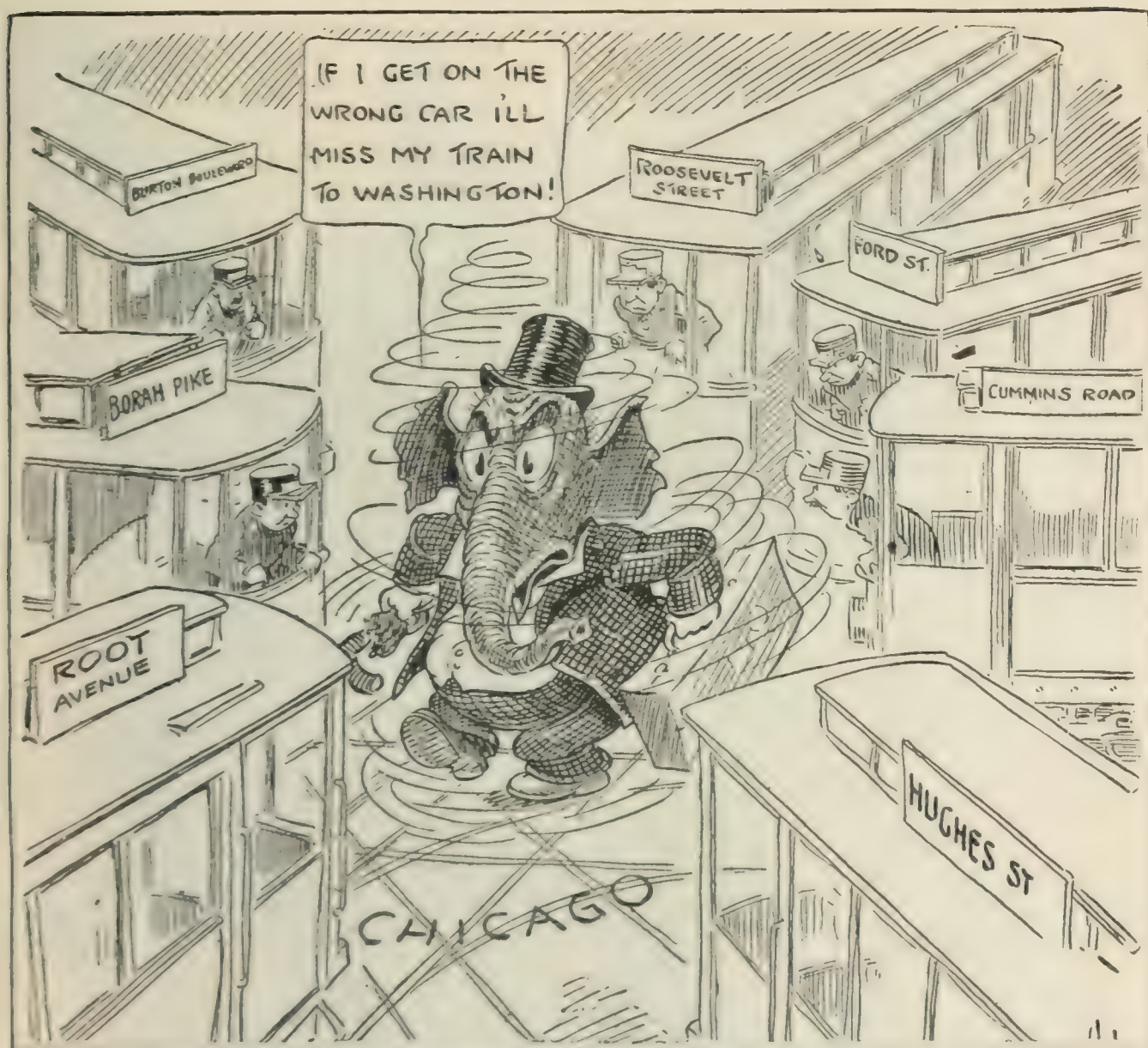
From the *Star* (Washington)



T. R. AS THE PRODIGAL SON
From the *Yank* (Detroit)



THE EDUCATED ELEPHANT
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)



ALMOST TRAIN TIME AND THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT IS GROWING PANICKY

From the *Daytonian* (Columbus)



WISCONSIN AS A BULLY PULL

From the *Times* (Chicago)



THE RED EYES OF OLETTA FOX

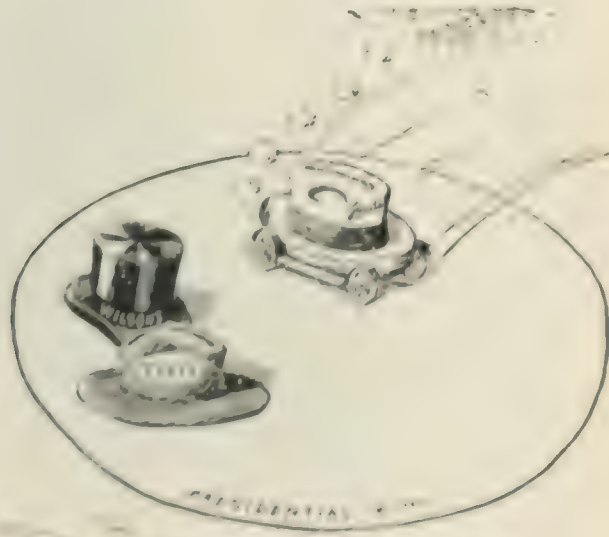
From the *Times* (Chicago)



THE FLIRT
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus)



"OH, HARRY, HARRY! YOU'RE MISSING ME!"
From the Toledo Blade



THE HARD CAR DRIVEN INTO THE
From the Daily Worker



"WELL, I RECKON HE WILL FIND OUT NEXT NOVEMBER!"

FROM THE EVENING STAR (NEW YORK)

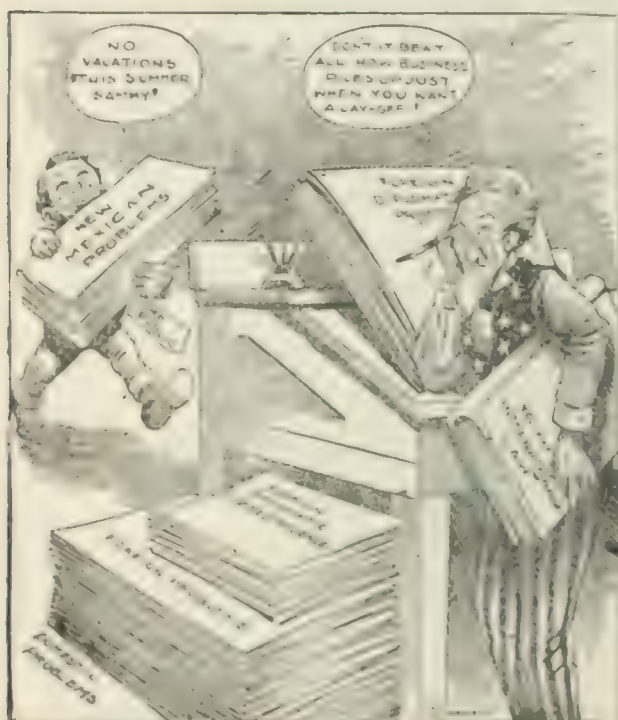
The cartoon above shows Uncle Sam commenting rather pointedly on President Wilson's recent utterances, while that to the right would seem to indicate that at least one of the President's sentences had a distinctly personal reference. As shown in the drawings below, many of our cartoonists are reflecting the opinion that Uncle Sam, as the "coyote hunter" in Mexico, has a long job ahead of him.



WILSONITE: "WHOM DOES HE MEAN?"
(FROM THE EVENING Herald (NEW YORK))



THE COYOTE HUNTER
(FROM THE FINE DREAM (CLEVELAND))



LOOKS LIKE A LONG HOT SUMMER
(FROM THE TRIBUNE (LOS ANGELES))



UNCLE SAM WILL REMAIN INDEFINITELY IN MEXICO
(FROM THE TRIBUNE (CLEVELAND))

INDIANA UNIVERSITY'S CENTENARY PAGEANT



A SERIES of celebrations marking the centenary of Indiana's admission to the Union began on May 16-18 with the pageant of Bloomington and Indiana University. This pageant was staged on the campus of the university at Bloomington, and consisted of thirteen episodes depicting the

growth of the community and the educational system of the State from the earliest settlements to the present time. All scenes, costumes, dialogue, and characters, with the exception of those designed for symbolic effects, were as true to history as it was possible to make them. The living descendants of Indiana's pioneers took the parts of their forefathers.

In scenes of later years, the original characters played their own rôles in the majority of cases. Those present who had long ago helped in the making of Hoosier history, but who were now too feeble to participate in its reënaction, occupied places of honor. Among these people was James B. Black, a former judge of the Indiana Appellate Court, who in '61 dropped his studies at Indiana University to carry the stars and stripes for the first company which left Bloomington for the battlefields of the Civil War. At his side sat Mrs. Marcus H. Shryer, of Indianapolis, the woman who more than half a century ago presented him with the symbol of the Union. Along with ten or twelve old men of the local G. A. R., these two survivors of Civil War days saw the flag presentation ceremony reënacted in martial detail by a newly recruited student company of the Indiana National Guard, clad in old uniforms of the North. The identical rifles used by a volunteer corps of Indiana University students to repel Morgan's raiders at the outbreak of the Civil War were a part of the property. "Underground railway" operations made up a part of this Civil War episode.

The first episode depicted the settling of

Bloomington in 1818, in the days when business and a barrel of whiskey went hand in hand together and when "lickin' and larnin'" was the rule with Hoosier schoolmasters. Then came the circuit rider, with his faithful band of long-haired men and boys and hysterical women, and the establishment of the old Indiana Seminary, the first thing in the way of "higher larnin'" in the State. On down through the days of struggle for Indiana University and the serious question among Hoosiers as to the value of "educashun" went the story, through the trials of the Civil War and the more recent developments in community and State.

Pantomime, dancing, and massive choral and orchestral effects were intermingled throughout these realistic scenes to symbolize the various steps in the growth of Hoosierdom. Three hundred students, clad in filmy gowns of brilliant colors, presented the beautiful dance of Hope and Determination in the Introduction, to show the characteristics of the early settlers. Another impressive spectacle was the finale, when the entire cast of 1000 characters appeared and sang the "Hymn to Indiana" and the "Hymn to America." The University orchestra of forty-five pieces furnished accompaniment for all of the symbolic episodes.

A stable of fifty head of live stock was necessary for the staging of the mighty spectacle. A pioneer parade, led by an ox team, and a prairie schooner 101 years old, was a feature of the performance. Nearly all the properties and costumes were borrowed relics. The cast included more than one thousand characters. William Chauncey Langdon was the writer and director of the pageant. The music was composed by Prof. C. D. Campbell, of the Indiana University School of Music. Governor Ralston, President Bryan of the University, and other distinguished citizens of the State took part.

The photographs reproduced on the two following pages show scenes from the pageant and convey some impression of the rare natural beauty of the site, which is regarded as one of Indiana's most attractive bits of scenery.



A BEAUTIFUL SYMBOLIC SCENE IN THE INTRODUCTION TO THE BLOOMINGTON PAGEANT

The spirits of Hope and Determination welcoming the Pioneers, who are coming through the woods in the distance (The building in the background is Kirkwood Observatory)



A CIRCUIT RIDER ADDRESSING HIS FLOCK



THE COMING OF THE PIONEERS, ACCOMPANIED BY AN OX TEAM DRAWING A HOME-MADE HICKORY CART



THE FIRST GOVERNOR, JAMES BROWN RAY (ON THE HORSE), ADDRESSING THE SETTLERS



PRESENTING A FLAG TO THE VOLUNTEERS FOR THE CIVIL WAR



THE GRAND CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIES IN PARIS

The distinguished representatives of the Allied powers met in the Grand Salon, at the Quai d'Orsay, on March 27-28, to discuss military, financial, and economic problems of the war. Seated in the foreground, from left to right, are: Mr. Asquith (Great Britain), Lord Balfour (Great Britain), Sir E. Grey (Great Britain), Mr. Lloyd George (Great Britain), Lord Kitchener (Great Britain), General Sir W. Robertson (Great Britain), Signor Tittoni (Italy), Mr. O'Beirne, Signor Salandra (Italy), Baron Sonnino (Italy), General Cadorna (Italy).

In the background, beginning at the left: M. Bourgeois (France), General Roques (France), M. Briand (France), Admiral Lacaze (France), General Joffre (France), General de Castelnau (France), General Rachitch (Serbia), M. Jovanovitch (Serbia), Dr. Vesnitch (Serbia), M. Pasitch (Serbia), M. Isvolsky (Russia), General Jilinsky (Russia), Senhor Chagas (Portugal), Mr. Matsui (Japan), General Dall'Olio (Italy).

Other members of the conference, who do not appear in the above picture, were M. Cambon and M. A. Thomas, for France, and Baron de Broqueville, Baron Beyens, and General Wielemans, for Belgium.



THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE IN THE VERDUN SECTOR

(Behind the Crown Prince, who is reading a telegram, is a group of French prisoners)

SUMMER PROSPECTS--AN ALLIED OFFENSIVE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

THE last month has brought nothing of real military importance. Before Verdun the Germans have continued their operations with no success. After a period which by its quiet seemed to give evidence that the campaign for the Lorraine fortress had been abandoned, new efforts gave the lie to those who had announced the end, but there was not the smallest reason to be found for believing that any new effort could succeed where the great drive of February and March had failed.

In the Near East a British army surrendered at Kut, some ten thousand men laying down their arms to the Turks. As a blow to British prestige the surrender was of no small meaning, but in the general field of war it had no significance. The Irish Rebellion, which as a purely domestic affair I shall not discuss, following closely upon the Kut affair, was one more evidence of the weakness of the British Government and the supreme blindness of Asquith and his associates, a blindness which has endured for years and is responsible for the fact that British prestige is at a lower ebb in the world than at any time since the fall of Napoleon. But this rebellion, too, was of minor moment.

I. AS TO PEACE

In the absence of really notable military operations I mean to devote the present article to answering, in so far as I am able, a number of questions which have been asked of me, since I returned to this country, the questions which are invariably asked of anyone who visits the belligerent countries at this time. These questions concern the possibility of peace, the temper and spirit of the nations, as it is revealed within their own frontiers, the economic condition, in so far as it can be detected by the mere traveler. Finally, I mean to mention very briefly the view held in France and in Great Britain of the possibility that there will be a great Allied offensive some time in the present summer.

As to the possibility of peace, I should

say at once that neither in Great Britain nor in France did I hear any real talk of peace. As to France I may mention as typical the comment of a former French Premier. I asked him what would happen to any French politician who actively and earnestly advocated peace at that moment.

"Well," said the former President of the Council, "I think that he would be killed. Very quietly, very decently, of course you understand, but still, killed."

As to the British view, it was expressed best to me by several men who traveled with me in a railroad carriage; one of them said and the others agreed to this: "If we men should want to have peace now, as we don't, the women wouldn't permit it." This idea Rudyard Kipling echoed, when in speaking of the English women, he said to me: "She is not like Rachel weeping for her lost child, the English woman is like a she-bear that has lost her cub."

The French attitude is very simple to appreciate. Much French territory is now occupied by German troops; in the French mind this occupied region includes Alsace-Lorraine, which was taken by the Germans in 1870. France is fighting to free her soil, to free all of it, to free that occupied nearly fifty years ago and that occupied in 1914. At the moment the French fully appreciate that peace might be had on terms, that these terms would not call for the sacrifice of much, if any, French territory, aside from the colonies, but that it would mean the sacrifice forever of the hope of winning back the "lost provinces."

In the present war above half a million Frenchmen have died. Whole districts have been ravaged by the Germans, not merely as an incident of war, but wantonly and brutally wasted. I, myself, have visited a score of villages which were destroyed, not by shell fire, not by military operations, but merely as the expression of that German spirit which destroyed Louvain. All northern France is filled with the evidences of German atrocities in so far as these atrocities

ties were assaults upon inanimate things, churches, homes, public buildings, and all northern France is filled with the accounts of other atrocities upon women and children, which are implicitly believed by the whole French people.

Until there is an assurance that another such storm cannot break out in the lifetime of anyone now alive, the French are not ready to lay aside their arms. It is not true, so far as my observation goes, that the French are tired of the war, in the sense that they are eager for the sort of peace which would now be had. There is a calm, patient, determination in France, which is beyond all else the most impressive thing in Europe to-day. There is no passion, there is no threatening, there is a silence that no one has associated with the French character, but there is also a determination which is written on the faces of a whole race.

There is nothing to be seen in Paris, at the front, in the villages and towns behind the firing-line that suggests that the French are in any different mood than were the people of the North in 1864. There is the same confidence in ultimate victory that the North had after Gettysburg, there is something of the same disappointment that the North suffered when Grant's great advance from the Rapidan to Cold Harbor did not destroy Lee's army and another war of trenches resulted. But France has seen in Verdun another Gettysburg, a promise of ultimate victory and of present national strength.

It has been suggested to me, since I got home, that French impatience over British blundering and failure might lead to a break between the Allies. I saw nothing to suggest it. The French are disappointed with the results of British effort, but not with the effort, not with the attempt. They realize that so far British military operations have been a terrible failure and that they have made the work of the French difficult and costly, but they also realize that the British have actually done far more than they promised and are trying to do yet more.

Above all the French recognize perfectly well that their own deliverance is impossible without British help. They have a very exact appreciation of the service of the British fleet and they are not in the least likely to contribute anything to weakening an alliance which is the sole guarantee of victory because their ally has failed so far,

in every military undertaking, particularly as their ally is still stolidly striving for success. In sum, France is ready to go on, is unwilling to stop now until what has been begun is ended completely, is ended at Metz and Strassburg.

II. IN ENGLAND NOW

The British temper is different from that of the French. The British do not yet see things with that complete clarity which marks the French. There is still in London a very real sense of a mental as well as a physical fog. There is a sense of anger and bitterness, which surprises you, since the Germans have not yet occupied British territory. There is a note of personal rancor in England that is lacking in France.

Yet if you analyze what the average Englishman says to you, it is not so different from the French comment. He says: "This sort of thing has got to be stopped." He means the sort of thing which his press and his public men but above all his soldiers have told him German invasion means, German foreign policy involves, and the whole thing is for him translated into fact by the Zeppelin raids, which come and go, leaving their trail of murdered women and children behind them.

All England is chafing terribly under its present Cabinet. There is a frankness and bitterness of phrase that suggests America, but even passes contemporary American comment, because the Englishman feels the extent to which his very existence has been jeopardized by weak men.

The net impression of France is the impression of a nation which is quite tacitly conscious of having borne itself well, nobly in a supreme hour; in England the impression is just the opposite. It is impossible to escape a very real sense of national humiliation concealed behind an almost pathetic cover of simulated stolidity. There is an ever-present sense of agony which results from the fact that a very great and noble sacrifice has been wasted, that men and women have sent their boys to die, that these boys have died heroically, but that their lives have been flung away in some vain and foolish enterprise or by some official blunderer, who still remains to repeat the offending.

But in all this there is nothing that makes for peace, rather quite the contrary. Englishmen recognize, while they do not admit

it, that a peace now, on the basis of bargain, would be the real destruction of that great legend of British prestige. Peace now and on terms that are now possible would leave the German assertion that Britain was a decadent country undestroyed, it would leave the British Empire, itself, a shining mark for some new attack, and it would leave the people with diminished faith and confidence.

If the average Frenchman, if every Frenchman is fighting for the restoration of his nation's territory, already knowing that her prestige is forever assured, the average Englishman is fighting to regain that national glory which has been so sadly dimmed in all the disasters from Mons to Kut. He is, too, fighting with a real confidence, only partially weakened by his lack of faith in his present rulers, that the army has already turned the point and is coming into shape, that the country is at last alive to the real situation, that the worst is over, or almost over.

The difference between the French and British point of view is not a difference which encourages one to see more promise of peace by London signs than by Parisian. The cases of France and Britain are different, but different causes lead to the same conclusion. There is just as much determination to go on and through with the job in London as in Paris and in Paris as in London. There is, too, in London wholehearted admiration for French efficiency and achievement. This is the due of France, but this due is cheerfully rendered. The British are not tired of their alliance; they are rather determined to make amends for failures, which were not failures through any lack of effort.

Speaking imperially, the British are determined to have done with the German menace to their colonies, they are determined to have done with a Turkish menace at Suez, a German threat in South Africa. Australia is contributing to hold the lines in Flanders, Canada is on the same line. South Africa is invading the last German colony in Africa, and the end of German domination beyond the seas is in sight. If Britain has failed on land, she has not failed on her own element and her success here has guaranteed her future success, with her allies on European fields.

The British, like the French, are perfectly confident of ultimate victory. The British confidence seems a bit exaggerated in detail; there is still talk of crushing Ger-

many, which is not heard in Paris, crushing meaning some vague reduction of Germany into its component parts and the liberation of the minor states. The French do not differentiate between the states, they do not think of Germany save as a whole, and they have found the Bavarians more cruel than the Prussians. But as to the main fact, Britain expects a complete victory and is ready to fight until it is won.

III. GERMANY IS BEATEN

Before I went to Europe I had written much, in this magazine and elsewhere, which indicated my complete faith in the ultimate triumph of the Allies. Since my return I have been asked again and again whether what I had seen and heard had changed my view. It has not. The defeat of Germany has always seemed to me inevitable, given her inferiority in numbers, wealth, and resources and her lack of sea power, unless she could snatch a victory by a brusque attack in the opening days or detach one or more of the opposing nations from the hostile alliance.

Everything that I heard in Europe testified to the solidarity of the alliance against Germany. Nowhere was there the slightest suggestion in London or Paris that there was any chance of a Russian defection and just after I left France Russian troops arrived to demonstrate Russian constancy. London and Paris spoke hopefully and confidently of Russian preparations. While I was in Paris there was a conference between representatives of all the Allied nations; there was a joint meeting of the military leaders of France, Britain, Russia, and Italy, and plans were adopted for a combined campaign in the future.

For the Americans the real parallel, it has seemed to me, was the situation in the Civil War at the moment of Gettysburg. General Delacroix, a predecessor of Joffre and one of the most distinguished writers on military affairs in Europe, now that age has removed him from the battle line, commented to me on this point. Familiar with our own Civil War history, he had been struck with the similarity and had written before the Verdun operation on the likeness of the Civil War to the present conflict and of the fortunes of the North to those of the Grand Alliance against Germany.

The French, the British, and the Russians expect to win. The Verdun success

has been, speaking on the moral aspect, the most tremendous lift on the Allied side since the war began. As to the economic condition, it is unmistakable that food costs much more both in France and in Great Britain than before the war; coal is almost beyond the reach of the well-to-do in both countries. But in France, at least, there is no evidence of suffering. Traveling all over the north of France I found no evidence of a shortage of food and the prices were still below the American standard. Some of the best meals that I had were within sound of the guns, French bread remains as good as it ever was and the price of this staple has not increased, thanks to government regulation. I did not travel through England, so I cannot speak on the food question there.

If there is economic exhaustion approaching in France or Great Britain it is not visible. The reports of German food riots may be false; the stories of the quality of German bread, the imposition of meatless and fatless days are certainly facts. All this has been so far spared the French and the British peoples. Thanks to the government allowances paid to the wives and parents of French soldiers, there is no want. Even the hapless refugees from the occupied districts have been absorbed into the population.

On the other hand, I found far less faith in the reports of the exhaustion of German supplies, either of food or of men in Europe than I had looked for. Ambulance-drivers at the front told me that the German prisoners captured at Verdun were by no means old or of poor quality. There is a very real hope that the rumors about the exhaustion of the man-supply in Germany may be true, but the French, particularly, are not reckoning on it as both the French and the British did a year ago. I heard no serious suggestion that the German lines would have to be shortened because of lack of men this year.

Germany's financial situation is viewed as desperate and more than desperate. On all sides I heard comments which indicated a belief on some show of evidence that the collapse could not long be prevented and that Germany must make peace at no distant date if she was to escape a ruin, when peace came, that would leave her crippled for a generation. It is the financial rather than the other difficulties that claims most attention both in London and in Paris.

But all the evidence that one may gather in the British and in the French capitals points to the ultimate defeat of Germany. So sure of victory do both nations feel that

they are prepared to go on with the enormous sacrifices; the attitude of Russia is manifestly the same. The temper of the Allies is quite the same that history shows to have been that of the other allies who faced Napoleon on his return from Elba, before Waterloo was fought.

IV. PEACE TALK

Since my return and in consequence of the German note to the United States over the submarine question, there has been a new outburst of peace talk coming frankly from German sources and this time permitted to stand without German denial. High German authority in Washington was had the other day for an outline of Germany's peace terms, which conceded the evacuation of France and Belgium without indemnity, but demanded an independent Poland and a Balkan settlement which should leave Constantinople in Turkish hands and condemn Serbia to impotence. The only other detail of real interest was the demand for the return of German colonies.

I have tried to outline already that no such terms, no terms which could be predicated upon the present military situation in Europe, will be acceptable to France, Britain, or Russia. Lord Robert Cecil, who unlike most British public men has shown a real concern for American public opinion and a readiness to explain the British point of view, has officially rejected the German proposal and from the French Embassy in Washington there has come an equally prompt and complete rejection.

Germany now frankly confesses for the first time that she desires peace. This is a large fact in the situation. She has just suffered a very great military defeat, which without actually injuring her military position has shaken her prestige everywhere and nowhere more than in America. She has consented to yield to American demands in the matter of submarines in a fashion which is wholly at variance with her previous declarations, although one must still wait to see how far she has yielded in fact and how far only in phrase.

But German proposals will only contribute to strengthen Allied determination. Given the fact that the French and the British expect to win, and this is the fact, nothing is more likely to strengthen their faith than the earnest plea of their opponent, put forth wherever this opponent has friends or agents, for a peace on terms,



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

GEN. D. CHOUVAIEV
(Recently appointed Minister of War for Russia)



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

GEN. PAOLO MASCHINI
(The new Italian Minister of War, who succeeded General Zucchi)



© International Film Service

FIELD-MARSHAL MACKENSEN

(This striking portrait of the great German general, who is in command in the Italian theatre of war, was made at Compiègne just after he had returned from a flying visit to Berlin)

which are reasonable and more than reasonable, if regard be had only for what exists in the military situation. For London and for Paris the German proposals are a welcome sign of weakness and a new incentive to persistence.

On what terms could Germany have peace? There is no difficulty in fixing the minimum price, the price that would be demanded by her foes. France must have Alsace-Lorraine; Belgium and Serbia must be restored and indemnified. Several German colonies must be surrendered, Russia must have Constantinople, Italy Trieste and the Trentino; it must be left to the Allies to settle the fate of the Turkish Empire. In sum, the enemies of the Central Powers demand, first, a return to the *status quo ante*, which means the surrender of all the German conquests, and then the further surrender to France and Italy of territories which in French and Italian minds belong to the Fatherland and the abandonment to the Czar of the Dardanelles.

Obviously these are the terms of victors and the Allies are as yet far from being victorious. But they are the minimum terms. Germany could not now obtain peace by a frank suggestion of a return to the map of Europe of August 1, 1914. She could not have it, although she has so far been victorious in the war and all the sacrifices would be on her side. She cannot have it because the Allies believe that they are destined to win the things they now demand, that until they are won peace in Europe will not be assured.

Now if Germany actually needs peace, we shall before very long have a new proposal. She may well offer Metz to France and persuade Austria to offer the Trentino to Italy, she may compel Bulgaria to agree to an arrangement with Serbia based upon the Serbo-Bulgar treaty which antedated the First Balkan War and gave Macedonia to Bulgaria, apart from the Vilayet of Kossovo, assigning northern Albania to Serbia. Conceivably Germany, if she is actually anxious for peace, might throw the Turk over and bargain for her place in the sun in Central Africa.

But does Germany yet believe peace so necessary as to confess defeat by ceding German territory and surrendering her allies? There is nothing to indicate any such temper yet. Germany is ready to make peace on the basis of a victory won, asking reward wholly moderate in the face of the actual victory. The Allies are only willing to

make peace on the basis of the victory they expect to win. All this spells more war, here is no field for the diplomat, no apparent basis for compromise.

V. WILL THERE BE AN ALLIED OFFENSIVE?

Turning now to the question of the possibility of an Allied Offensive this summer, I found a difference of opinion that was surprising. Both in France and in Great Britain a majority of the people, and I should guess a majority of the military observers, expect that some time before autumn there will be one more great offensive. This offensive will be the most tremendous effort that war has ever known and it will be a co-ordinated movement, made at the same moment by the Russians, the British, the French, the Italians, and by the expeditionary army in Salonica. This is the prevailing view.

On the other hand, particularly in England, there is strong belief that it will not be possible to break the German lines by any direct attack. The same view is voiced, but not so frequently, in France. The weight of experience, however, supports the contention. So far we have had a large number of these offensives and only the German attacks upon Russia at the Dunajec and upon Serbia have succeeded.

On the Allied side the drives at Neuve Chapelle, in Champagne in the spring of 1915, in Artois in the same spring, in Artois and Champagne in September, have failed, except as local successes, at very great cost. The Germans have similarly failed at Ypres and more recently at Verdun. The Verdun operation was the greatest that has yet been undertaken. It was the most carefully prepared, it was supported by the greatest concentration of artillery that war has known, and it was made at a point weaker than any in the French line, so far as we have any knowledge.

The failure of the Verdun operation as an attempt to break the French line is now absolute, even if the Germans should take Verdun, a remote contingency. It is absolute because time has been allowed to the French to prepare positions behind the town and there would be no break in the line incident to a German advance which reached Verdun itself. This German undertaking has cost about a quarter of a million of casualties and an expenditure of ammunition unprecedented in this war of munitions.



© Underwood & Lothrop

RUSSIAN TROOPS ARRIVING IN FRANCE

(The Czar has lent some of his legions to fight by the side of his Allies on the Western front. They are shown in the picture disembarking at Marseilles)



GENERAL MENGIER, GOVERNOR OF MARSEILLES, AND THE RUSSIAN STAFF OFFICERS, SALUTING THE FLAG CARRIED BY THE RUSSIAN TROOPS MARCHING PAST

Since it failed is there any greater prospect of success for an Allied drive?

If the Allies attempt a drive and fail, then it is a fair assumption that we have seen the end of campaigning. This does not mean that there will necessarily be an end of the war. On the contrary many of those who oppose the drive assert that the true defeat of Germany can be had by maintaining the present lines and steadily tightening the blockade. If the drive is made it may cost anything from half a million to a million casualties. If it succeeds in shortening the German lines it will repay the cost, even if there be no decisive victory and no immediate breaking of the lines.

But if the Allies try and fail, the moral effect will be beyond exaggeration and we may then see the first real signs of peace, of peace based upon the approaching exhaustion of all the contestants, such a peace as marked the close of the great wars between Louis XIV and the various coalitions, peace which in the main were based upon the *status quo ante*. This will make the Allies exceedingly cautious in the matter of undertaking an attack. But there is good ground for believing that popular sentiment in all the countries will, before the summer is over, compel the venture.

Such information as came to me pointed to the postponement of the effort until July, because of the probable delay in munitioning Russia. Again there is a general feeling that precisely as long as Germany continues on the offensive herself, there is no need of an Allied attack for the German venture is costing many German lives and tending to exhaust German munitions. Unquestionably one of the purposes of the Verdun attack was to force the Allies into a premature advance, designed to relieve the pressure on the Meuse sector. But this purpose was vain. Instead of a British offensive in the west, the British took over the Arras sector of the French line and released a whole French army to be put in reserve.

Had the German attack been actually successful, or had it come close to a success, a counter-offensive elsewhere would have been necessary. The full measure of German failure lies in the fact that no such counter-offensive has been necessary and the Allies have been able to await their own time for the great drive, which the Germans obviously expect and apparently dread.

It lies within the bounds of possibility that the Germans will still feel themselves

strong enough to undertake one more attack upon Russia, the possibility has been seriously discussed for the past two months. But the difficulty now, as contrasted with last year, is that the British have now above a million and a quarter of men on the western front and both the French and British are provided with heavy artillery and munitions as they were not a year ago.

Even if Germany has the numbers to undertake a drive to Petrograd or Moscow, she cannot view her western line with the same calmness as last year and to despatch a million and a half of men into remote Russia would be to run risks that were not in the situation of last year. But even last year the Allied drive in Champagne in September compelled the recall of several divisions from the Russian front and others from Serbia and there was a moment when there was imminent danger that the Allies would break the German line both in Champagne and Artois. The Allied offensive of last year was not far from successful and for several days German fortunes hung in the balance in the west.

The German attack at Verdun is a clear evidence that Germany looks with apprehension upon the western situation and has attempted to provoke a premature offensive, which, because of weather conditions, would have to be made before Russia and Italy could play their part. The time has now come when campaigning in Russia and in the Alps is possible. All the Allies can now strike at the same moment. They can also choose the moment because the French defense of Verdun has been achieved without involving any of the rest of the western front and the British, by taking over a French sector have released an army which will replace the reserve army, which was put in at Verdun.

I believe that there will be an Allied drive, that it will take place not later than July, and that it will be made simultaneously on all fronts, but there are reasons, which I have indicated, which support the opposite view and point to a summer of deadlock, during which the Allies will rely upon the economic rather than the military weapons, which they possess.

VI. THE SURRENDER AT KUT

The surrender of some 10,000 British troops, the larger part native troops, an Indian contingent, at Kut-el-Amara, half way between the Persian Gulf and Bagdad, was



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TURKISH TROOPS MANEUVERING ON THE PLAINS OF BABYLON

(These are some of the troops engaged in the Mesopotamian campaign that resulted in the surrender to the Turks of the British forces under General Townshend at Kut el-Amara on April 28.)



ANCIENT AND MODERN TRANSPORT IN THE EAST CAMPAIGN
(A Turkish camel caravan passing a motor transport.)

the long-expected sequel to a reckless venture of a British general a year ago. It was not the intention of the British to try to take Bagdad, their sole concern was to lay hands upon the lower end of Mesopotamia, upon the city of Basra and the very valuable oil-fields to the northeast, which are the true prize of this corner of the globe.

The story of the expansion of the campaign, the advance from point to point until the expedition was almost within sight of Bagdad, and England was eagerly waiting to hear of the fall of the ancient capital, is the story of much of British disaster, not alone in this war but in all wars. The temptation to venture was plain, the gamble was for a great stake, but there was no sound military reason for making the gamble and the general who made it lacked the approval of his superiors.

Some ten miles from Bagdad the invaders were defeated at Ctesiphon and forced to take flight. Turkish reinforcements brought up with ease had arrived in time to turn the day. The British retreat was halted a hundred miles down river and the army was surrounded. For months it held its ground, while a relief army was organized and pushed north, but it was held up by floods, by Turkish troops and finally there was repeated the fatal story of Gordon at Khartum, a British commander was overwhelmed while the relieving army was still on the road.

As to the immediate or even the ultimate effect of this surrender on the military side, it is probably comprehended in the total of prisoners and officers taken, utterly insignificant, as contemporary war goes. If it proves a lesson to British high command, if it marks the end of the policy of "little packets" and colonial experiments, it is worth the price. As a failure it is not to be compared in anything but character to the Gallipoli fiasco, which cost 100,000 casualties and almost ruined British prestige in the Near East. But it represents the same weaknesses in high command.

In point of fact, this sort of expedition rests on the firmest of British tradition. It was the sort of thing the younger Pitt did to the honor of his European allies and on one occasion drove the Czar of Russia into Napoleon's arms at Tilsit, because England's armies, instead of aiding Russian and Prussian allies, were chasing after colonies on the other side of the earth. It was just this sort of blundering that gave England her deservedly bad name as an ally in other cen-

turies, but it is fair to add that since the Kut expedition was launched British high command has been reorganized, a General Staff has been created and it has already coordinated its plans with those of the land powers.

Probably the worst thing about Kut was that it came as the last of a long series of British failures and it was immediately followed by the rebellion in Ireland, which was purely and simply the result of a stupidity and folly beyond all words. For months it has been known in America how bad the Irish situation was and men returning from Ireland have reported that trouble was imminent. But the British Government forbore to act, through ignorance, blindness, or through that procrastination which is summed up in Asquith's "wait and see" policy.

Sooner or later, for her own self-respect, Britain has got to win a respectable-sized victory on land and against Germany. Up to the present moment she has been defeated alike by the Germans and by the Turks in all her considerable undertakings. Only in the African colonies, where the numbers were overwhelmingly against the Germans, has she been successful and there the colonial troops have earned the laurels. The failure at Kut was a disaster only as it served to blur the picture made by French defense at Verdun and Russian victory at Erzerum and Trebizond, but to some extent it spoiled the best Allied moment since the Russian defeat at the Dunajec and the Allied reverse at Ypres a year ago.

Meantime the Russians are pushing steadily on toward Anatolia, on the south a column is aiming at Bagdad and Russia seems slowly but surely to be making good her claim to decide the fate of Turkey, without interference and on the basis of accomplished fact. What Russia occupies in Asia Minor this time she is hardly likely to give up, save as the result of defeat. In this sense Kut may yet prove as useful to Russia as any British victory could possibly have been, for it removes all complicating questions arising out of British claims.

I shall discuss the Russian campaign in Asia Minor in my next article. So far it remains the only solid military achievement on the Allied side in a year, in offensive warfare, and unless it is shortly checked, as seems not improbable, it may change the whole situation in the Near East and bring about the collapse of Turkey and the change in alignment of Bulgaria.

POBLACHT NA h EIREANN **THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT** **OF THE** **IRISH REPUBLIC** **TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE "IRISH REPUBLIC"

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

BY WARREN BARTON BLAKE

"**C**OWARDS die many times, the brave only die once." So spoke, not Patrick Henry, but Padraic Pearse, the Irish schoolmaster, who for a few mad April days was "Provisional President of the Irish Republic." That ringing statement of a dreamer-patriot who, with his fellow-signers of an Irish Declaration of Independence, had met a brave man's death, is the keynote of a rebellion for which there was no hope of immediate or practical success. A week after the outbreak at noon on April 23—when rebels seized Stephen's Green (where, in peace-time, the ducks and swans sport and the nursemaids air their charges in the shadow of the Shelbourne Hotel) and the Dublin Post Office, and various other buildings from which they fired on the British soldiers—the main body of the revolutionists had laid down their arms. Dublin was under martial law, Sackville and Grafton streets, the capital's shopping thoroughfares, had been burned, or broken with gun-fire, and, in a few days more, most of the leaders of the uprising had been shot by the military. Nearly two thousand rebels had been deported to England, and Sir Roger Casement was held in the Tower, charged with high treason.

In a military sense the Irish rebellion had been of small consequence. British casualties amounted to only 521 killed and wounded. The revolutionists had seized the Dublin Post Office, to be sure, and cut some telegraph wires; they had defended Liberty Hall (the center of Irish Syndicalism), and brought about the destruction of two or three million pounds' worth of Dublin property; they had fought very ably through the city streets, and played their machine-guns with the skill and daring you would expect of a Citizens' Army that included not a few veterans of the Boer War—but in a military sense the April rebellion was of no great moment.

Shrewd friends of Ireland never expected the undertaking to succeed, and except for disorders at Cork and Galway and casual attacks upon the constabulary from behind a hedge or farm building, the rebellion seemed to find no warlike echo in the rest of Ireland. But that more Irishmen in Dublin and throughout the Kingdom did not rally to the "republic" does not prove that they love England. It did prove their conviction that the revolt must surely fail and produce a worse state of affairs than ever, that the scheme lost more than it



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SIR ROGER CASEMENT

(Who landed in Ireland from a German submarine on April 23, to assist in the Irish uprising. He is to be tried for high treason.)

gained by its association with Germany, and that a great many of Ireland's best "scrapers" lie buried at Ypres and Gallipoli, or are under fire somewhere in France.

IRELAND AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

To understand this luckless attempt at revolution one must recall Irish conditions at the opening of the European War. Then, too, Ireland faced a revolt. The British army had, through its officers in Ireland, encouraged in their attitude by Sir John French, then Chief of the Imperial British Staff, refused to support the British parliament and its laws against Ulster rebels in the event of an actual conflict over Home Rule. The British War Minister, Colonel Seeley, had been obliged to resign; Mr. Asquith himself had taken that portfolio.

In July, 1914, the well-drilled Ulster Volunteers, sworn to prevent by force the extension of Home Rule, had marched through the streets of Belfast, and Sir Edward Carson, the Galway-born lawyer-leader of the

Ulster Unionists, the Ulster man whose Dublin brogue could not be cut with a buck-saw, had held the first meeting of his provisional government at Belfast's Old Town Hall. Ulster had armed her Volunteers to resist the act of the British parliament providing for Irish self-government, and German arms had been landed illegally by Ulster filibusterers without the interference of Britain's army or navy. Five million dollars had been subscribed for the pensioning of the widows and orphans of the Ulster Volunteers, and homes for Ulster refugees from the war zone had been arranged for in England. Only after Ulster had armed were steps taken to prevent such gun-running as had armed them; and the seeming motive of this belated interference with the arming of Volunteers in Ireland was the fact that Irish Nationalists and their more radical brethren, the non-parliamentary Separatists, were organizing rival forces of Volunteers to match the Ulster men and to defend Home Rule as granted by the British Government. On July 26, 1914, British troops killed four Dublin civilians and wounded three score because stones had been thrown when they tried to intercept Irish Volunteers marching from Howth (a suburb) with unloaded rifles just landed from a yacht.

And to these earlier dates may be added September 4, 1914, when the mutilated Home Rule Bill was signed, but its operation indefinitely suspended; and May 26, 1915, when Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster-Unionist opposition to Home Rule, became a member of the British cabinet. Not only was any believer in Irish Nationalism justified in feeling that Ireland had been wronged by the weak-kneed subservience to Ulster, first, of the Liberal, later of the Coalition, government, but, as we shall see, the more fiery patriots regarded the Home Rule bill itself as a betrayal of their legitimate hopes. In 1914 the machinery of British Government in Ireland, under the Act of Union, had broken down; and if Germany thought to turn the war to her own advantage, no one can be blamed except the iron men of Ulster and the inept British Government that had tolerated Ulster sedition.

IRELAND'S SHARE IN THE GREAT WAR

Ireland has been represented by bold fighting men on all fronts—both by well over a hundred thousand war-time recruits and by more than fifty thousand professional sol-



Photograph by Underwood & Lichner, New York

BUILDINGS IN SACKVILLE STREET, DUBLIN, WRECKED DURING THE REVOLT

diers and reservists, not to mention Irish-born volunteers from England and the Colonies. Yet it is useless to deny that the 1914-1915 recruiting campaigns (productive of not many more than 35,000 men outside of Ulster) have been a disappointment. The men of the rural districts—and much more than half the unenlisted Irishmen of military age are agriculturists—have not been greatly aroused either by the recital of Belgium's woes nor yet by the news that a suddenly affectionate King and country need them.

As for the necessity of "smashing Prussian militarism"—the Irish know little and care less about that. It is the Sinn Féin doctrine that "Ireland has no quarrel with any country except England" and even the Redmondite weekly, *Ireland*, published in New York, states that "the main interest of Ireland in the war is lest there should be any slipping back." At the same time Ireland shows up no worse in voluntary service than do certain parts of England, notwithstanding the Irish deficiency in population. Generations of emigration have bled Ireland of her young men, and those who remain cannot well be spared from the soil. A large enlistment from her agricultural areas, or

compulsory military service, such as has been demanded by Sir Edward Carson, would be undesirable from the English standpoint, properly understood, as well as from the Irish standpoint.

JOHN REDMOND'S PART

And what has been the part of John Redmond in Irish history since July, 1914? That is a natural question, for as Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party—*i. e.*, leader of the party of Constitutional Home Rulers as opposed to revolutionists—Mr. Redmond played the chief rôle in securing for Ireland the promise of that measure of Home Rule which, in 1914, made Ireland an armed camp.

On August 3, 1914, Mr. Redmond denied the present application of the old proverb, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." While Nationalists gasped and Orangemen frowned (for the "treason" of Irish Nationalists is the Orangemen's stock-in-trade, along with the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition), Mr. Redmond declared that the existence of the Ulster and Nationalist Volunteers in Ireland was indeed fortunate, and that the Government might "to-

morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. . . . The coasts of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons." With astounding but applauded optimism, and genuine emotion, Parnell's successor expressed the hope that out of the fact that Ireland had her rival Volunteers and the fact that Britain was entering upon a just war, might "spring a result which will be good not only for the Empire, but for the future welfare and integrity of the Irish nation." As for the ancient feud with England, England had promised Home Rule, and Ireland would be faithful to the implied responsibilities. And John Redmond, at least, has been as loyal since August, 1914, as when, under the stress of very genuine emotion, he made this notable speech.

It does not follow, however, that the Home Rule Bill of 1914 satisfied Nationalist Ireland generally, or even John Redmond. The Bill's gravest fault was the amendment which exempted those Ulster counties which have a Protestant majority. This arrangement angered about equally Protestant and Catholic, Unionist and Nationalist. But the essence of British parliamentary government is compromise, and Mr. Redmond has been sitting in Parliament since 1881, and if he could get for Dublin an Irish parliament representative of *part* of Ireland, at least, that would, he told himself, be more than his predecessors in Parliament had been able to secure. The rest might come later. Perhaps Protestant Ulster would voluntarily follow Munster, Leinster, and Connaught to the Dublin parliament, after a fit of sulking—for there has always been an element of bluff in the Ulster position. Your Parliament-man, such as Mr. Redmond is, stands ready to wait; he believes, with a character in John Galsworthy's "Justice," that "time is kind." But your hot-headed young man will *not* wait. All the Irish rebellions have expressed the impatience of young men who preferred trying to waiting. In this aspect has Irish history repeated itself.

WHY JOHN REDMOND'S PATRIOTISM HAS BEEN QUESTIONED

I was a visitor in Dublin when Mr. Redmond made his declaration of loyalty at Westminster, and it seemed to me a fine and daring stand for the leader of Nationalism to take—evidencing as it did an understanding of more than parish politics. Yet, was this the same Redmond, one asked oneself, as the leader who, in 1908 (in New York,

to be sure) told reporters that "what Ireland wants is Home Rule and a government of its own, and that is what Ireland is going to have. I hope to see Ireland placed in the scale of nations much after the fashion of the United States as to Constitution"? Was this the colleague of John Devlin, who told Philadelphia Irishmen that he believed "in the separation of Ireland from England until Ireland is as free as the air we breathe"? When the World War broke and Mr. Redmond pledged Ireland's loyalty he seemed to hostile critics to forget tradition. He was forgetting Ireland and the Spain of the Armada; Ireland and the Amer-



JOHN REDMOND, LEADER OF THE IRISH NATIONALISTS IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

ican Revolution (for our Revolution gave to Ireland, by reflex, her independent Parliament, abolished in 1801 by the corrupt "Act of Union"); he was forgetting Wolfe Tone, and, though France was now Britain's ally, the days when France was Ireland's own ally against Britain, and General Hoche landed on Irish soil; he was ignoring the tragic example set by Emmet.

It was, indeed, high time for Ireland to forget some of these traditions: a long line of easily suppressed rebellions that only renew old grudges and cruelties is a sorry inspiration for practical progress. Yet it is just conceivable that an Irish rebellion of July or August, 1914, would have met with success: certainly its chances would have been greater than in 1916, when Britain had more soldiers at her command than ever before in history. But, leaving ethics out of account, and all considerations of the relative importance of Irish "liberty" and the cause of France and her Allies, it is one thing to



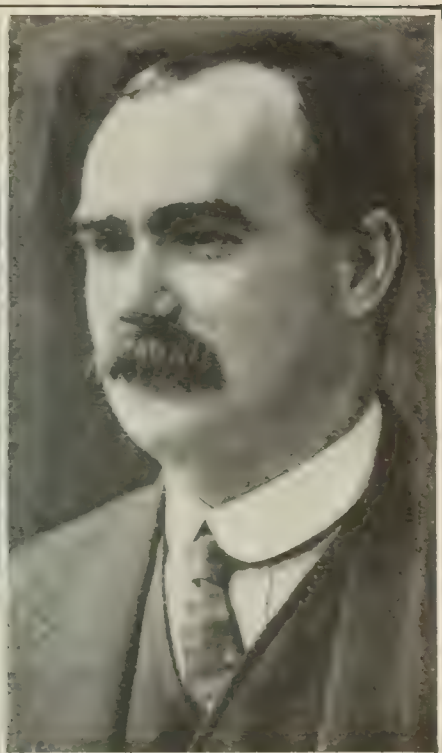
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PADRAIC PEARSE, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC (EXECUTED MAY 3)



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COUNTRESS MARKIEWICZ, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE SINN FÉIN REBELLION (LIFE PRISONER)



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JAMES CONNOLLY, COMMANDER OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS (EXECUTED MAY 12)

succeed in a rebellion and another to hold on to the liberty gained thereby. There is common sense in Bernard Shaw's remark that "if Ireland were cut loose from the British fleet and army to-morrow she would have to make a present of herself the day after to the United States, or France, or Germany, or any other big power which would condescend to accept her: England for preference."

John Redmond's enemies charge that he is far more an Imperialist than an Irishman; they remind us that he once served as a clerk in the British House of Commons and that his father, too, was a minor official there, and that he once inherited Irish property from an uncle who was a general in the British army; they resent his marriage of an English wife and his education of his children at English schools; they accuse him of most of the crimes in the calendar by way of accounting for his pledge of Irish good faith in 1914, and they specifically assert that he has a financial interest in the war as a shareholder in some plant that manufactures munitions—yet after all one need not prove Mr. Redmond a traitor to Ireland in order to understand his course in 1914. Isn't it conceivable that he is one of those old fogies who think of facts as superior to wishes, and can see farther ahead in politics than the next street riot or the next seven-day "Irish Republic"?

A "LITERARY MEN'S AFFAIR"

The Irish Rebellion of 1916 has, in fact, been a literary men's affair. In 1899 appeared a new weekly newspaper called the *United Irishman*—a name pointing back a hundred years to the union of Protestants and Catholics alike in defense of Nationalism. Arthur Griffith, the unknown young editor, was himself a republican, but he flew no republican flag above his newspaper lest that should limit its influence. The *United Irishman* group made its first demonstration of political strength in 1903 when, on Edward VII's visit to Dublin, it prevented the presentation of an address by the Dublin Corporation. Two years later the new party held its first annual convention, with George Moore's "dear Edward" (Mr. Edward Martyn) as chairman. At about this time the name of their newspaper was changed from the *United Irishman* to *Sinn Féin*—meaning "Ourselves."

THE MEANING OF SINN FÉIN

Such was the origin of Sinn Féin: a movement of poets and philosophers, of enthusiasts for the revival of the Gaelic language and literature, of workers for the revival of Irish industries, who planned to give their country a protective tariff some day, inspired as they were with the theories of Friedrich List. An Irish National Bank; an Irish merchant marine; an Irish consular service



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REBEL GUARDS IN THE UNIFORM OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS, ON THE ROOF OF "LIBERTY HALL"

financed out of the money spent on the Irish Parliamentarians at Westminster; opposition to indirect taxation, to recruiting for the British Army, and to emigration: here were some of the original policies of Sinn Féin. Naturally, the movement has been urban rather than rural; but back in 1907 Seumas MacManus wrote of it as a "virile, thoughtful, idealistic and . . . practical" force that was "sweeping away outworn ideas" while "working wonders in the revival of a genuine national spirit" at the expense of the Parliamentary party.

Briefly put, the doctrine of Sinn Féin is that the salvation of the nation is to be wrought out of the people and upon the soil of that nation and that "God helps those who help themselves." Preceding Nationalist movements made the mistake of taking politics to be coincident with patriotism: Sinn Féin was to provide for the all-round upbuilding of the nation—linguistically, industrially, educationally, morally, socially. Perhaps the essential point is that in late years young men have tended to join Sinn Féin rather than the Parliamentary party. The Redmond Nationalism has come to take on a certain bourgeois and middle-aged air; the young blood has flowed in other channels.

Sinn Féin has taken no interest in Parliamentary politics. "There is on the English statute-book still unrepealed," writes Mr.

MacManus, "an act popularly known as the Renunciation Act, passed in 1783, when the combined terrors of a War of Independence in America and a huge army of threatening Volunteers in Ireland caused England's heart to melt—an act which states that the right of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by the Parliament of Ireland 'is hereby declared established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned.'"

Even Unionist writers have had to avow that the Sinn Féin argument is here practically unanswerable from law or logic. Sinn Féin holds that Irish "loyalty" is in itself treason to the one constitution which calls for loyalty—the 1782

constitution which could not be (but was) abrogated by the Act of Union of 1801. Such is the Sinn Féin faith: the faith that thrilled poor Padraic Pearse as he wrote his verses and dreamed of the Irish Republic over which he was to preside for one bloody week:

The world hath conquered, the wind scattereth
like dust
Alexander, Cæsar, and all that shared their sway.
Tara is grass, and behold how Troy lieth low—
And even the English—perchance their hour will
come!

SOME UNDERLYING CAUSES

Just how completely the Sinn Féin movement is to be held responsible for the outbreak of 1916 is, as one writes early in May, difficult to affirm. The April rebellion was a complex. In part it was due to the suppression of Irish newspapers, the more or less arbitrary imprisonments under the Defense of the Realm Act, the tactlessness of recruiters, the deportation of organizers of the Irish Volunteers, and attempts to seize the arms of Irish Nationalists while Ulster Volunteers were immune against like interference. To a certain extent the late rebellion may be laid to a recrudescence of Fenianism—the ghost none too securely laid in 1867.

Singularly enough, no newspaper reports and editorials which I have seen make anything of the economic factor. Just how great a part the economics of the World War has

played in the Irish flare-up it is, at this time and place, impossible to state. Certainly war prices in Ireland are extremely high—with few of the compensating circumstances which obtain elsewhere.

True, Irish farmers of the more prosperous sort must have profited by the advance in the prices of all foodstuffs, but small farmers dependent upon a credit system which the shopkeeper makes very costly for them—advancing them groceries and bacon and tools and even lending them money at high rates, while taking in exchange their farm produce, at his own price—small farmers have profited much less; and there are few who are not small farmers in Ireland. As compared with the industrialists of England, working in munition plants, the Irish agricultural laborer has not got much out of the war.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Dublin is always starving: there has been more intense as well as more extensive suffering in Dublin in war time. But one can lay his hands upon few definite facts and figures. We only know that for the clerk or day laborer the cost of living has mounted inordinately. Foodstuffs cost him dearer by 50 or 60 per cent. than the prices of June, 1914; coal has been almost too dear to think of even in the heart of winter. It is unlikely that any class of labor in Dublin has profited by war-time conditions as have the munition workers of England and the shipyard laborers in Glasgow and Belfast, and no one could write of Ireland what the English economist, Mr. J. A. Hobson, writes of his own country: "The most conspicuous effect of the war is the economic prosperity it has brought to Great Britain."

And it is not without significance that the brunt of the fighting in Dublin seems to have been borne by the men and boys of Jim Larkin's "Citizen Army"—dockers and proletarians originally drilled by Captain White, son of the hero of Ladysmith. The Citizen Army doubtless has cared much more about wages than about Home Rule or an Irish Republic, and the "General-in-Chief of the Armies of the Irish Republic," James Connolly, late of Elizabeth, N. J., was a



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REBEL PRISONERS TAKEN DURING THE REVOLT

syndicalist—not a politician or a trained soldier.

IRELAND OVERTAXED

The Childers Commission of 1896 estimated that Ireland had been overtaxed for sixty years by at least \$11,000,000 a year—and so arose a demand for "restitution" by means of preferential treatment. This estimate was based on the net product of the income tax, which showed that Ireland's taxable capacity was not more than one-twentieth that of Great Britain, some members of the Parliamentary Commission assessing it at one thirty-sixth. Ireland was then paying in taxes to the common exchequer one-eleventh of what Great Britain paid. During the nineteenth century Great Britain's population had trebled, while taxation per head was lowered by 25 per cent.; Ireland's taxation per head was increased by 140 per cent., while her population had decreased by 14 per cent.

Fifteen years after the Childers Commission made its report, the Primrose Commission recommended that quite apart from any change in political relations there must be a radical change in the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland. "Ireland is now paying an imperial contribution of at least three times the amount of the former deficit," says the *London New Statesman* (April 22, 1916); continuing: "£22,000,000 will be collected this year in a country from which in 1913—though then alleged bankrupt—only about half that sum was raised in net revenue." An Irish-American newspaper gives \$133,610,000 as the estimated taxation of Ireland, 1916-1917,



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THE CAPTURE OF A REBEL FLAG

against \$90,927,100 for 1915-1916, \$61,947,500 for 1914-1915, and only \$55,672,500 for 1913-1914—before the Great War.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REBELLION

After all, it depends upon one's angle of interest just what one conceives as the significant feature of the rebellion in April—climax as it was of the last four years' blundering on the part of Ireland's alien rulers and native leaders.

The unsympathetic and not too well-informed foreigner who admires Britain and despises Ireland for her eternal grievances and foiled conspiracies, will see in this her latest tragedy one more proof that she does not deserve and can never hope to enjoy self-

government. Such an observer will remark that England's one mistake has been too great gentleness with a perfidious enemy within her gates. But anyone who knows the Irish people, or who is capable of reading history, will regard it as a grave indictment of the British genius for government, this fact that seven centuries have not sufficed to reconcile the Irish to some sort of Union.

And such a one may recall a page in Lecky's very British history of "Ireland in the 18th Century," where Lecky notes that even so early as 1612 Sir John Davis said: "There have been so many English colonies planted in Ireland, that if the people were numbered at this day by the poll, such as were descended of English race would be found more in number than the ancient natives." In 1640, Lecky continues, "In the Remonstrance of grievances drawn up against the government of Strafford, it was urged that the people of Ireland were 'now, for the most part, descended of British ancestors.'" And Lecky adds that in general the more Celtic parts of Ireland are the more docile parts, and that rebellions and revolutions have, in the main, flourished among those of unmistakably British descent.

ENGLAND'S NEW IRISH PROBLEM

England now faces a decision about Ireland's future. She has punished the chiefs of the rebellion—after the German method. How will she deal with the great mass of the Irish population—that has been neither seditious (whatever the provocation) nor pro-German, but patient and much-suffering? Shall it be Repression or Liberation?



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SOLDIERS FIGHTING THE REBELS FROM BEHIND A BARRICADE IN A DUBLIN STREET

THE SCENE OF THE COMING SEA FIGHT

By JAMES B. MACDONALD

THERE are many indications that the war this summer will not be confined to the land forces. The German navy has not kept to its naval base because it is afraid to come out; it has been skilfully playing and waiting for a false move on the part of its adversary. The British fleet, however, has been alive to the gravity of this danger, and has gone about its operations warily and with deliberation.

In the circumstances, some notes on the strategic geography of the naval war area, and the problems which each side has to face, may not be without interest.

THE WEST COAST OF GERMANY

As the aeroplane flies, the west coast of Germany is about 150 miles in length, but the actual coastline is concave and stretches from the north of Holland to the south of Denmark.

Lying off the southwest coast are a number of small islands known as the East Frisian Group, while off the northwest coast lie the North Frisian Group. Unlike the "fence of islands" off the west coast of Norway, these are all in shallow water. In the center, the coastline is broken by the river Elbe, up which vessels drawing not more than seventeen feet of water may proceed to the city of Hamburg; and nearby is the river Weser, at the mouth of which is the town of Bremerhaven—the seaport of Bremen.

In an adjoining bay, the war harbor of Wilhelmshaven is situated; while at the mouth of the river Elbe another, Cuxhaven, keeps guard over the North Sea entrance to the Kiel Canal and the river passage to Hamburg. Taking Cuxhaven and Wilhelmshaven as the ends of a base line, they form a triangle with the island of Heligoland as the apex. As each is strongly fortified, the enclosed waters provide an excellent base for the German navy. This area is designated by naval writers "the wet triangle of Heligoland," and in conjunction with the Kiel Canal constitutes the dominating factor in German naval strategy.

In the extreme south, the river Ems breaks the continuity of the foreshore. It is navigable by sea-going vessels as far as Halte, and is connected with a ramification of canals, docks, and strategic railways which were designed some years ago as the *point de départ* for a surprise invasion of England.

HELIGOLAND

The island of Heligoland was captured from the Danes in 1807 by the British, and ceded by them to Germany in 1890. It is a mile and a half long and one-third of a mile broad. The constituent rock is of a very friable nature, and at water level has been strengthened with cement by its present owners.

Since the war began, the fortifications have been greatly augmented, but to what extent the rock upon which the gun emplacements rest can resist the effect of intensive high explosive shells is an open question.

The British naval secret service is perhaps better informed as to the secrets of Heligoland than they are about any other part of the German Empire. As a post of observation, with a central anchorage, it would be invaluable to the British navy at the present time. As matters now are, the Zeppelins stationed at Heligoland are of the greatest assistance to the German navy, and a corresponding nuisance to their opponent.

Heligoland is a hard nut to crack, and upon its security the German navy depends for maneuvering space to enable them to deploy for battle in the North Sea.

THE KIEL CANAL

The Kaiser Wilhelm Canal—or as it is more commonly called, the Kiel Canal—cuts across the Schleswig-Holstein peninsula for a distance of 61 miles, and affords passage from the North Sea to the Baltic.

It took eight years in building (1887-1895), and was no sooner completed than two events demonstrated its unsuitability. A vessel, in trying to negotiate one of the awkward turns in its course, ran into the



THE SCENE OF A POSSIBLE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT ON A LARGE SCALE. SHOWING ALSO THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE GERMAN FLEET IN AND NEAR THE KIEL CANAL

farther bank and blocked the whole canal. The other circumstance was that Britain had commenced to build a new type of battleship, the first of which was called *Dreadnought* and gave its name to the class, of much greater displacement than any previous warship; and the Kiel Canal was not deep enough to permit of any such vessel passing through. The German Naval Staff decided to go in for building Dreadnoughts also, so it became necessary to deepen, widen, and straighten the canal. This work was commenced in 1908 and finished in July, 1914—one month before the present war broke out. It was, of course, obvious to the British Naval Staff that Germany could not make war upon another naval power until the reconstruction work was completed, for the whole purpose of the canal was to give the German navy *interior lines* which would enable it rapidly to transfer warships from the Baltic to the North Sea or vice versa.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE BALTIC

Hostile ships, or others to whom the use of the canal is not permitted, have to navigate the long coastline of the Danish peninsula to get from the North Sea to the Baltic. The channel giving entrance to the Baltic is in the shape of an inverted V, the apex of which is at Christiania Fjord. The western half is called the Skagerak, and the eastern the Kattegat. Both shores, and the adjacent islands, are held by neutrals—Denmark on the south, and Norway and Sweden in the north.

At its southeastern extremity, the wide

channel is obstructed by the Danish islands of Zealand, Fünen, and Laaland, and branches into three passages—the Sound, the Great Belt, and the Little Belt. Two of these are recognized as the territorial waters of the adjoining neutral countries, and the other as the International Channel, where the Germans have laid mines and submarine nets.

Most of the coastline here is rocky and the waters deep, more especially on the northern side.

THE BALTIC SEA

The Baltic Sea comprises a series of hollows, the first lying east of the island of Bornholm, another near the island of Gotland, and the largest and deepest of all inclining towards the Gulf of Finland.

Deep water is met with along most of the Swedish coast. The south shore is practically the north German coast, and shallow waters predominate.

From Schleswig to Lübeck Bay are numerous narrow openings. From Lübeck to the river Oder the coastline is faced with islands; while further east, as far as the Gulf of Danzig, it resembles more the sand dunes of the Netherlands.

KIEL HARBOR

The principal base of the German navy in the Baltic is Kiel Harbor, which is admirably suited for the purpose. It is a natural bay eleven miles long and four wide at the entrance, with a depth of water at the anchorage of about 40 feet.

Here the imperial shipbuilding yards and docks are located, also those of Krupp's

Germania works. Previous to the war, the entrance was defended by six forts.

As a naval base, this Baltic Sea entrance to the Kiel Canal has one serious strategic disadvantage. It has no "wet triangle," such as there is at the North Sea entrance, to enable the fleet to maneuver in battle formation before emerging to engage the enemy. In other words, if an equal or superior hostile force once gets into the Baltic and the German fleet is moored in Kiel Harbor, then the Germans can only debouch as from the neck of a bottle and its units be punished in detail.

THE ALAND ISLANDS

The archipelago of the Aland Islands obstructs the passage from the Baltic Sea to the Gulf of Bothnia, and lies in an east and west direction between the coasts of Finland and Sweden. It comprises a group of about 300 islands, of which eighty are inhabited by some 20,000 people. The islands formerly belonged to Sweden, but were ceded to Russia in 1809. They contain some excellent harbors, the principal one being Ytternäs.

The western extremity of the group—where the principal island, Aland, is situated—lies about twenty-five miles from the Swedish coast; and the eastern extremity is only fifteen miles from that of Finland, with a dangerous granite reef intervening. The Russians have recently closed up this eastern entrance with mines, and they have commanded the western channel by making the island of Aland into a veritable Gibraltar, with gun galleries blasted out of the solid granite. They can, therefore, hold up every ship going into or coming out of the Gulf of Bothnia, and have virtually turned the latter into a Russian lake.

Sufficient has been said to indicate that the Aland Islands are of the greatest strategic importance. They flank the communications of the German naval and military operations threatening Petrograd, and provide an invaluable base for the Russian navy and for British submarines in the Baltic. They also protect the Finnish seaport of Helsinki and the submarine cable between Sweden and Russia.

Sweden today is greatly perturbed owing to Russia having converted these islands into an impregnable fortress and naval base, because they are only a few hours' run from her capital, Stockholm, and moreover will stop the large traffic in contraband iron ore from the northeast coast of Sweden to Ger-

many. When ceding Finland and the Aland Islands in 1809, Sweden was unable to obtain a concession from Russia that the islands would not be fortified.

In 1834, Great Britain protested to Russia against the fortification of the islands, as it threatened her Baltic trade, but Russia would not give way. During the Crimean war of 1854 an Anglo-French fleet destroyed the fortress of Bomersund, and by the Aland Convention of 1856 (confirmed by the Treaty of Paris of the same year) Russia agreed with Britain and France that the islands should not be fortified nor used for naval or military purposes. As Russia's obligation was only for Britain and France, her allies have apparently released her from it during the present war.

THE OPPOSING FLEETS

Rear-Admiral Degoury, in *La Revue de Paris*, estimates the number of battleships and battle-cruisers of the opposing fleets, which may confront each other in the North Sea and Baltic, as follows: Britain, 65; France, 11; Russia, 8; Germany, 44. This includes ships under construction at the commencement of the war.

It is, of course, common knowledge that the shipbuilding yards of all these countries have been working night and day on new construction during the war period, but it is reasonable to suppose that the three Entente Powers have outbuilt their Teutonic rival, more especially when the energies of the latter have been primarily devoted to submarine construction. Germany, further, was known to be short of cruisers at the outbreak of war, and has also had to overcome the initial blunder of having overcrowded her ships with guns of insufficient power.

As regards personnel, Germany is at a considerable disadvantage, both in regard to quantity and training, because she has not a large sea-faring population to draw upon and her period of training is three years against the British five years.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE RIVAL NAVIES

The ships of the German navy were designed with a view to operating in their home waters, where shallow draught is a consideration; and, not having to undertake long voyages, they are of less coal capacity, and consequently less displacement, than the corresponding British units.

If the choice lay with the German Naval

Staff, they would prefer a fight under cover of, and supported by, the guns and Zeppelins of Heligoland. The initiative, however, does not lie with them, and they are not powerful enough to compel a decision. In the Baltic, on the other hand, they are dominating the Russian navy in the same way that the Anglo-French fleet is oppressing them in the North Sea.

That is briefly the present position. As regards offensive action in the near future, we can only examine the more likely hypotheses in the light of known facts.

An attack on Heligoland would be the most difficult of all offensive operations, and therefore not likely to be resorted to before every other expedient to obtain a decision has been attempted.

A landing on the west coast of Germany—with operations restricted to a narrow front and in face of a well prepared, resourceful, and determined enemy—has little to commend it, and would be an adventure of extreme hazard so long as the German fleet was in being. It is none the less true that a footing on one of the islands must be much desired by the Allies if only as a *point de départ* for a sea-plane attack on the canal, its shipping, its railway bridges, and its imperfectly shored embankments.

RIVAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BALTIC

The third alternative is to force the passage of the Baltic and, by sea-plane attacks, to block the Kiel Canal while the operation was being effected. This seems the more hopeful course, although it also has its dangers—a contingency for which the German navy has been waiting. These dangers arise, not through any difficulty in removing the mines in the channel and driving back the defending squadron, but from the necessity of dividing the Allied fleet and thereby inviting a combined attack by the whole German navy on the remaining moiety.

Against this must be set the advantage of effecting a junction with the Russian

navy, and obtaining command of the Baltic Sea.

The breaking up of the ice in the Gulf of Finland and Gulf of Riga at this time will cause the explosion of the mine fields laid down last summer. In the interval before it is safe to lay down new mines, the superior fleet of Germany in the inland sea may be expected to attempt to force the Gulf of Riga—provided there is no likelihood of a simultaneous attempt by the Allies to force their way into the Baltic. The German high command aims at turning the Russian right wing resting on Riga, in the same manner as the Russians so successfully applied to the Turkish lines resting upon Trebizond. This was done by landing troops in rear of the enemy under cover of the guns of a superior fleet.

Should the Allied fleets gain the upper hand in the Baltic, Russia would benefit more, for the purpose of this war, than she would if the Allies had succeeded in forcing the Dardanelles. The German navy would be bottled up in Kiel Harbor and its activities confined to the North Sea entrance. The whole coast of northern Germany would be exposed to bombardment and the threat of a Russian invasion by sea, and would necessitate the concentration of at least a million men for its defense. Convoys of munitions could pass through the Baltic to Petrograd and return with grain. The German left wing of their eastern front would be compelled to abandon Courland and fall back within their own border until they found a safe coastal base—possibly as far as Königsberg—with a corresponding straightening out of their whole line. Rather than permit their enemies to gain such an advantage, the German navy will fight to a finish.

The initiative, therefore, lies with the Allies to bring on battle when they will. It will be seen that the forces contending for supremacy of sea-power have great issues before them, which may determine the course and duration of the war.



NEW PORTS AND RAILWAYS IN RUSSIA

BY PAUL P. FOSTER

RUSSIA is the one great member of the group of Allied Powers that has found it difficult to maintain efficient and reliable means of communication with the outside world. The closing of the Dardanelles, the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries, and the conditions in the Baltic Sea have blocked the usual channels of trade and commerce. The Russian Government has had to find other and less satisfactory means of obtaining supplies and munitions. It has hastened to develop new routes to the sea, long contemplated and now suddenly become imperative. Working at top speed, Russian engineers have enlarged and improved existing transportation facilities in order to relieve the tremendous congestion of munitions and supplies at the few remaining ports of entry.

It is a well-known fact that Russian industry has not been equal to the task of supplying the enormous quantities of projectiles, guns, and military equipment required in this great war. Furthermore, the capture of Poland by the Germans has cut off the supplies that were formerly produced in Warsaw and other industrial towns of that province. It is true that the excellent foundries and machine-shops of Petrograd and Moscow are turning out great quantities of munitions, but they can produce only a fraction of what is needed, and Russia has had to turn to the United States, England, and Japan for most of the necessities of war.

These supplies reach the country through four channels: (1) the Trans-Siberian Railway, (2) the Archangel route, (3) the Narvik-Tornea route and (4) the new Petrograd-Lapland railway.

PACIFIC PORTS AND THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY

The Trans-Siberian Railway is one of the great engineering achievements of the world. It is a monument to the vision, perseverance, and skill of the Russian engineer. The double-tracking of this 6677-mile-long railway was begun some years ago. When the war started, thousands of additional men were set to work to hasten this vast under-

taking, and the second track has just been finished, in time to facilitate the shipment of the enormous stores of artillery, projectiles, explosives, machinery, and goods of all kinds from the United States and Japan and England that have piled up on the crowded wharves and shores at Vladivostok during the past winter. This port has been overwhelmed by the demands upon its comparatively limited resources. Its contracted harbor has been unable to accommodate the sudden access of shipping, and insufficient docks and the lack of unloading machinery and of warehouses have caused great delays. Thirty-one million (31,000,000) tons of freight arrived at Vladivostok in the first four months of 1915, compared with 2,195,000 tons in the corresponding period of 1914. Thousands of workmen have been struggling night and day to enlarge the docks and port facilities, and the wharves are being trebled in length, to accommodate at least forty great freighters at one time.

On June 14 the Russian Government will open a new Pacific terminus for the Trans-Siberian Railway. This is the port of Nikolaievsk, at the mouth of the Amur River, near the head of the Gulf of Tartary, about 850 miles north of Vladivostok. Goods received here will be transported inland up the Amur River to Stretyinsk, which is reached by a railroad that connects with the Trans-Siberian line. The new port will be able to handle 72,000,000 pounds of freight and it will thus help considerably to relieve the pressure at Vladivostok. Unquestionably the Trans-Siberian route has proved indispensable to Russia in the present crisis, but, used almost exclusively as it is for the transportation of munitions of war, months must elapse before American supplies can accomplish their lengthy journey, with all the incidental delays and transshipments, and reach their ultimate destinations on the battlefields of Eastern Europe.

Russia's means of communication through Sweden have not proved satisfactory or reliable. Goods were formerly shipped from



THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD

(Completely hemmed in on the west by enemies, Russia has been forced to get war materials through Arctic Ocean ports, or else transport them nearly 7000 miles by railroad. The supplies carried over the Trans-Siberian Railway are those purchased in Japan and western United States and Canada. To relieve the congestion resulting at Vladivostok, a new port has been developed at Nikolaievsk, connecting with the railway via the Amur River)

Stockholm across the Gulf of Bothnia to Raumo, in Finland, but the loss of three Swedish steamers by collision with German mines has closed this route. The railway route by way of Tornea, Finland, to Narvik, on the northern coast of Norway, involved transshipment at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, a fruitful source of delays and dangers. The extension of the Russian railway from Tornea to Lulea, Sweden, now nearly completed, will supply the missing link.

ARCHANGEL: A SUMMER PORT ONLY

Until very recently Russia's most northern railway and only outlet on Russian territory to the north has been the narrow-gauge single-track line from Vologda to Archangel. With the advent of the war, this small town on the White Sea witnessed an expansion in trade unparalleled in a similar length of time at any other port in the world. Before the war the trade of Archangel was confined to small exports of timber, fish, furs, and other local products of northern Russia, and it received in return the limited quantity of goods required for local needs.

In August, 1914, Archangel became, for a time, the only port of European Russia open for foreign business by direct sea communication, with Vladivostok, in eastern Siberia, its only rival in the Russian Empire. From a comparatively unknown and unimportant trading station it suddenly ranked with the most important ports of the world, rivaling even New York in the number and tonnage of ships arriving and departing between the first of May and the close of ice-free navigation.

Archangel lies about thirty miles from the mouth of the Dwina River, which is here

from one to three miles wide and twenty to forty feet deep. It is an extremely long, narrow city, extending for miles along the river bank. A great number of piers and over one hundred warehouses have been built since the war, but even now there are not enough to accommodate the immense traffic, and many ships have to lie out in the stream for weeks before they can discharge their cargoes.

If Archangel were free from ice it would be one of the finest ports in the

world, for it has sixty to seventy miles of river frontage, accommodating ships drawing up to twenty-three feet. Furthermore, the Dwina River is connected by canals with the wonderful Russian system of inland waterways, so that it is possible to ship freight from Archangel by water to nearly all the principal towns of Russia. The river begins freezing in October, but the Russian Government has secured some of the most powerful ice-breakers in the world and by their aid it has been possible to keep the river open far into the winter.

The Government has also replaced the narrow-gauge rails from Vologda to Nyan-doma, 170 miles, and half-way to Archangel, with standard-gauge rails, and eventually there will be a double-track standard-gauge line all the way to Archangel.

According to Mr. Henry D. Baker, our commercial attaché at Petrograd, Archangel now has a population of from 35,000 to 40,000 persons and presents some of the aspects of the "boom" town of our own West, in which the discovery of valuable minerals has caused sudden excitement. A great number of houses, sheds, and shops have sprung up as if by magic.

Traffic does not all flow one way, by any means, for Archangel has become one of the most important wheat-exporting ports of the world, and much of the wheat formerly exported from Black Sea or Baltic ports is now shipped from this northern point. Over 300,000 tons of wheat left Archangel in the three months from May to August, 1915. Although comparatively little merchandise arrives from England, great cargoes of eggs, butter, and flax go to that country, while ships from the United States return virtually

in ballast, because most articles that Russia ordinarily exports to the United States are now embargoed from exportation, except to the allies of Russia.

CREATING AN ICE-FREE PORT IN THE ARCTIC

Russia, as is well known, has for years desired improved access to the open ocean, an ice-free seaport to the north, and the war has hastened the realization of this long-cherished project. Although the Arctic Ocean is the last place in the world where one would expect to find an all-the-year ice-free port, Novo-Alexandrovsk (formerly Catherine Harbor), on the Kola Peninsula, in Lapland, is not only free from ice the year around, but affords a safe and convenient terminus for the trade with America and England.

This harbor is situated about 200 miles east of North Cape, in Norway, on an indentation of the Murman Coast of the Kola Peninsula, which closes the White Sea from the north and forms a sort of eastern continuation of the larger Scandinavian Peninsula. Although Novo-Alexandrovsk is even farther north than Archangel, lying well within the Arctic Circle, the so-called Gulf Stream, which here reaches the last stages of its journey, prevents the formation of more than a thin film of ice, and the mouth of the bay is always open.

Russia long ago saw the advantages of a port at this spot, and the outbreak of the war gave the matter a new importance. The Government at once decided to connect this harbor with Petrograd by an efficient railroad. American engineers and contractors were consulted and thousands of men were engaged for the work, which was begun simultaneously at both ends. The railway was pushed forward with great energy in spite of the great difficulties presented by the nature of the ground (a land of morass and swamps), the lack of population, supplies, and other causes.

The railway runs from Ivanka, south of Lake Ladoga, to Petrozavodsk, on the west side of Lake Onega, and thence to Soroka, at the southwest corner of the White Sea. This section is already completed, as well as the section running south from Catherine Bay to Kandalaksha, at the northernmost corner of the White Sea. The intermediate section is the most difficult one, owing to the prevalence of lakes and swamps, but it is probable that the present summer will see the completion of the entire line. Even as it is, the trans-shipment of freight from Kanda-



NORTHERN RUSSIAN PORTS AND RAILROADS

(The map shows the new line between Petrograd and Ekaterina, or Catherine Bay. Last month it was announced that the railroad and the port of Soroka were ready to receive commercial cargoes, reserving the Archangel route for war munitions. Before ice closes the White Sea, next October, it is expected that the entire route to the ice-free port of Novo-Alexandrovsk, on Catherine Bay, will be in operation.)

laksha to Soroka over the White Sea will greatly relieve the pressure at Archangel.

The general direction of the new line to the Arctic Ocean is nearly due north from a point about eighty miles east of Petrograd. The whole length of the line will be about 650 miles, and it will be standard-gauge and double-tracked throughout. The military value of this new warm-water port cannot be overestimated, for the opening of the new harbor and the extension of a railway to this point will remove the final obstacle to the continuous reception and dispatch of munitions and supplies, an immense advantage to Russia and her allies.

Eventually this port will greatly increase Russian export trade in agricultural and dairy products, which has been shut off when winter closed the doors at her other outlets. Novo-Alexandrovsk is 400 miles nearer the Atlantic than Archangel, its temperature is more equable, and the railroad connects directly with Petrograd. The construction of the Novo-Alexandrovsk Petrograd Railway is a triumph for American engineering, for not only is it being built under tremendous difficulties by American engineers and contractors, but most of the rolling stock and the great Mallet locomotives, fitted to burn wood, come from this country.



MEMBERS OF THE PERSIAN PARLIAMENT

THE PERSIA OF TO-DAY

BY YUVEL B. MIRZA

Tyrants who on their people fall
Sap their own state's foundation wall.¹

THE recent cataclysm in the western world has served to call the attention of readers to Persia and the Persian people. Many Occidentals are well acquainted with the songs of Hafiz, and with the sayings of the illustrious Sadi, and all English-speaking peoples have come under the spell of Omar, the tentmaker. But it is remarkable how little of Persia is known in America. It is for this very reason that the writer is hoping to impart information which will, at least to a limited degree, satisfy those who are curious to learn about the conditions in Persia as they really are to-day.

It would at first appear that all the Persian troubles and misfortunes are directly traceable to the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, and the desire on the part of the two powers to absorb Persia and her people. Happily such is not the case. They simply discovered that it was a chance to step in and prevent another Oriental state from becoming Prussianized.

A BADLY-GOVERNED LAND

To Persia falls the lot of being one of the worst-governed countries in the family

of nations. "A king," says Sadi, "must be just, that they (the people) may resort to him, and merciful, that they may sit secure under the shadow of his greatness." But the Kajars² are neither just nor merciful, nor do they possess kingly qualities.

The Persians have been under a typically Oriental form of government for centuries. The average man takes no interest in his government. If you meet a Persian on the street and ask him, "What is the name of your king?" he will answer, "The king's name is sacred and the common people are not supposed to know it, but ask the priest of the village, and he will tell you." I venture to say that less than half of the subjects know the name of their sovereign. They only know enough to obey "Shah-in-Shah," "the king of kings."

The government has never done anything that would make the inhabitants of Persia happy. Not a single mine or factory in Persia is operated, not a single hospital or public school is established by the government. In a country twice as large as the German Empire, there are only twenty-five miles of railway, and these are owned and operated by a Belgian corporation.

Throughout the whole of Persia no modern agricultural implements are to be found.

¹The present ruling house of Persia.

From the sowing of the seed to the threshing of the wheat, and from the weaving of a rug to the finishing of a packsaddle, all the labor is performed by the hands of the weary peasant.

BAKSHISH AND OFFICE-SELLING

"It would be hard" [says Rousseau] "for a man to whom the state has been sold not to sell it in his turn, and indemnify himself out of the helpless, for the money which the powerful have extorted from him."

The greatest evil, then, in the Persian Government results from the concessions of various sorts. The practise of buying and selling government offices is still rife among the Iranian officials, as it was in the days of Aga Mohmet Khan, who sold his Prime Minister, Mirza Shaffa, to his rival, Haji Ibrahim.

"In all the arbitrary governments of the East" [says Malcolm] "the disgrace and punishment of a minister are deemed no obstacle to his immediate resumption of the duties of his office. When I was at the court of Doulat Ros, one of his ministers, Haji Ibrahim, was kept under the direct rays of the sun without a turban, for several hours until he agreed to pay a sum of eight hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars, that had been demanded of him. The day after this transaction, I was surprised, not only to see Haji Ibrahim restored to office, but employed in a negotiation of importance."

Bakshish is very necessary for the political grafters of the Orient. Without it, no one can hold a governmental position. The practise of bakshish can perhaps be best explained by a hypothetical case.

Let us suppose, for instance, that the reader is worth a million dollars, and is seeking the position of a vizier. The first step would be to present a good-sized purse to an official, who would then take great pleasure in introducing you to his superior. You keep giving gifts and presents to all the officials until finally you are introduced to the royal family; then bakshish has to be given to all the princes and to the Shah. If the purse and your personality please his royal highness, your position is assured.

As soon as you have secured the position, you recoup yourself by reversing the process: from a giver you become a receiver. If the office means gubernatorial appointment, then your hope comes from the appointment of various officials for collecting the taxes. The collectors, in order to maintain their own state and to meet the usual bakshish of the government, are compelled to extort a much

higher sum than is expected by their chief. Here, then, comes the sad part of the Persian administrative system. All the burden and expense falls upon the poor and the peasant. The central government knows how much money and produce should be furnished by the governor and how much by the officials under his supervision, but it has no exact knowledge of the sources from which these officials derive the tax which they deliver to the Teheran officials.

Sometimes the tax-collectors come at a very trying season when people have no money with which to pay. They desert their homes and disappear for weeks at a time. I have seen peasants driven almost to despair, I have seen them punished with the bastinado, because they had no money to pay the tax-collectors.

In Persia, land, trees, springs, hay, beasts of burden, cattle, sheep, goats, even chickens—everything is taxable. If you raise ten chickens you must give two to the tax-collectors, fifty cents for each sheep or goat, or two sheep for each ten; one dollar for each buffalo, horse, camel, or cow. This is gradually raised year after year. A poll tax of one dollar and a half is levied on every boy after sixteen years of age.

Every door that a Persian has in his home is taxed fifty cents a year. Consequently all the peasants have houses with only one door. In fact, some of the poorer class, who have been unjustly treated, live together in houses built in clusters, buried in the ground, with a communicating path known only to themselves; the result is that the tax-collectors, though they see nothing but a grass-built hut, may be actually in the midst of several hundred tax-dodgers.

THE LABOR PROBLEM

In no country is labor at so low an ebb as it is in Persia. During the harvest season the peasants are seen with sickles cutting the wheat. The Persian work-day lasts from sunrise to sunset. There is no specified time for a laborer to begin his daily task. No clocks or watches are ever seen in the country districts; the time is observed only by the sun. Efficiency is not demanded. As long as a reaper has his nose to the ground, the overseer makes no complaint, but when ever the reaper stands and looks up, the overseer at once asks him to point out the highest mountain, meaning, "Your business is not to observe scenery, but to cut wheat."

Added to all these hardships, the daily wage of a man is only fifteen cents, of a

woman scarcely ten. Even the skilled artisan fares but little better. The bricklayer and the shoemaker earn from twenty to thirty-five cents. The dye-master, with an inborn ability for telling the pattern of an antique rug by the touch as accurately as a blind man reads his raised-letter Bible, receives only fifteen cents for dyeing red, ten cents for blue, and seven or eight cents for other colors, for one pound of wool.

It may be of interest to the reader to know the cost of the materials, the amount of labor, and the value of the best Persian rug when finished. Some dealers and importers of rugs tell us that a square foot of the best Persian rug is worth ten dollars. It takes a single weaver twenty-three days to complete this portion, which allows the weaver about forty-four cents a day for wool, labor, and dye-stuffs.

When one looks at the thousands of Persian rugs used all over the world, one would suppose that the rug-weavers would be, as a whole, a prosperous people. This, however, is not the case. Although higher wages are paid for this kind of labor than for any other, yet the weavers as a rule are very poor. They live on the simplest fare; bread and cheese, rice, maize, and raw onions are their ordinary food; once perhaps every two weeks they have mutton. They use neither knife nor fork. An inspection of the inside of their houses shows the whole family living in one room. They cook, eat, spin, weave, and sleep in the same apartment. But the sweet spirits of nature have enriched the soul of these patient toilers and the inward satisfaction that comes to all true artists has, to a certain extent, obliterated the hardships of life, imposed for the most part by their government.

WHY THE PERSIANS FAVOR RUSSIAN RULE

From what has already been observed, the condition of the majority of the Persians is indeed deplorable. The country is bankrupt in every sense. Since the Turkish dynasty took the throne of Persia, the hand of oppression has borne heavily upon the lives and property of its citizens. Between cruelty on the one side and abject submission on the other, the majority of the Persians are reduced to extremity, and thousands have taken the road of exile.

The city of Tiflitz, Russia, is crowded with Persians; some of its best merchants and

contractors are of this nationality. I met an acquaintance some years ago in Tiflitz and asked him, "Which government do you prefer?" Without any hesitation and with great emphasis, he replied, "The Russian."

"Why?" I asked.

"You see this gold watch," he said. "If I were in Persia, I would be afraid to show it, because if you wanted it, and happened to be stronger than I, you would take it forcibly." "Here is another thing," he continued. "My home, as you know, is in the best section of Tiflitz. I can live there with peace and comfort, without fear of robbers. Here my business is prospering. What chance would I have if I were living in my own country? I can be of greater service to my country by living in Tiflitz than I could ever be in my native city, Urumiah, because here the Russian Government does not interfere with what I am doing."

Such is the feeling of the Persian business men, as well as the laboring class, who are found in Russia. No better news was ever brought to the civilized Persians than that the Russians were coming to take the reins of their government.

During the harvesting season the majority of the laboring class migrate to Russia to find employment. Within three months' time each individual can earn from seventy-five to a hundred dollars; in Persia during the same length of time he cannot earn over fifteen dollars at the most. In the fall, the laborers return to their families and spend the winter narrating folktales and smoking their beloved waterpipes. This migration to Russia, of course, does not encourage a strong national sentiment, nor does it add to the economic and industrial strength of the Persian Empire.

In conclusion, then, from what I have observed in Persia and in Russia, it is safe to state most emphatically that the Persian people, as a whole, are pro-Russian in this war, and are decidedly in favor of Russian rule. The recent battles reported between the Persians and the Russians in this war are quite as reported. But the people who are fighting Russia are not the true Persians in the best sense of the word. They are irresponsible tribes who have never been brought under subjection by the Persian Government, and they will continue to fight any government which is opposed to their barbaric freedom.

EUROPE'S "DAYLIGHT-SAVING"

BY CHARLES FITZHUGH TALMAN

THE one drawback in the otherwise delectable art of invention is the habit to which new ideas are addicted of turning out to be coeval with the hills. The new kind of time with which a large part of Europe is experimenting this summer is a very old kind of time indeed. It antedates the Christian era by several centuries, at least. Moreover, the daylight-savers of antiquity, having no mechanical clocks to hamper the flexibility of their daily time-schedule, did not stop at the timid makeshift of altering the latter twice a year. Every morning they began to count their hours at sunrise, and every evening they proclaimed the time to be twelve o'clock when the sun vanished below the horizon. The "natural day" of Greece and Rome, which ignored the night altogether and divided the daylight period, long or short, into twelve equal parts, was the only example which civilization has produced of perfectly harmonious relations between mortal man and Phœbus Apollo.

The latest "inventor" of daylight-saving was a level-headed Englishman named Willett—a builder, by trade—whose *brochure* entitled "The Waste of Daylight," published in 1907, set on foot the world-wide movement in behalf of adapting the time of day to the season which has just culminated in the experiments above referred to. Unhappily Willett did not live to see the fruition of his efforts.

No patriotic American, however, should overlook the fact that Benjamin Franklin anticipated the British invention by more than a century. It was in April, 1784, that Franklin, then living in France, communicated to the *Journal de Paris* his "Economic Project for Diminishing the Cost of Light," in which he announced the startling discovery that the sun during the summer season not only makes its appearance before most Parisians are out of bed, but actually gives light as soon as it rises! Proceeding from this discovery, Franklin estimated that by the simple expedient of using sunshine instead of candles the inhabitants of Paris might save more than a hundred million francs a year; and in order to bring about this desirable economy he proposed putting a

tax of a louis per window on every citizen whose shutters hindered the entrance of sunlight in the early morning. Nor were lazy people to be permitted to enjoy the luxury of matutinal slumber after paying for it!

"Every morning," he adds, "as soon as the sun rises, let all the bells in every church be set ringing; and, if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, to wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest."

Who shall say that Franklin's suggestion has not been slowly fructifying in the mind of Europe all these years, and is not partially responsible for the easy triumph which the daylight-saving idea has just achieved over popular prejudice on the one hand and scientific disapprobation on the other?

The special circumstances to which the adoption of the idea at this time is due are, of course, those arising from the war. This is not a time for conservatism to raise its voice against a measure, however extraordinary, that offers even the ghost of a chance of tipping the scales of fortune on the side of victory. The attitude of the Académie des Sciences, in France, is perhaps typical of that which has been or will be assumed toward this question by scientific bodies in the belligerent countries. Its sentiments regarding the scientific aspects of the proposed change were shown by the applause with which it greeted M. Lallemand's objections to the project, presented at its session of April 10. (See page 726 of this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.) The following week, however, just before the vote was taken on the Honorat bill in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Painlevé, minister of public instruction and himself a distinguished member of the Academy, succeeded, by means of a personal appeal to his fellow-academicians, in preventing the accredited scientific advisers of the French Government from offering formal opposition to a measure which, according to his estimate, would effect a saving of 50,000,000 francs a year, reckoned on the basis of normal economic conditions, and a temporary saving much greater than this, owing to the present high cost of fuel.

Presumably an analogous situation exists in England. In 1908, 1909 and 1911, the weight of scientific opposition, added to British conservatism, insured the defeat of daylight-saving bills in Parliament; yet it is reported that on May 8, of this year, the House of Commons agreed to a provisional acceptance of such a measure, for the duration of the war, by an almost unanimous vote. At the present writing (May 17) the change of time has apparently not yet become law either in France or England, but the chances are altogether in favor of such enactment.

Germany and Holland actually put "summer time" into operation on the 1st of May. Reports are conflicting as to the extent to which the reform has spread in other parts of Europe, and the dislocation of the news service makes it difficult to obtain trustworthy information, but it appears that Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, and probably other countries, have either passed daylight-saving laws or have the subject under discussion. The general adoption of this scheme in Europe would, of course, dispose of one of the objections formerly urged against its adoption in England; i.e., the confusion that would result in international railway and steamship schedules and other forms of intercommunication, owing to the diversity of practise in different countries.

Assuming that the plan now effective or imminent in Europe is identical with that so long agitated in England, it means that from a prescribed date in the spring to a prescribed date in the autumn all timepieces, except those used for astronomical and nautical purposes, will be kept an hour in advance of the time heretofore employed; which, in all the countries thus far involved except Ireland and Holland, is standard or "zone" time; the time of the meridian of Greenwich in Great Britain and France, and that of the 15th meridian east of Greenwich in the other countries. Ireland has never accepted standard time, but uses the local time of Dublin. Holland, which formerly used Greenwich time, has for several years used the local time of Amsterdam.

The pros and cons of the daylight-saving project are so many and so bewildering that its opponents, as well as its advocates, should welcome the present experiment as the one way to clear up the whole vexed subject. The fundamental contention of those who have faith in the idea is that the time-schedule by which people's daily habits are regulated is based upon the distribution of light

and darkness that prevails in winter, and that there is no good reason for adhering to this schedule in summer. The disadvantages of doing so are much more pronounced in northern Europe than in the United States, owing to the effect of the difference in latitude. Thus in England the sun rises more than four hours earlier in midsummer than in midwinter, as compared with a range of only about two and three-quarter hours in the latitude of Washington. In London, in mid-June, the sun gets up about 3:45 in the morning, according to clocks running on Greenwich time. But the rising hour of most Londoners is governed to a great extent by the fact that at the season when the days are shortest sunrise occurs about 8 o'clock, Greenwich time. This explains why English people generally keep later hours than we do, notwithstanding the fact that during several months of the year they have the advantage of much earlier daylight.

The effect of rising earlier in summer than in winter would be to diminish the amount of artificial light consumed at the end of the day and to afford more time after working hours for outdoor sports that require daylight. Thus both economy and health are aimed at in the daylight-saving plan, though, of course, at the present juncture, the former is the more imperative consideration. In 1908 it was estimated that the British people spent £25,585,000 for illuminants, and that, making allowance for the fact that street-lighting and some other forms of illumination would not be affected by the adoption of "summer time," this reform would effect a saving of £2,317,000 a year in gas and electricity.

It is impossible to recapitulate in this place the numerous arguments that have been advanced for and against the daylight-saving project. Many of these, on both sides, have been fallacious to the verge of stupidity.

The device of altering the clock in order to bring about a general and simultaneous change in the hours of people's daily routine bristles with difficulties, yet it is probably the only means by which a wholesale change of this sort could be accomplished—if it could be accomplished at all. Neither is there anything essentially "unscientific" in the addition of a new kind of time to the many of which science already has to take cognizance, and into or out of which scientific data must occasionally be translated—viz., sidereal, apparent solar, mean solar, standard, and universal (Greenwich) time.



THE CHAUDHRIS (LEADERS) OF BATALA CIRCUIT IN THE PUNJAB, INDIA, VOTING TO ESTABLISH THE BANNER OF THE CROSS IN EVERY VILLAGE IN THEIR REGION

THE WORLD'S NEW TURNING TO CHRISTIANITY

BY WILLARD PRICE

A NEW experience has come to the missionaries. Now they know what it is to have their churches actually swamped with converts.

The war has had a sobering effect upon the world, and there is a wholesale turning to Christianity that is bewildering and staggering the missionary forces abroad.

Three thousand converts a week in Korea! An Oriental Billy Sunday leading thousands of Japanese up the sawdust trail, this being the first time in history that the unenlightened Japanese have so responded! Seven thousand of the strongest leaders of China, scholars, officials and gentry, accepting Christianity! A waiting list of 150,000 in India who have been refused baptism for the present because the missionaries have not schools and churches enough to accommodate them!

Such were a few of the items in the amazing reports brought by missionaries from all parts of the world to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church which had its quadrennial session in Saratoga Springs during May. The con-

ditions were said to apply not merely to this church, but to all denominations having work abroad.

In the words of the supposedly cool-headed Commission on Finance, the present situation "far outreaches the fondest dream of the most ecstatic vision Paul ever had."

The reports as presented to the Conference were voluminous. I shall only gist them here.

There has been an average of one convert every hour in Korea since the missionaries first went there twenty-five years ago. That alone is striking. In these times, however, the average has mounted to *eighteen* converts per hour. In some places church services must be held in relays to accommodate the crowds. Even at the mid-week prayer-meeting, which in America brings out a puny thirty or forty people, it is not uncommon in Korea to have a thousand in attendance.

An evangelistic campaign is sweeping Japan, and all the Protestant forces in that country have united in order to take full advantage of their opportunity. One of the



INSIDE THE BIG GOSPEL TENT AT TOKYO, WHERE KIMURA, THE JAPANESE "BILLY SUNDAY," IS PREACHING

evangelists is especially picturesque. His name is Kimura. They bring great stories about him, stories which I can readily believe, for, during a recent visit to Japan, I heard Kimura preach to five thousand people in his great tent in Tokyo, and saw nearly one hundred Japanese "hit the trail" every night. In two weeks' time he made thirteen hundred conversions. Cynical Japan is an extremely difficult mission field, and such an achievement as this, though common enough in other lands, is absolutely unparalleled in the history of Christianity in Japan.

It was from Billy Sunday that "Hallelujah Kim," as Kimura is called, got his inspiration. Not that he is a mere imitator, for he had conducted many successful revivals before he began to study Billy Sunday. Recently, however, he spent ten months in America, studying the methods of the baseball evangelist.

During Sunday's month at Denver, Kimura attended every service, morning, noon,

and night. He did the same at Des Moines and Philadelphia, and lived for a time with the Sundays. In April of last year he took the Sunday idea back to Japan.

All the business details of his campaign have been Sundayized, and his delivery is dramatic and acrobatic. But he doesn't quite go the Sunday limit. He uses the simple language of the street, but even the strictest missionaries confess that they have never heard him speak vulgarly.

"When I eat stewed cherries," he remarks, speaking of Sunday's methods, "I don't have to eat the stones. I put them at the side of my plate and say nothing about them."

The evangelistic movement in which Kimura and many other workers, both native and foreign, are taking part has not reached a conclusion, so that definite figures cannot yet be given out. The results, however, can be imagined from the fact that the Protestant missionaries in Japan have united in a call for 474 new missionaries to take care of the new business.



"HALLELUJAH KIM," MR. K. KIMURA, THE JAPANESE BILLY SUNDAY

Then China! "If we were not all looking in the direction of Europe, the eyes of the world would be turned toward China," said Dr. S. Earl Taylor, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, in his report on world conditions. China is no longer referred to as the "Sleeping Giant." Great changes are taking place, and not the least important is the religious revolution.

It may well be called a revolution. It required over fifty years to win the first thousand converts in China. Recently a larger number than this were enrolled as inquirers during a single night in one city.

In a single province of China, Hinghwa, one hundred and eleven new churches have been organized during the last two years by one denomination alone.

In Hinghwa city it is necessary to hold three meetings a day in a building which seats eight hundred people *and to refuse anyone the privilege of attending more than one of these meetings.*

It would be difficult to imagine an American church forced to make such a rule.

Perhaps the most striking achievement is that of Sherwood Eddy, who, shortly after the war began, spoke in twelve Chinese cities to 121,000 members of the educated class admitted to his meetings by ticket only! It was an effort to reach the leaders of



A GROUP OF THE EDUCATED CHRISTIAN GIRLS OF KOREA

China. The result was that seven thousand high officials, scholars and ruling gentry, men who hold the destiny of the nation in their hands, turned to Christianity and are now enrolled in Bible classes. The influence of this upon the masses cannot be calculated.

During the past year in the Philippines five thousand members have been added by one denomination, and two missionaries report over a thousand converts each. The conversions during 1915 outnumber those of any previous year.

"Never in the history of this continent," wrote Bishop Stuntz, referring to South America, "have so many converts been gathered into the churches as during the past few months."

Churches are packed to the doors in Mexico. In previous times the sale of portions of the Bible has reached 22,000 copies as the maximum in a year. The sale last year totalled 63,000 copies, and the missionaries state that tens of thousands more could have been sold if workers had been available.

But the most staggering success has been in India.

Not only are India's mission schools and churches full. The stupendous fact is that there stands outside these institutions a waiting list of more than 150,000



A MISSION SCHOOL IN SOUTH AMERICA CROWDED WITH BRIGHT, ALERT-MINDED CHILDREN

registered applicants for baptism who cannot be received into the Christian church because there are not churches enough and ministers enough to give them Christian leadership, nor schools enough to educate them. It is considered worse than useless to receive into the church thousands of illiterate, superstitious persons, knowing nothing but the barest rudiments of Christianity, unless provision is made for both their religious and secular education. The only result of such a policy would be to heathenize Christianity.

As fast as the missions can develop agencies for the training of the new converts, those who stand first in the waiting list are baptized and received.

The trouble is that the waiting list is developing more rapidly than the agencies. Whole villages and whole counties are turning *en masse* to Christianity. The mayors of two hundred villages recently voted in conference to use their influence to make the entire population of their villages Christian. The Christian community in India is increasing at the rate of 5000 new members every month or 60,000 per year.

Just as religious movements have proverb-

ially thrived on persecution, so the fact that the bitterest persecution assails the new Indian Christians only seems to add impetus to the movement.

The new emphasis on religion in Europe is well known. Each potentate claims God on his side, troops pray before entering battle, it is reported that hundreds of thousands of Testaments are being thumb-marked in the trenches, revivals are on in France and Bulgaria, liquor and luxury have been tabooed, and the simple life, which is psychologically related to the religious life, has been made the rule.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to define the underlying cause of so subtle a thing as a world-wide spiritual renaissance. Perhaps the coming of the war and the revival at the same time are only a colossal coincidence. On the other hand, there is ground for the theory that the horrors and desolation of war have solemnized the world and have had the effect of driving the people back upon divine security.

At any rate the renaissance is on and missionary Christendom is faced with the greatest opportunity in its history.



FILIPINOS FLOCKING TO THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSARY AT MANILA



SAINT MARYS FALLS CANAL ON AMERICAN SIDE OF THE RAPIDS, 1916

(On the left the Weitzel Lock completed in 1882; in the center the Poe Lock completed in 1896, and to the right with the gates opening the Third Lock finished in 1914. The Fourth Lock now being constructed is still further to the right. In the background is the long International Bridge, of the bascule lift type. The view is to the west from the lower approaches.)

THE SAULT STE. MARIE SHIP CANALS

BY HERBERT T. WADE

AT a time when there is a tendency toward well-merited criticism of Federal appropriations for River and Harbor improvements in the United States, it is worth while to focus attention on at least one notable project of this nature, against which no indictment for uselessness or extravagance can lie, which has had an enormous influence on the development of internal commerce, and which is still a most valuable artery of communication. Such is the Saint Marys Falls Canal at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, through which passes annually a volume of freight traffic over twice as large as that going through the Suez Canal. Indeed on a single day, November 14, 1913, there passed through these American and Canadian canals 125 vessels whose aggregate registered tonnage was 386,706, laden with freight amounting to 624,916 tons.

From a small passage through which the

bateaux and canoes of the trappers and traders of 1798 were hauled by oxen in order to surmount the strong and dangerous rapids at this point, there have been developed on both sides of the river canal systems with elaborate locks that can handle the largest bulk freighters of Lake commerce. Indeed the encouragement thus given to large craft has made possible the economical shipping of ores from Minnesota and Michigan to blast furnaces in Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, not to mention the transportation of grain and other commodities to eastern States at a minimum of cost. When it is realized that in the season of 1915, 17,699 steamers, 1884 sailing and unrigged craft, and 1650 unregistered vessels passed through the American and Canadian canals at Sault Ste. Marie, laden with freight amounting to 71,290,304 short tons, valued at \$882,263,141, and carrying 50,336 passengers, the im-



OLD STATE LOCKS OF THE SAINT MARYS FALLS CANAL AS THEY APPEARED IN 1865

(Locks, superintendent's house, Indian huts and rapids. This canal, opened in 1855, was 1 1-12 miles long, 64 feet wide at bottom, and 100 feet wide at water surface. The two timber locks were of masonry, each 350 feet long by 70 feet wide, with a lift of about 9 feet. The depth of water in the canal was about 13 feet and in the locks about 11½ feet. These locks were destroyed in 1888 in building the Poe Lock. Schooners made up the bulk of the Lake shipping in 1865)

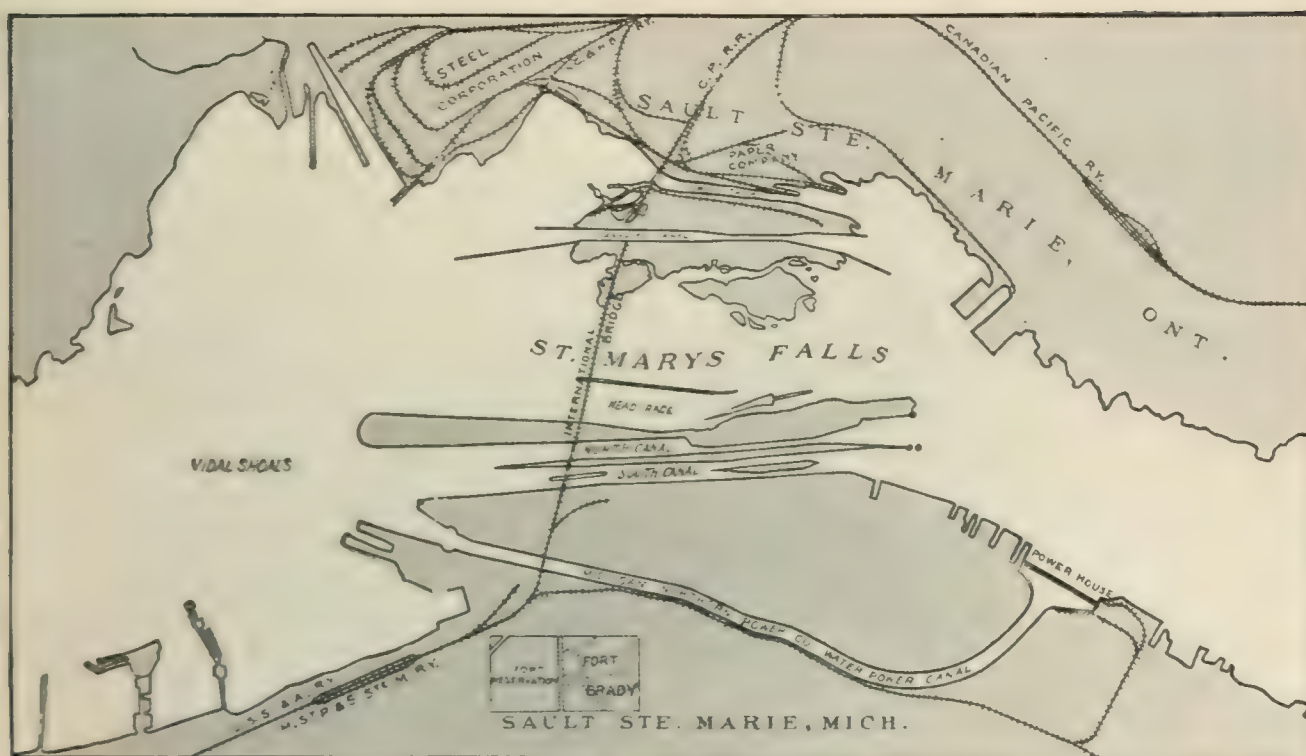
portance of this great system of locks and canals will be appreciated.

The outlet from Lake Superior into Lake Huron is the Saint Marys River, whose rapids at Sault Ste. Marie are about half a mile wide and three-fourths of a mile long with a fall ranging from seventeen to twenty-one feet. These rapids naturally interrupt all navigation, and as early as 1797-8 the Northwest Fur Company built a small canal on the Canadian side of the river. It had a single lock of timber with a lift of nine feet, thirty-eight feet in length and eight feet nine inches wide. There was a towpath along the side and the canal was used by the trappers and traders until it was captured and the lock destroyed by United States troops in the War of 1812.

The first real ship canal around the rapids, however, was the State Canal constructed in 1853-5 on the American side of the river. The necessity of such a waterway for the growing commerce of the Northwest was shown by the fact that in 1851 about 12,600 tons of freight passed over the tramway portage at the rapids for trans-shipment from and to Lake Superior. The freight to Lake Superior in this year was valued at about \$1,000,000 and that to lower lake ports at \$675,000. To aid in the construction of

this canal the United States Congress granted 750,000 acres of land in the State of Michigan, and the original surveys were made by engineer officers of the United States Army. The canal was completed in 1855 and operated from that time until 1881 by the State of Michigan, and the tolls charged to cover operating and repairs ranged from 6½ cents per registered ton at first to 2½ cents. In its first year the traffic of the State canal was 14,503 tons. With the transfer to national control in 1881 the use of the American canal became free to vessels of all nations, and when the Canadian canal was built in 1895 the same practise was adopted. When it is stated that the total expense for operation and repairs for the American canal in the fiscal year 1915 was \$113,605, or 3.13 mills per freight ton, it can be seen that the maintenance charge is not a heavy one.

The success and use of the State canal led to its extension by the United States and from 1870 to 1881 a lock known as the Weitzel lock from its principal engineer, Gen. Godfrey Weitzel, U. S. A., was built. It is still in use, being 515 feet long, eighty feet wide in the chamber and sixty feet at the gates, with seventeen feet of water on the miter sills. It cost approximately \$1,000.-



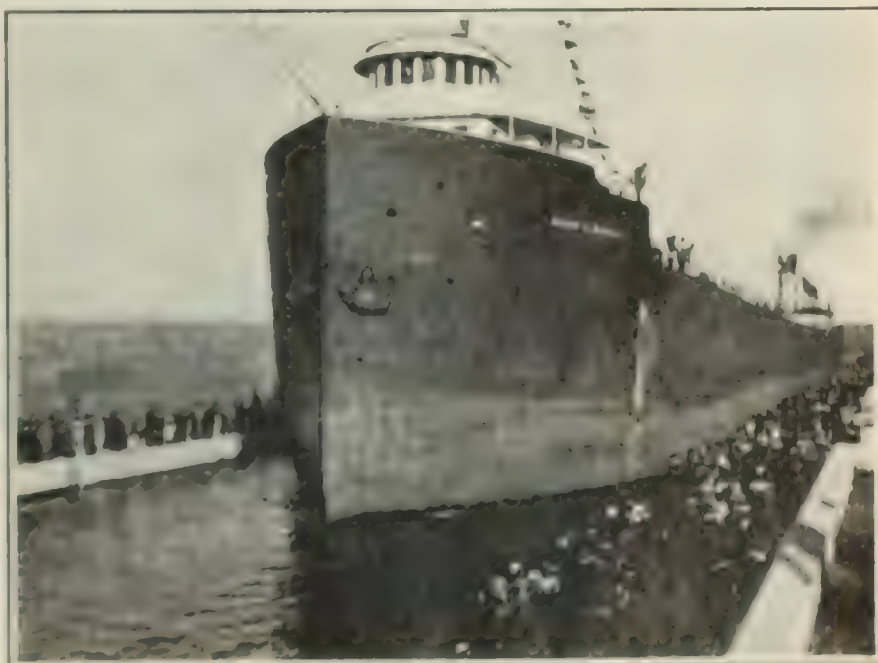
VICINITY OF SAULT STE. MARIE, MICHIGAN AND ONTARIO
(Showing the American and Canadian Canals)

000. At the same time the canal proper was deepened and widened to 160 feet.

Facilities still proving inadequate for the ever-growing commerce another lock, named after Gen. Orlando M. Poe, U. S. A., engineer officer from 1883 to 1895, was built by the United States Government. The Poe lock was completed in 1896 and is 800 feet long, 100 feet wide, with a depth of 22 feet on the sills. It cost \$3,000,000.

With the growing commerce it was but natural that the Dominion Government should desire a canal on Canadian soil, and in 1888 such a project was put into execution. A new canal was dug $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles in length, 150 feet wide, and twenty-three feet deep, with a lock 900 feet long and having a depth of twenty-two feet on sills. The Canadian canal was finished in 1895, having cost with its approaches approximately \$5,000,000. As it had a slight advantage in depth it was used in preference by a number of the larger bulk freighters until the completion of the Third Lock on the American side. This Third Lock was put under construction in 1908 and completed in 1914. It is 1350 feet long, 80 feet wide,

with $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water over the sills, and with the new or north affording access cost \$5,000,000. Widening and deepening the canal required \$4,400,000 and improving the channel through the river, an essential part of the complete project, involved an expense of \$9,400,000, but there was provided a depth of 24.6 feet above the Weitzel and Poe locks, and of 25 feet above the Third and the Fourth locks, the latter being now in course of construction. This Fourth Lock, to which access is also given by the new or North canal, duplicates the Third Lock in its



OPENING THE THIRD LOCK OF THE AMERICAN CANAL OCTOBER 21, 1914
(The large bulk freighter *Alfred C. Mackay* passing out of the lock upstream.)

dimensions and essential features. The excavation was completed last year, and the masonry work is now in active progress. The great length of these locks, longer even than those at Panama, is for the purpose of handling two or more vessels at a single lockage. In nearly half the lockages more than one boat is passed through and sometimes as many as five are handled together.

The American canal, with its superior facilities, naturally gets the greater amount of the traffic. Thus in the season of 1915, from April 17 to December 29, or 248 days, the traffic through the American canal was 89 per cent. of the total freight, 85 per cent. of the total net tonnage, and 50 per cent. of the total number of passengers. American vessels carried 94 per cent. of the freight, as compared with 6 per cent. by Canadian craft. There were 16,910 passages through the United States canal and 4323 through the Canadian canal. In the year 1915 on freight valued in the aggregate at \$882,263,141, transportation charges amounting to \$41,984,030 were paid, the rates varying from 30 cents a ton for coal and 44 cents a ton for iron ore and 3.55 cents a bushel for wheat, to \$2 a ton for general merchandise.

The anthracite coal transported was valued at \$11,778,234; bituminous coal at \$30,581,086; flour at \$48,512,388; wheat at \$293,803,792; iron ore at \$126,598,091; copper at \$60,462,514, and general merchandise at \$239,309,700.

With the increase in the dimensions of the canals and locks there has resulted an increased size of vessel. In 1907 four freighters 600 feet or over were put into service and by 1915 the number had increased to twenty-nine. In the latter year there were seventy-six boats of 5000 tons net register and over, of which six were over 6000 tons, using the canal. The larger boats carry upward of 12,000 tons of freight and draw between nineteen and twenty feet of water. The largest single cargo on record is 14,289 tons, carried by the steam freighter *W. G. Morden* in 1915, and the greatest number of miles run by a single steamer, 49,995 miles, was made in the same year by the *James A. Farrell*. The greatest amount of freight carried on a single trip was 442,341 tons, by the *Col. J. M. Schoonmaker* in the season of 1913, when this boat also secured the record for the greatest number of mile tons, 395,582,969.



EXCAVATING FOR THE NEW 1350-FOOT FOURTH LOCK
(Looking east from the west end. The powerhouse extension is at the extreme left.)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HUGHES, ROOSEVELT, OR WILSON FOR PRESIDENT?

IF President Wilson does not succeed himself on March 4, 1917, he will yield place to the man to be named by the Republican Convention at Chicago this month. This certainty gives pertinence to what is said at this time for and against the candidacies of divers "favorite sons," and especially of the two eminent citizens whose claims to the nomination have been most earnestly asserted—Justice Charles E. Hughes, and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.

In the *North American Review* the editor has devoted many pages to the reasons that appeal to him as convincing for the nomination of Justice Hughes. His slogan is "Nobody for Hughes—but the People!" He names a number of leaders of both parties as strenuous opponents of the nomination of Justice Hughes, concluding with the assertion that the Justice doesn't want himself, and then cites the statement recently made by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, to the effect that the very fact that Mr. Hughes is a Justice of the Supreme Court should be regarded as a fatal drawback to his nomination.

The people, according to Colonel Harvey, say in reply to this objection that it is the general wish to keep the Supreme Court inviolate, and that in ordinary circumstances a Justice would not be nominated for President, but there is no law against such a course. As to the case of Justice Story, mentioned by Mr. Choate as a member of the Supreme Court who had once declined the Presidential nomination, and declared that he would not accept the office even with the unanimous consent of the whole people, the rejoinder is that his refusal to become a candidate was based on personal disinclination rather than on the fact that he was at the time a member of the Court. Chief Justice Chase, on the other hand, was an avowed candidate for the nomination to the Presidency in 1868, and in 1872 three electoral votes were cast for Justice David Davis.

The mere fact, says Colonel Harvey, that no inhibition is imposed by the Constitution suffices to show that the Fathers had no intention of barring us, the people, from designating as our President any native-born citizen, whom we should consider best equipped for the highest public service.

Colonel Harvey believes that Justice Hughes is the one man demanded at this critical juncture as the head of the nation:

Never since this Republic demanded that George Washington become its first President has there appeared so striking an instance of the Office seeking the Man. Never has been a call so peremptory, never a constantly swelling force so certain, in our judgment, to prove irresistible. Rightly or wrongly, wisely or not, the Will of the People will prevail, and Charles Evans Hughes will be the next Republican candidate for President of the United States. And the overpowering issue will be one of men—of ability, of judgment, of fidelity, but above all of character.

A Ballot of Republicans in Congress

A secret and confidential poll of the Republican members of the National Congress was recently taken by Mr. Snell Smith. The results of this poll were interesting, whether or not they may be taken as fairly representative of public sentiment throughout the country. Of 237 Republicans in both branches of Congress, Justice Hughes is the first choice of 93 Representatives and 16 Senators, and the second choice in "favorite son" States of 31, a total of 140, and a majority of all Republican members, despite the fact that twelve other names were voted for, ten of whom may be considered to be active candidates.

Nearly every member was seen personally by Mr. Smith and canvassed as to personal preference. The arguments given in favor of the nomination of Justice Hughes by the Representatives and Senators are summarized by Mr. Smith as follows:

That he is a great campaigner and has a per-

sonality which arouses the moral enthusiasm of his hearers in favor of his cause; that he is the most popular man among all classes at the present time; that the people want him because he does not want to run; that he proved himself a highly efficient executive and an intrepid leader while Governor of New York; that he has an analytical and constructive mind, as shown by his conduct of the insurance investigation and the remedial legislation then proposed by him, which, if turned against President Wilson in the dialectic of the campaign would result in the demolition of the intellectual position of the Democrats; that he is the one man who could be nominated who would be certain to make the Senate Republican; that he would sweep every Northern State; that he is a Republican and nothing else; that Roosevelt could not oppose him and that he would reunite the party; that on the issues growing out of the European war he would take a just and equitable view for which his judicial experience has fitted him; that he is an ardent protectionist.

Why Should Republicans Support Roosevelt?

The sentiment of a large body of Independent Republicans, who believe that the party should nominate Colonel Roosevelt, is ably voiced in the *Outlook* (New York) for May 10, by Professor William MacDonald, of Brown University. As to Mr. Roosevelt's availability as a candidate of the Republican party, this writer shows that on four cardinal points—Protection, Administrative Efficiency, Preparedness, and Foreign Policy—"Mr. Roosevelt is in accord with the best traditions and the prevailing sentiment of the Republican party. On each of these points, moreover, he has already a clear record as a President or as a citizen."

The frequent objection that Mr. Roosevelt as President would be "unsafe" Professor MacDonald meets with these questions:

Did the American people in the years of Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency live in fear lest the Nation

should become involved in war? And does any American who takes counsel of his information and his judgment, rather than of prejudice and partisan clamor, really cherish such apprehension about him now? Rather is it not the fact that in the period from 1901 to 1909, one of the most momentous epochs that the United States has ever known, we not only lived at peace, with none to molest us or make us afraid, but that American lives and American interests abroad were respected and safeguarded and the dignity of the nation upheld without war or parade of force; and that these things were so under a President who, because he was a soldier and knew what war meant, was indefinitely safer than one who relies upon "watchful waiting" or is "too proud to fight"?

To those Republicans who fear that the nomination of Roosevelt would be too great a concession to Progressivism, Professor MacDonald replies that the Republican Party itself has become rejuvenated in many respects, and that so far as the Progressive platform of 1912 is concerned there are few of its planks at which this rejuvenated Republicanism need hesitate.

Professor MacDonald's conclusion is that the people are now asking for leadership, that they want a leader who knows his own mind, and who is not afraid to act as well as to speak. "They do not want to go to war with any nation, but they do want a preparedness which will make it unlikely that any other nation will go to war with us."

Considering Colonel Roosevelt's admitted capacity for leadership, his experience in the Presidential office, the fact that his views on national issues are known of all men, and the remarkable strength of his personality, Professor MacDonald holds that the question for the Republican party is not whether it can afford to accept Mr. Roosevelt, but whether it can afford to get on without him.

"DAYLIGHT-SAVING" IN FRANCE

SOME general aspects of the so-called "daylight-saving" plan now being tried out in several countries of Europe are discussed elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. The widespread adoption of the plan, after years of fruitless agitation on the part of its promoters, appears to have taken most people by surprise, and the flood of literature that the innovation will inevitably call forth has hardly yet begun to reach our shores. The most notable article on the subject thus far at hand is one published by M. Charles Lallemand, of the

French Academy of Sciences, in the *Comptes Rendus*, having been written at the time the daylight-saving bill was introduced in the French Parliament.

The vast majority of scientific men have always deprecated the further complication of the already intricate subject of time-keeping by the introduction of a new and variable standard. The English scientific journal *Nature*, which has vigorously opposed the plan ever since it was first agitated some eight or nine years ago, recently declared that not a single scientific society of any impor-

tance has favored it. M. Lallemand's views are, therefore, probably representative of those held by the *savants* of his country.

It is impossible to pass judgment intelligently upon this scheme without considering it in relation to the whole history of time-keeping. The French writer recalls the interesting fact that down to the end of the eighteenth century the only kind of time used in France was that determined by the position of the sun in the sky; viz., true solar time, exactly as it is recorded by the sundial. It is well-nigh impossible to construct a mechanical clock which will keep this kind of time, owing to the fact that the interval between successive transits of the sun over the meridian varies a little from day to day. The difference between sundial and clock—known as the "equation of time"—ranges all the way from nothing up to about fifteen minutes, according to the season. When sundial time was in use Parisians were in the habit of setting their clocks every day when the hour of noon was announced by the firing of a cannon at the Palais Royal. This primitive custom was not definitely abandoned until the year 1816, when "mean" solar time was adopted in place of "apparent" solar time.

With the advent of the railway and the telegraph a new complication arose, owing to the fact that the mean solar time of one place differs from that of places east or west of it to the extent of 4 minutes for each degree of longitude. Thus the local time of Paris is 20 minutes slower than that of Nice and 27 minutes faster than that of Brest. In order to obviate these discrepancies the use of Paris time was legalized throughout France. For many years, however, local time was not abandoned but was used concurrently with national time. A similar custom still prevails in European Russia, where two kinds of time are everywhere in use side by side; viz., that of Petrograd, which is used by the railways, and local time, which in extreme cases is more than an hour and a half faster than that of the capital.

Finally, in 1911, in order to conform to the international system of standard time zones, France abandoned the time of Paris for that of Greenwich, which involved setting its clocks back 9 minutes and 21 seconds. Hence, for places east of Paris, a still greater discrepancy was introduced between local time and national time. When this reform was adopted the daylight-saving plan was already under discussion in England, and this

fact was urged as an argument against the acceptance, by France, of a system of time-keeping which would cease to be "international" if the English themselves should decide to alter their clocks every summer.

M. Lallemand unconsciously furnishes an argument to the advocates of the daylight-saving scheme by showing how far modern methods of time-keeping, as employed in most civilized countries, already depart from the old-fashioned conception of time as regulated by the sun; but he maintains that the limit has now been reached, and that the still greater divergencies that would be entailed, in some localities, by the use of "summer" time would be found intolerable. He points out that even standard time has entailed inconveniences, which led to its abandonment in Holland after being tried for several years, and which induced certain countries, such as Guam, Hawaii, Samoa, South Australia and India, to adopt the time of meridians intermediate between those of the regular time zones.

With regard to the alleged economy in artificial light which the promoters of the new scheme hope to effect, he reminds us that these would not be realized in rural districts, where the population already governs its activities by the sun rather than by the clock. Thus about four-fifths of the inhabitants of France would scarcely be affected by the change of time. Moreover, even in the towns, an immense number of public and private establishments—including schools, colleges, barracks, and many shops and factories—would not benefit by the change, either because their regular hours do not extend beyond the daylight period, or because they already keep earlier hours in summer than in winter. Street lighting would not, of course, be affected. Lastly, restaurants and places of amusement might easily be required to open and close earlier than at present, if such a plan were thought desirable, without tampering with the clock; but the tendency is in the opposite direction.

As to the people of nocturnal habits whom it is hoped to convert to a healthier mode of life by inducing them, without their knowledge, to keep earlier hours, is not this hope illusory, and is it not to be feared that these persons would speedily relapse into their old habits? Would not the attempt to reform them by surreptitiously altering their clocks be a little like attempting to combat intemperance by diminishing the legal capacity of the litre in the hope of reducing, in the same proportion, consumption of liquor?

METCHNIKOFF'S TRIBUTE TO COUNT WITTE

THE story of the prolific life and sudden death of Count Serge Witte, whom Gabriel Hanotaux, ex-Foreign Minister of France, had called "one of the foremost, if not the foremost statesman of our times," is yet to be written. Unquestionably the greatest Russian statesman of his day, he was in his life, and still remains after his death, the most mysterious character in modern political history. In Russia and elsewhere he has been misunderstood, misinterpreted, and accused of crimes and errors by all political parties and factions, and more than any other public man. Reactionaries, conservatives, liberals and radicals warred against him. And still—a year after his death—the man Witte is as much of a sphinx as ever before.

It was in order to throw some light on him on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death that the *Russkoye Slovo* (Moscow) had requested the famous Russian biologist residing in Paris, Ilya Metchnikoff, a friend of Witte, to share with the readers of that journal his knowledge and opinions of Count Witte. Professor Metchnikoff first came to know Witte when the latter was a student in his zoölogy class at the Odessa University. Their relations then were but the customary relations between instructor and pupil. Later, when Witte became a man of power, Metchnikoff avoided meeting him. It was only in 1906, when Witte had retired from active political life, that a close friendship between the scholar and statesman sprang up. This fact adds special significance to Professor Metchnikoff's statements, as his knowledge of Witte was derived at a time when the latter had already made up his mind never to return to active politics. Professor Metchnikoff, after eulogizing Witte and calling his death "a great national disaster," tells of the impression Witte made on him in 1906:

I was astonished at his live mind and extraordinary character. I saw in him a man of an unusually passionate temperament, capable of drowning at times the voice of cool reasoning in himself. At the mention of some problem he would blaze up immediately and burst out in fiery speech, distinguished by its sharp wit and marvelous plasticity. It became clear to one at once that before him was a great man.

At the time when he was Premier, before the convocation of the first Duma, the situation in Russia was in the highest degree chaotic. High government offices were often occupied by persons absolutely unfit for them. There were cases

of psychopaths becoming local dictators. Professors left their chairs for the political arena, bringing to it an idealism too excessive for the reality. Under such conditions Witte had to solve a very complicated situation. And it is necessary to add that he courageously went about materializing his ideas.

As a sincerely religious man, Witte thought it a sin to shed human blood, which put him in a very difficult position whenever he had to suppress revolutionary outbreaks. In his instructions to General Dubasov, when he dispatched the latter to suppress the Moscow uprising in December, 1905, he strongly urged the General to use the most humane measures possible. This fact was personally confirmed to me by General Dubasov, who, under the circumstances, was unable to fulfill Witte's instructions literally. . . .

Witte was against the war with Japan, and he dreamed of settling peacefully the disputes between France and Germany. On this point we were in full agreement. Generally, however, it was otherwise. Witte was an indomitable debater. He was very attentive to his opponents, and seriously considered even such arguments that could claim no pretext to being sound. Though he could make himself appear self-confident, he always feared making mistakes. That is why upon his arrival in Paris he would consult local economists and financiers on matters which he knew better than they. There was in Witte a pronounced and well-developed feeling of justice. Even criticizing people with great enthusiasm, he never forgot to point out their positive qualities.

I do not share the frequently heard opinion that Witte was overwhelmed by a passion for power, toward which he aimed at all costs. When he left his post, he assured everybody that he would not return again to power. Many thought this to be hypocrisy, but his conduct proves the opposite. He expressed his thoughts quite cynically sometimes, but without any hidden meaning, as would be natural in a subtle political intriguer. Sometimes he was rough and insolent, but direct and candid. He often conducted himself in defiance to the most elementary etiquette. Speaking to him concerning his decision to stay away from active politics, I once expressed a view that there would be nothing criminal for a man full of energy and ability to seek power again, and that his decision was probably made under the influence of the moment. He decidedly denied my view, and assured me that he was fully satisfied with the part of an observer of political events and with the writing of his memoirs, to which he attached great importance.

Professor Metchnikoff goes on to refute the generally held opinion that Count Witte was more of a politician and intriguer than statesman. He asserts that as far as his insight into the psychology of human nature goes he never noticed anything suspicious about the character of Witte. Though Witte was not a coward, never taking any

precautions while visiting Paris, which was then a dangerous revolutionary nest, his attitude toward the attempt at his life made in Russia was surprising to Professor Metchnikoff.

I wondered how such a lofty, statesmanly mind as his could be so strongly affected by an attempt at his life. Witte never ceased raging while

talking about it. He showed and read to everybody documents relating to it. Naturally, he was fully justified in his indignation, but it would have been more complimentary for him had he been able to rise to higher altitudes and show greater objectivity.

It is remarkable, that being undoubtedly a very talented financier, Witte, as he himself confessed it to me, did not possess the ability to invest profitably his own capital.

PERSIA UNDER RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

OF all the countries directly concerned in the Great War, Persia has received the least attention in the public press. The following interview, which the correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya* (Petrograd) had with the new Persian Prime Minister, Sepehdar, and which appeared in that paper's issue for April 2, will be read with a great deal of interest. The correspondent tells of the willingness the head of the new cabinet showed "to acquaint the world with the policies of the new government," which is, of course, strongly under the influence of Russian-English diplomacy. Said Sepehdar:

The new government and I personally, as its head, made it the foundation of our political program to preserve friendly relations with our powerful neighbors, Russia and England, and to develop and strengthen these relations, which is for Persia a question of life. From this fundamental condition follow all the further details of our political program, and by it will be determined the whole *ligne de conduite* of the new cabinet and the entire course of its foreign and internal policies. We have therefore made it our first and foremost aim to stop the senseless and criminal warfare against England and Russia, which has been going on at our frontiers, and which was brought about by the efforts of Germano-Turkish diplomacy and German gold. This warfare is a crime against the state, committed by the cabinet of Mustaphi-ol-Mamalek, who had sacrificed the interests of the Persian people, its future, and its international position, for the sake of reward and personal ambitions.

The stoppage of the warfare is indivisibly bound up with the suppression of the anarchy that has raged in the country for more than eight years, and with the restoration everywhere of safety, order, and the authority of governmental power. For this purpose it is necessary to increase the contingent of the Persian cavalry brigade, which has rendered, and is still rendering, very important service to the government in the difficult task of pacifying the country, and to bring its total up to 10,000, with a corresponding number of Russian officers and instructors. It is necessary, for the same purpose, to organize an army of approximately 20,000 men exclusively for police duty. The experiment with the gendarmerie and its Swedish instructors has proved so unsuccessful, and even harmful, that there is no real reason for continuing and supporting this

body, which has hopelessly stained its reputation by going over, with the majority of Swedish officers, to the German side, where they served as hirelings. This body had even before the war aroused just irritation and indignation in the hearts of the Persian people by its acts of violence, robbery, and pillaging in the midst of a peaceful population, for whom it was to serve as a defender and as an emblem of order and safety.

The conduct and actions of some of the gendarmerie officers who have joined the Germans, or who have since left for Sweden, was so much in discord with the ideas formed by Persians of the Europeans as the champions of the highest civilization and ethics, that for a long time it undermined in the entire Persian people the respect they had for Western civilization and its representatives. . . .

Then, we need fundamental reforms in the departments of jurisprudence, finances, and home affairs, also the elaboration of a definite national budget and the organization of a national control. In order to realize all these urgent reforms money is required, and not in the homeopathic doses of monthly subsidies allowed us by the Anglo-Russian diplomacy, but in the form of a large foreign loan to be placed in Russia and England. But, of course, there can be no talk about the loan before the end of the great war.

The correspondent then asked the Premier his intentions in respect to the convocation of the Medjlis (Parliament), whereupon Sepehdar replied that he believed in the continuation of constitutional government in Persia, that he accepted his post and that his colleagues joined him because they all believed in the moral support Anglo-Russian diplomacy will give them for the materialization of the reform program, and that, under present circumstances, he would limit the power of the Medjlis, as its members are apt to find playing politics with German agents a more profitable business than legislating and ruling their country.

The correspondent further tells of encountering in Teheran a deputation of 700 representative Persians, headed by Prince Kash-e-Saltane, who went to the Allied consulate to express their gratefulness for the exemplary behavior of the Russian troops, and for their delivery of the country from the

Germans. After the fall of Kermanshah and Erzerum, Count Kanitz, one of the chief engineers of the German plots in Persia, committed suicide. Von Kardoff, the diplomatic representative of Germany, escaped half-

naked and all alone, and is believed to have perished. The Austrian attaché, Colonel Heller, and the Turkish representative, As-sim-Bey, were captured by the Russians at that time.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM IN WAR TIME

THE partial realization of some socialistic aims that has been brought about by the great war is, of course, primarily apparent in those departments of industry directly connected with the production of war materials, but it also extends to many other branches of the economic life of the belligerent nations.

Some aspects of this phase of the war are presented in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), by Prof. Carlo Cassola, of Perugia University. As a striking acknowledgment, he cites the words of Lloyd George, of Great Britain, in a speech at Bristol, where, after saying that the trade unions had for years preached the nationalization of industry, he asserted that, at the time he was speaking, almost the entire metallurgic industry of England was under the control of the state, which was deriving a profit from it. He asked whether this was not a long step in the direction of the socialistic ideal, and whether it was not the most radical measure that a government had ever taken to prevent the private accumulation of excessive profits.

This, however, represents only a single sphere of the state's activity in regulating and controlling the great industries, for the offensive and defensive powers of a nation depend in the last instance almost as much upon agriculture, means of transportation by land and sea, the production or importation of coal, as upon its manufacturing interests. And to sustain all these the indispensable financial fabric must not be neglected.

A notable instance of the nationalization of a great industry, adduced by Professor Cassola, is the organization in Germany of an obligatory syndicate of coal producers, in which the state, as a proprietor of coal mines, participates. The individual associates are not allowed to sell their stocks directly to the public, nor can they use them directly in their own furnaces, if they operate any, neither can they fix prices. Only the syndicate can dispose of the coal that has been mined, and the price it establishes therefor is not valid unless approved by the government, which reserves the right to raise or

lower it. These provisions are all the more significant when we consider that Germany produced, in the year preceding the war, 340,000,000 tons of coal, worth about a thousand million dollars.

In Italy the decrees of June 26 and August 22, 1915, provide that the factories turning out war materials shall be divided into two classes, namely, free factories, and mobilized or auxiliary factories, the latter being under the control of provincial committees, seven in all, clothed with ample powers. Their duty is to prescribe the quality of the products, to enforce measures of a technical and financial character relative to the operation of the individual undertakings, and to decide all disputes that may arise between workmen and employers.

At the outbreak of the war, and the cessation of all financial relations between the belligerents, English merchants found themselves in the possession of German and Austrian drafts to the value of several hundred millions. These became absolutely unavailable, and trade was for the moment almost paralyzed, as no public institution could well assume the unavoidable risk of discounting the paper. However, the national treasury intervened, and by agreement with the Bank of England, authorized the latter to discount at normal rates all drafts drawn upon English bankers and merchants, and accepted before the declaration of war, thus assuming the "risks" connected with the operation. A like course was followed in regard to drafts on foreign debtors which could not for the moment be realized. Three-quarters of any eventual loss is to be borne by the government and one-quarter by the bank.

In Germany, where no moratorium was ever proclaimed, the pressing necessities of debtors have been provided for by a chain of loaning banks, which have made advances to those manufacturers and merchants who can offer as guarantees manufactures, goods, produce, or titles. The administration of these institutions is under the control of the Reichsbank, the directors being appointed by the government.

The great modern prototype of this state management Professor Cassola sees in the France of the Revolutionary period, which furnished a most comprehensive and thorough application of the principle of state intervention in national economics. As a natural sequence of the general conscription came the requisitioning of food supplies for the newly-formed armies, and the stringent regulation of all industries engaged in the manufacture of war materials.

Among the additional measures taken were a grain monopoly; fixed prices for flour; standard weights and uniform prices for bread; maximum prices for all the necessities of life, and the establishment of great national depots for the storage of goods acquired by the state, to be distributed through the various channels of trade, wholesalers being allowed to realize a profit of 8 per cent., and retailers one of 12 per cent. on their purchases.

SPANISH SOCIALISTS

IT is highly interesting to note how the attitude and course of action of the German Socialists in the present war are regarded by Socialists of other nations. Mons. P. G. La Chesnais, writing in the *Mercur de France*, discusses at some length and with much warmth, the views expressed by a Spanish Socialist, A. Fabra Ribas, in a notable work entitled *El socialismo y el conflicto europeo*.

Says Mons. La Chesnais by way of preface:

We know that sentiment in Spain regarding the two groups of belligerents is extremely diversified. It ranges from the most pronounced sympathy for the Central Powers to the most decided sympathy for their adversaries. The interesting point is the parallelism of the opinions concerning the war with political alignments—the pronounced pro-Germans being on the extreme Right, among the Clericals, while at the extreme Left, among the Socialists, the war is interpreted about as it is in France, the sole difference being that Kaiserism and the German Socialists are criticized with greater freedom and severity, it may be, since the Spanish are not restrained, as are the French, by being judges in their own cause.

Of the two sub-titles of Ribas' book, "Kaiserism, that is the Enemy!" and "Ought Spain to Intervene in the War?" the first is sufficient to indicate the tendency of the work.

The author is but a temporary guest in France and has remained thoroughly Spanish. Though he has spent the last years in France and been a contributor to the leading French Socialist organ, he had previously to that passed four years in Germany, where he wrote for the German periodical, *Vorwärts*. His advocacy of the Allied cause is therefore, the result of reasoning, not of being carried away by his environment.

The Spanish writer's views are valuable, too, as being those of a man well versed in foreign politics. That is, in fact, his specialty as a journalist. It does not prevent his saying, however, that the war has its source in capitalism, from which view M. La Chesnais dissents, saying that in essence it is not a war of capitalism, but a war for supremacy, such as have occurred under all possible economic conditions. And Ribas himself admits that capitalism is not the sole responsible element. Speaking of the Triple Alliance, he remarks that it tended to exercise a real hegemony in Europe, thus menacing the existence of France as a nation and forcing her to ally herself with Russia—no new discovery, but gratifying as the view of a neutral Socialist, since the French Socialists dare not admit that the Russian alliance was justifiable or necessary.

But let us turn from general politics; the book is chiefly interesting as a study of Socialist policies. Besides presenting some new material, Ribas' knowledge of the previous life of the German Socialist party gives his judgment a peculiar weight in this connection.

He recalls that in 1905 Bebel declared, at the German Socialist Congress at Jena, that the government could not risk a resort to arms without the consent of the Socialist party, saying: "If the Reserves and the Landwehr are called upon, there are brigades composed entirely of Socialists." And since then, he remarks, the Socialist vote has increased by 1,200,000. Whence he concludes that:

The vote of the German Socialist party was, therefore, not a platonic one . . . but one upon which hung peace and war, a vote which signified theoretically and practically the repudiation

of the conflict of classes, absolute adhesion to the principles of German militarism, and a complete surrender in favor of Kaiserism.

Thus their responsibility, according to Ribas, is a frightful one. They betrayed their cause, their principles, in not recording the protest of a powerless minority, a protest ineffective for the present, but which would have saved their honor. But their treason went far beyond that: it did not consist of cowardice, or of being carried away by a great wave of fanatical patriotism, or a feeling of impotence. It consisted in going over to the other camp. Far from being an act of impotence, it was a voluntary act. They voted the war credits because they accepted the war—nay, more: because being able to choose between peace and war, they chose war. These are the deductions that may be drawn from the passage cited above.

Ribas does not indulge in conjectures, search for anecdotes, essay to analyze the psychology of the German Socialists, or measure their individual responsibility. What he wants to ponder is solely the importance of the fact, and he believes that, as a matter of fact, German Social Democracy had the power of averting the war.

How, asks M. La Chesnais, could they, being so strong, have been so weak? Extremist parties generally indulge in illusions as to their strength. How could they forget that even nine years ago their leader judged it great enough?

And Ribas shows that German political practice aggravates the Socialist vote of war credits. The same act, under like circumstances, in England and France would at least have involved the continuance of the Parliament, which, in those democratic countries, is a means of intervening directly in the entire organism of the state, while "the German Socialist deputies in voting the war credits delivered themselves body and soul to the enemy, without reserving to themselves any guarantee or retaining any power to defend the proletariat." As for the excuse according to which the Reichstag group, deceived, believed that the issue was a war of defense for Germany, it cannot hold in face of what appeared in the *Vorwärts* at the close of July, 1914, and in Haase's address at Brussels, July 30th.

Understanding so clearly at once the origin of the war and the rôle of the German Socialists, the Spanish Socialist does not hesitate to formulate very definite conclusions:

As Socialists we cannot close our eyes to the truth, nor *seek to evade the problems which we are obliged to solve*, and which require that we deal justly in our own cause, judging and castigating those who have failed to keep their promises and betrayed our cause by not opposing the war, by not at least protesting against the infamous violation of Belgian neutrality.

And as Socialists, finally, we must regard Austro-German militarism and, above all, Kaiserism as *our enemy par excellence*—for more formidable than Russian Czarism, since that represents at present a domestic danger combated with fire and sword by the *élite* of the Russian

people themselves, while Kaiserism constitutes an *actual* world danger, tolerated and supported by those who were looked upon as the most revolutionary party on earth.

* * *

Ought Spain to intervene in the war? It sounds somewhat strange for a Socialist to propound such a question, and I know many Socialists who will be scandalized by it. Have not the international congresses proclaimed that the International is, above all, pacifist? Have they not declared that the only legitimate war is a war of defense? . . . Nevertheless, Fabra Ribas devotes an entire chapter to that question. And, whatever one may think of his reply, one must admire his vigor of thought, the rigor of his conclusions.

He speaks no longer here of capitalist origin of the war; he goes straight to the crucial point:

This war is fought for the hegemony of the world and the principles which shall govern it. The victory of the Allies would be the definitive victory of the principle of nationalities and of the sovereignty of the people. The victory of Germany would not be the definitive defeat of that principle nor the total annihilation of the people's rights, but it is beyond doubt that that principle and those rights would receive a rude shock whose consequences no man can foresee.

Having firmly established that the triumph of the Central Powers would be the triumph of a universal reaction, Ribas concludes that if the liberty of a people is menaced it is the duty of Socialists everywhere to join in their defense, if possible. He conceives the struggle against Germany as a Crusade, in which the whole world ought to take part. Germany, dominated by Kaiserism, is a power for evil. It is a boldly idealistic conception, much in the spirit of the French Revolution. Idealism is, however, not the strong point of our age. Not that it does not animate many minds, but one no longer has faith in its strength; it is regarded as a distant hope, a utopian dream.

Ribas does not, however, counsel Spain to enter the war, because he has no faith in the Spanish army. But, says he: "If the Spanish army and navy were really national institutions, I should be a fervent advocate of the intervention of our country's forces."

Ribas' work, the writer concludes, is valuable in itself as the utterance of a neutral Socialist who has lived for years among the German Socialists and cannot be suspected of prejudice against them. But he is interesting, besides, if he may be regarded as representing Spanish Socialist thought. Now, their Congress last October declared that Socialism was interested in the defeat of Austro-German Imperialism, expressed itself against a premature peace, which might frustrate the interests of progress and civilization.

Fabra Ribas is permeated with the true doctrines of Socialism, and it is his belief in international solidarity which makes him the advocate of international action against a common peril.

SECRETARY BAKER OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT

IT has been remarked more than once since President Wilson named Newton D. Baker as successor to Secretary Garrison of the War Department, that he chose a man as like as possible to himself in temperament, mental habits, and point of view. This thought is emphasized by Mr. Fred C. Kelly in a character sketch of Secretary Baker, contributed to *Collier's Weekly* for May 6.

Beginning with an allusion to the fact that a quarter of a century ago Mr. Baker was a student at Johns Hopkins University, while Woodrow Wilson was a lecturer there, Mr. Kelly remarks that after Baker's student days were ended, the two men did not come into personal contact until they chanced to speak from the same platform in the course of a political campaign in Massachusetts a few years ago, when Wilson had become Governor of New Jersey and Baker was City Solicitor of Cleveland. At the Baltimore Convention of 1912, Baker made a speech in behalf of Wilson's nomination which excited comment throughout the country. When Wilson, as President, was making up his cabinet he offered Baker a place as Secretary of the Interior, but Baker was still Mayor of Cleveland and declined the honor. After that the two men fell into the habit of writing letters to each other, and in the course of time Baker became one of the President's unofficial advisers.

To Mr. Kelly it seems as if the President could not have found anywhere a man who would look less like the popular preconceived notion of the way a Secretary of War should look than does Mr. Baker. "People subconsciously think a man in charge of the War Department should be of impressive stature, with a massive, grised head, a war-like face, and a fee-faw-fum voice. The ideal would be a sort of composite of General Phil Sheridan and Jess Willard." Now Secretary Baker is slight of stature, with a bit of a studious droop to his shoulders and looks like a boy. "He is a boy in stature, features, and actions. Unless you scrutinized his face closely you would never guess that he is forty-five years old. Across the room he could pass for twenty-six and across the street you might pick him for a college sophomore en route maybe to banjo practice. Up closer you notice little wrinkles about his eyes, like minute guy ropes. His direct eyes



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

SECRETARY BAKER WITH FORMER SECRETARY GARRISON

are his most impressive feature, because of their uncanny directness. He has a prominent chin, slightly suggestive of Woodrow Wilson's."

After leaving the University, Mr. Baker became, for a time, private secretary of the late William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, which was Baker's native State. In 1897, Baker decided to enter on the practise of law in Cleveland, and within a few years attracted the favorable notice of Mayor Tom Johnson, who appointed him First Assistant City Solicitor. Later he was four times elected City Solicitor, and in 1911 was elected Mayor of Cleveland by the largest majority ever given a candidate there. Two years later he was re-elected by a reduced majority, and in January last he retired to private life. "Close friends of the new War Secretary declare that he has never in his life occupied a public office without his exhausting every reasonable or decent means to avoid it. His ambitions have always been to

be a high-grade lawyer, taking only hand-picked cases and to participate in public affairs as a private citizen."

Although head of the War Department, Mr. Baker is said to be a member of most of the peace societies of the world. He is not, however, a pacifist in the Bryan or Ford sense. "I am for peace at *almost* any price," says Mr. Baker, "and I am not willing to make up my mind on just what that '*almost*' shall be. Circumstances would determine. I do not think world peace will come through passive resistance on the part of any one nation, but I think a really great nation can afford to wait a long while and give a great many benefits of doubts before going to war."

Mr. Kelly is especially impressed by Secretary Baker's abilities as a platform speaker.

Indeed, he thinks that if there is any political significance in the appointment of Mr. Baker to a cabinet position, it is simply that his abilities as an orator may be useful to the administration. If there is any difference between the President and his War Secretary in this capacity, Mr. Kelly thinks that of the two men Baker is perhaps a better speaker than Wilson. "It is doubtful if any man can get up unexpectedly and use better diction with less hesitation. I have heard him speak extemporaneously when he employed involved phrases which were, nevertheless, so clear that one would think that they had been carefully evolved on paper. He can think out a problem while on his feet and discuss it as he goes along." Yet Mr. Baker says that he never began a speech without more or less stage fright.

ROSCOE POUND, DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL



DEAN ROSCOE POUND, OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL.

(One of the leading American exponents of the so-called "Sociological Jurisprudence.")

THE recent choice of Dr. Roscoe Pound as the Dean of the Law School of Harvard University (usually regarded as both the oldest and the foremost law school in the United States) is significant as a recognition of a leader in the movement to make the law more responsive to changing social conditions.

In the *Nebraska State Journal* for March 18th, Prof. M. M. Fogg, of the University of Nebraska, calls attention to Dr. Pound's labors in behalf of this reform. This was the emphasis of his Lowell Institute lectures, in Boston, three years ago and of his address—"Justice According to Law"—at Nebraska University in 1914; this is the central idea of the work he is preparing on "Sociological Jurisprudence." "If justice is not expedited, if evidence is not valued more as a means and less for evidence' sake; if the law does not square more nearly with the facts of changing society; quasi-judicial boards and commissions, as they have already begun to do more and more, take over the work of the courts—boards and commissions in which is danger because they settle cases on their separate merits, not according to any fundamental principles. For dealing with this vital problem from an historical and comparative point of view, Dean Pound's equipment is probably not equaled by that of any other American."

Dean Pound was born in Lincoln, Ne-

braska, forty-six years ago. He was a graduate of the State University at seventeen, and university instructor in botany before he was eighteen. He enjoys a world-wide reputation as a scientist, based on a book giving an exposition of the origin and composition of the native vegetation in Nebraska. This work is described by botanists as one of the best books of its class in existence.

At nineteen, Pound took up the study of the law, and as practitioner at Lincoln, and incidentally at Chicago, Cambridge and Boston, while possessing uncommon powers

as an advocate, he has been regarded, by reason of his command of wide and accurate learning, as "the lawyer's lawyer—the man who knows," who "knows where things are." For years Dr. Pound was an associate professor of law at the University of Nebraska, later at the Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago, and for the past four years at the Harvard Law School. He is described as an inspiring teacher whose success has been due first of all to the recognition of the fact that he has mastered his subjects.

A CRISIS IN OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY

IN striking contrast to the situation that has prevailed for generations, the movement of population from the Old World to the New is now almost balanced by the movement in the opposite direction. During the second half of the year 1915 the number of arrivals on our shores was 169,291, and of departures 166,899, leaving a net increase in the population, from immigration, of only 2392. During the fiscal years 1913 and 1914 the annual immigration amounted to about a million and a half, and the annual net increase in the alien population (*i.e.*, the total annual increase minus the number of those returning to their own countries) to about 800,000.

Thus we are granted a momentary breathing spell, in which to take stock of our immigration policy, and especially to consider what problems of immigration will have to be faced after the European war is over and how they should be dealt with. That we need new immigration legislation and need it at once is the thesis to which Professor Robert De C. Ward, of Harvard University, devotes an article entitled "Immigration and the War" in the *Scientific Monthly*. He says:

The war has brought us, suddenly and unexpectedly, face to face with a great experiment in restriction—restriction of a far more drastic sort than has ever been suggested by any but a few of our most radical exclusionists. Furthermore, the war has brought, temporarily, an interesting change in the racial character of our alien arrivals. The majority of those coming in recent months has been from northern and western Europe, whereas, under ordinary conditions, nearly three-quarters of our immigrants are southern and eastern Europeans. The British

Isles, Holland, Denmark, the Scandinavian countries, from all of which there has been a fairly regular steamship service, have kept on sending us about their usual quota. Of those aliens who have returned home for military duty, the large majority came originally from southern and eastern Europe. Immigration restrictionists have observed with satisfaction that there has been less unemployment than usual during this winter, even in our large eastern cities, and realize, what they have always maintained, that reducing the inflow of unskilled labor must inevitably simplify and lighten all our burdens of public and private charity. They observe, also, that there has been no widespread, serious or disturbing lack of labor in our great industries or public undertakings. The predictions of those who have persistently maintained that even a very moderate restriction of immigration would immediately lead to a labor shortage and greatly curtail our industries have been shown to be in error.

The author reviews the much-debated question as to the amount and character of immigration after the war. It appears that former wars abroad have been followed by an increased immigration to America. The view is advanced that while the work of reconstruction may tend to keep the laboring class at home in the better organized countries of northern and western Europe, from which we have, in the past, received the most desirable types of immigrant,

in the countries of southern and eastern Europe and of western Asia, immigration from which has been on the whole more of a problem, because of the differences in race, political institutions, education and social habits, there will not be the same organized reconstructive work. From these countries, therefore, so largely in the more primitive condition of agriculture, the forces tending to promote emigration will be operative to a much greater degree than ever before. Thus the great preponderance of southern and eastern

Europeans, already the most striking feature in our recent immigration, is likely to be still further increased after the war is over.

Finally, this unprecedented war will have far-reaching effects upon the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the European populations, and these will be reflected in our future immigrants. Hence the urgent need of establishing, before the influx again begins, more effective safeguards against undesirable accessions to our population.

Professor Ward devotes much space to an analysis and eulogy of the Burnett immigration bill, which, since his article was written, has passed the House by a large majority, and is now before the Senate. This bill includes the much-vetoed but irrepressible literacy test, of which the author says:

To object to the reading test on the ground that it "will not exclude the educated rascal" is a sign either of gross ignorance or of a wilful attempt to mislead. The reading test is not to replace any existing provision of the present law. It is to be added to our present provisions. Criminals are already mentioned among the excluded classes, and we keep them out when we can, and as well as we can, although everybody familiar with the law, and with the difficulties of its enforcement, knows perfectly well that we really have no effective means of keeping out this group. No one maintains that the reading

test is an ideal, or a perfect "solution" of our problem.

The writer appeals to the sanity and patriotism of the American people in behalf of the bill now before Congress,

embodying provisions for the preservation of our public health by more effective exclusion of mentally and physically undesirable aliens; providing for more humane and fairer treatment of the aliens themselves; and excluding certain additional groups which, in the opinion of our immigration experts, are economically or racially unfit. It is natural that so complex a bill, codifying all our existing immigration laws, and making changes in them, should meet with opposition. Some of this opposition is honest and sincere. Much of it is based on misconceptions of what the present law is and of the ways in which the new bill would modify it. Much of it is the result of agitation by "interested" persons who do not hesitate to mislead the foreign-born members of our communities by wilful misstatements of facts, and deliberate falsehoods regarding the actual wording and purpose of the bill. When no less eminent a citizen than Cardinal Gibbons was misled into thinking that the immigration bill which passed the last Congress required ability to read *English*, it is not surprising that the great masses of our recent immigrants are even more mistaken. Much of the opposition, now as always, comes from the railroad and steamship companies, and from the large employers of labor. Some of it is coming from the Japanese and the Chinese.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE people of the United States are daily becoming more keenly alive to the immense political and commercial advantages of establishing friendly and cordial relations with all of Latin-America. Doubtless the commission, headed by Secretary McAdoo, which has just returned from South America has done much to further such relations—in spite of the unfortunate contretemps in Peru. But no formal visit of officials, no matter how able and tactful the latter may be, can accomplish as much as a continuous and coöperative effort on the part of foreign residents and visitors in a country having the definite object of establishing such an *entente* with the native population.

It is just such a coöperative effort that the German residents and travelers all over South America have been making for some years. This is being keenly realized in France, and the United States may well take the same lesson to heart. An article by M. René

Moulin in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* comes aptly to hand to drive this lesson home. We quote from an abstract in the April number of *La Revue*:

It is not only in Europe and in the United States that it is necessary to trace, to unearth, and to checkmate German propaganda. It flourishes also throughout the whole of South America, and if the results have not yet corresponded to the degree of the effort, we should nevertheless be at fault to neglect them under the pretext that these far-distant countries cannot, after all, exert any influence on the issue of the war.

It is well known in Germany that all of Latin-America has been thoroughly impregnated with French culture, and that the sympathies we may count upon in this realm are lively, sincere, and profound. But it is known, too, that there is no public opinion which cannot be transformed, or at least impressed, by a skilful, tenacious, and prudent propaganda without useless violence.

At Stuttgart a "Hispano-Germanic Society" has just been founded. Its members propose to facilitate the *rapprochement* between peoples of the German and of the Spanish language. After

the war an Economic Committee will be formed. On the fifth of January the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* published a long letter from a German teacher established in Brazil in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul in which he says: "The French have earnestly endeavored to establish propaganda in the province, but thanks be to God and to the efforts intelligently organized by the excellent 'League of the German Societies of Porto Alegre' the Franco-English influence is diminishing."

In the Argentine, if we may believe the *Vossische Zeitung*, the German cause may also be expected to gain ground. A certain Professor, Ernesto Quesada, of the University of Buenos Aires, and president of the Argentine delegation to the Pan-American Congress, is said to have declared in an interview which attracted much attention, that the sympathy for France in no wise implies a hatred of Germany. And the professor adds that he counts much, moreover, on the Germano-South American Institute to yet more improve and develop the good relations which exist between the two countries.

The *Deutsche Zeitung für Chili*, a daily review; the *Revista del Pacifico*, published at La Plata; another review, *Ecoaleman*, published at Caracas, are very active propagandists. To reunite in one sheaf these scattered activities, the first-named journal proposes to form an "Association for the Conservation and Development of Germanism in Chile." This association, which might include Austrians and Swiss Germans, would comprise six sections:

- (1) A section of instruction.
- (2) A section of sports.
- (3) A musical and artistic section.
- (4) A section for commerce and industry.
- (5) A section of assistance and benevolence.
- (6) A section of propaganda for Germanism—(German journals, libraries, conferences, instruction in German for non-Germans). A central bureau, which would reunite the delegates from the various societies of the German language, would consider all questions bearing on Germanism in Chile. It would serve besides as a

bureau of information to strangers regarding all associations of this sort.

M. Moulin considers that the precise and practical program of these journals which pretend to serve Chilean, Brazilian, or Argentine interests, but in reality serve the cause of Greater Germany, and of these leagues and associations so pertinacious and well coördinated—in short, "this coördination and concentration of all efforts and all initiatives, will tend to create in South America a pro-German current which may one day become a menace to French interests." He speaks with approval of the plan of M. Martinenche, promulgated in 1908, to form a "Grouping of French universities for the development of relations with South America." He continues:

After the war Latin-America will offer an immense field to our activities. But we must needs prepare *immediately* for our future. To-morrow it will probably be too late. Let us try to rebind the ties which unite us to South America, and which the German propaganda is trying to destroy. The Argentine Republic, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, give us daily proofs of their sympathy too striking to permit us . . . to continue to sit with folded hands.

Let us send into each of the South American Republics men conversant with the language, the inhabitants, and the country—men who have no need of one stage to instruct themselves, and another to instruct us. We have universities, merchants, and savants who could conduct in South America an excellent and rapid propaganda. Let us for once make use of these agencies. It is not, I know, the custom. But the profit we should derive is well worth some little sacrifices. We have down there a mission—and the highest—to fulfil, a rôle to play, a place to take. Quick! a program and to work!

HALIFAX COMING INTO ITS OWN

CANADIANS are perennially captivated by the idea of all-British routes to the mother country. A large share of Canadian products still finds its outlet by way of United States ports, despite the fact that the Dominion has ports of its own nearer to Europe. The nearest of all is Halifax. A few years ago we heard much of a summer route via Hudson Bay. There has also been much talk of a route across Newfoundland. Now, however, commercial Canada has focused its attention on Halifax, through which, if its hopes are realized, there will soon be flowing a large volume of freight, not only from the interior of Canada, but also from the northwestern United States.

The great undertakings upon which the government has embarked at this point were recently described in the *New York Times*:

Because of its geographical location, because Halifax is the most easterly of the Canadian ports, and because, too, strangely enough, it is never closed by ice, Canada, through its Department of Railways and Canals, is now engaged there on one of the biggest port developments in the world. Although suffering with her mother country from the drain of the great war, the Dominion is proceeding with regularity on a construction determined upon before men reckoned with the present destruction of the wealth of the world. Already work to the amount of \$2,000,000 has been contracted for, and a total outlay of \$10,000,000 is contemplated.

The port development at Halifax is attracting

the attention of engineers everywhere. There is being built an entirely new railway entrance to the city, which means a relocation of the railway station and six miles of approach track through virgin territory within the city limits. Furthermore, a radical innovation in quay-wall construction is being introduced. The work is no less interesting as a study in commercial development and national self-sufficiency, for the Port of Halifax, when completed, will be the climax of the grand Canadian transcontinental railway scheme, which has been fructifying for the past decade; the transshipment point which is intended to guarantee that Canadian goods will be carried entirely on Canadian soil; the link in the British "All Red" inter-continental transport about which England's Ministers dreamed in the days before they became munitions makers and recruiting sergeants.

On the Atlantic seaboard Canada has only four ports where freight can be transshipped to large ocean steamers; viz., Montreal, Quebec, St. John (N. B.), and Halifax.

The St. Lawrence River ports have been developed in a satisfactory manner, particularly Montreal, which is one of the largest grain-shipping ports in the world. Both, however, have very marked disadvantages. Although not much farther north than Halifax, the temperate influence of the ocean is so far away that for at least four months every year they are icebound and impassable. In the summer, too, the long, thousand-mile trip up the St. Lawrence is apt to be endangered by heavy fogs. As recently as May, 1914, the *Empress of Ireland*, sinking in collision during a fog, added to the terrible maritime disasters of history. Furthermore, the St. Lawrence is dredged only to a depth of 35 feet. St. John was barred mainly on account of the fifty-foot tide change there, which would make any extensive construction almost impossible. Halifax does not suffer from the difficulties of Montreal and Quebec, but it had never been developed either as a railway center or a harbor to a degree sufficient to offset the superior advantages of New York, Portland and Boston, where large vessels and effective transshipment facilities have long been offered.

In consequence of these restrictions, in winter practically all of the Canadian trade, and in summer some of it, has come down through the States and paid not only traffic rates on the railroads there, but also helped the American ports to the disadvantage of the Canadian.

Americans are prone to think of the Nova Scotian metropolis as almost subarctic in latitude; but it is, in fact, temptingly near the great steamship lanes between America and Great Britain. The winter route from New York actually passes only fifty miles south of the entrance to Halifax harbor.

Its main disadvantages are its comparative remoteness as a railway center and the fogs which frequent its harbor. The former the Canadians have set about to remedy; the latter most of them agree to forget.

At any rate, the government officials through

the medium of the best railway and harbor engineering talent in the Dominion for some years thoroughly studied the situation, and once convinced of the practicability of a stupendous port development, proceeded secretly to buy up what little property was not already in government possession, and in 1912 announced the new Ocean Terminals.

Briefly, the new scheme consisted in taking the railway from its present location north of the city down a "back way," along the beautifully wooded shore of the Northwest Arm, which makes in behind the city, and around the south end of the peninsula to the Government park, which lies close up to the business center of the town. Here are located the terminals—a landing quay 2,000 feet in length, and six piers, each 1,250 feet long, with berths having a depth of forty-five feet of water, sufficient to carry any ship now afloat, and with room for twenty or thirty of the largest vessels at once. Along with the quay and piers is a protective breakwater and freight houses, elevators, and all the various equipment necessary for the economical transshipment of all kinds of freight from car to boat.

Moreover, Halifax is to have what no port of consequence in the United States has—direct and mainline connections for both freight and passengers to the very edge of the wharves, with a railway station of the new cathedral type—the kind made famous by the Grand Central and the Pennsylvania in New York, the Michigan Central in Detroit, the Union Stations in Kansas City and in Washington—at one end of which liners may dock and at the other transcontinental Pullmans start. With similar arrangements at Vancouver or Prince Rupert, now complete, an Englishman can go from the Victoria Docks in London to the landing stage at Hongkong without stepping out into the air or off British planks, afloat or awheel.

The passenger business in this new terminal is secondary, though some millions of dollars are to go into the station and the hotel, which will supplant Halifax's present ridiculous accommodations. The main provision is for freight, and for that the Intercolonial Railway, one of the oldest Canadian systems, built from Halifax to Truro in 1854 and extended to the St. Lawrence River in 1879, is being revamped, and Halifax is to be provided with the last word in terminal facilities. This means a freight sorting yard in Bedford Bay, where the gray patrol cruisers of King George's North Atlantic fleet now slip into port for their occasional and well-earned rest, and all the multiple services and equipment which the transshipment of carload freight demands.

One of the most formidable engineering problems in connection with this project was the construction of the huge quay walls, in salt water from 35 to 60 feet deep, subject to local freezing; conditions that oppose both cofferdam construction and the pouring of concrete under water. The novel plan adopted consists in the use of immense cellular concrete blocks, each weighing 60 tons, 32 feet long, 28 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. These are cast in a yard alongside the harbor, and permitted to dry and set for at least



BRITISH FLEET IN THE HARBOR OF HALIFAX

a month before submersion. A concrete foundation is laid in an enormous diving-bell. The latter is then removed, and the blocks are lowered one on top of another by a massive crane. The cells are then partly filled in with concrete and broken stone.

The financial outlook for this project is still problematical.

Against its success two things will work—the long railway haul to reach its docks, and the possibility that the prevailing fogs will so cloud the entrance as to discourage big shipping. In answer to the first objection its advocates admit that for grain Montreal will continue to have the call in summer, and the New England ports in

winter, but for bulk goods and for express and passenger service, Halifax is sufficiently superior to maintain a prosperous existence. The possibility of fog brings up an interesting psychological manifestation. The Canadian does not recognize the existence of fog, either in the St. Lawrence or on the Nova Scotian coast. Like the Pittsburghers with their smoke, the San Franciscans with their winter rains, and the New Yorkers with their summer mosquitoes, they rise superior to all natural phenomena. Records show that only from thirty to forty days each year at Halifax proper are foggy, but the offshore conditions are not so satisfactory. Indeed, from May to August fogs prevail about 60 per cent. of the time just south of the Newfoundland banks. Prediction as to the effect of this condition upon shipowners requires a clairvoyance hardly worth while claiming.

PORTUGAL AND GERMANY

THE significance of Portugal's sudden entry into the war is explained in the April number of *La Revue* (Paris) by its able editor, Jean Finot. According to that well-known publicist, this is the official consecration of a troubled past and a manifest present. He writes:

Germany invaded Angola, a Portuguese province. She massacred its soldiers and sent its ships to the bottom of the sea. And because the adversary was none too reluctant, Berlin continued to assume that there was a state of peace with Portugal, in spite of the repeated violations of the hostile relations existing between the two countries.

There is no question here of an isolated attack, but of renewed attempts, having for

their object the brutal conquest of a province, without even a previous declaration of war. The invasion of Waulila in October, 1914, was followed by many other aggressions. These did not come to an end until the beginning of 1915, after the capture of the German colonial soldiers by General Botha!

The seizure of the German vessels has put an end to this situation so discordant with the prescriptions of the international code. And this is why the German chancellery sees itself obliged to declare war against Portugal, to safeguard its interests. The Germans are at last obliged to quit this country in which they are so abhorred. . . .

When Portugal put an end to the lies which poisoned its political existence, Germany denounced such duplicity and violation of international treaties. But the requisition of the ships responds to an incontestable right which appears

tains to every government . . . when exacted by its primordial interests. This right, known under the name of *Anjarie*, was provided for, moreover, in the German-Portuguese treaty of commerce of November 30, 1908. In exercising sovereignty of her ports, Portugal made use of this imprescriptible right. The only reproach Germany might address to her is of having waited too long; for all German properties, including the ships, should have been sequestered without indemnity following the invasion of Angola.

Let us note, likewise, that Italy requisitioned thirty-seven German ships interned within her ports. Nine of these plied between Italy and England, and eighteen between Italy and the United States. However, Germany accepted this fact and on this occasion made no outcry about a violation of rights.

Stung by impotent rage, according to M. Finot, Germany sought to wound national pride by declaring that Portugal is a mere vassal of England. In answering this insult, Camachot, the leader of the Unionists, countered very neatly by remarking, "We may be treated as slaves, but it is as slaves of our promises." The writer goes on to remark that there has been an unbroken historical friendship between the two countries since the first treaty, concluded in 1373. This was followed by others signed in 1386, 1642, 1654, 1660, 1703, etc., etc. He continues:

International propriety and justice are on the side of Portugal. Has not Germany committed against her a series of crimes which nothing justified save her erroneous conviction that she would remain unpunished? Accustomed to respect nothing but force, Germany has always considered her present adversary as a negligible quantity. . . .

The energy and dignity displayed on this occasion by the government of Alfonso Costa have produced a durable impression. There has been a change in Europe; in contrast to the acts of servility of so many neutrals, one nation, negligible apparently, has dared oppose the Berlin monster. . . . The seizure of the boats by Portugal marks the second stage. . . . This measure embraces the most papable interests. Moreover it procures for Portugal the character of a belligerent. It is not our intention to exalt the necessity of her active participation in the war of "civilized peoples against Germany" . . . Friend and admirer of Portugal, I feel an infinite joy in underscoring the beauty of her attitude. In solidarizing herself by a spontaneous act with the most beautiful cause which has ever inspired humanity, the Lusitanian Republic can but advance in the general esteem. Far from trying jesuitically to conciliate the superior interests of morality with base preoccupations, like certain neutrals, she has not ceased proudly to show her preferences and range herself openly on the side of those who incarnate the true principles of social welfare. . . . She also has her Germanophiles . . . but their number is so small, their activity is so opposed to the general trend, that they scarcely succeed in tarnishing the beauty of the ensemble.

To the German threats the Lisbon government seems to respond with these simple words: "We prefer disappearing with the civilized peoples to living under German slavery."

M. Finot believes, however, that far from perishing Portugal will reap inestimable advantages from her action, and may even affect the outcome of the war through the reaction upon public feeling in Brazil, and indirectly upon the rest of South America. He says:

The most important among the Brazilian journals counsel their countrymen no longer to allow themselves to be menaced or intimidated by German proceedings. The *Jornal do Commercio*, referring to the scandalous affair of the confiscation by Germany of the stocks of coffee at Hamburg, belonging to the government of São-Paulo, demands the confiscation of German boats to a sufficient number to equal in value the stolen merchandise. The *Gazeta de Noticias* and the other great Brazilian organs openly manifest their sympathies and proclaim the solidarity of the interests of Brazil with those of Portugal.

Moreover, the Allies could easily chase Germany from East Africa. The Portuguese ports of the Azores Islands, of Cape Verde, of Madeira, of the Bay of Lagos, and finally of the port of Lisbon, would become infinitely useful maritime bases for paralyzing the action of German submarines in the Atlantic. As they lie in proximity to the great maritime route, stations could be established at these points to render inestimable services in the struggle against the exploits of German submarines and corsairs. . . .

The author goes on to declare in another section of the article that, to Europe's shame, the independent existence of Portugal was menaced even before the war. The Woltmanns, the Reimers, the Bernhardis, the Lamprechts, the Tannenbergs, and hundreds of other writers, famous or obscure, spoke openly of the necessity of obtaining French or Italian, Swiss or Belgian, Dutch or Russian provinces, and even of going to retake nearly all of Brazil from the Brazilians.

The insensibility of Europe to these menaces was interpreted by the Germans as a sort of consent. And their appetite, growing keener and keener, fastened its desire on territories near or far, in the Old World or the New. Portugal was the first to be coveted. Fifteen years before the war, Germany began active *pourparlers*, having for their object the rape of her colonies.

I happened to be in London towards the end of June, 1914. Invited to dinner in one of the great houses of the capital, a house where, by preference, one was apt to encounter the leaders of the Tory party, the question fell upon the insatiable desire of Germany to dismember Portugal. The venerable Lord X. . . . one of the survivors of the pleiad of statesmen who once surrounded Salisbury, made on this occasion the following piquant remark: "Bethmann-Hollweg is trying to make mud flow from an English rock. The treaties which bind us with Portugal guar-

antee the integrity of her colonies. . . ."

The writer affirms apropos of this that the future of Lusitania lies in her colonies, whose great value has stimulated Germany's desire to wrest them from their rightful owner, concluding with this spirited defense of his country's course:

Between Portugal and Germany, therefore, there is a duel to the death. If Germany should issue victorious from this war, the independence of Portugal would be forever compromised. Hence the Lusitanian Republic, acting under the influence of moral motives, has at the same time acted to the profit of her immediate interests. In ranging herself on the side of the "civilized nations against Germany," her own fate and that of her colonies has been incorporated in the vast program of the existence of the nations of to-morrow. And Germany will cease to covet her possessions when she sees them placed under the guardianship of all her adversaries of to-day, who revindicate the honor of defending the law and justice of to-morrow. It is from this point of view that the most clair-



MEMBERS OF THE PORTUGUESE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE
(From left to right: Mesquita de Carvalho, Antonio Jose d' Almeida, President Machado, Peseira Reis, Alfonso Costa)

voyant statesmen have unceasingly regarded the situation of Portugal.

Alfonso Costa and the members of his government remain in accord upon this point with João Chagas, the most eminent among Portuguese diplomatists, who, since the beginning of hostilities, has unceasingly proclaimed the necessity for Portugal of ranging herself on the side of the Allies. . . . This war of world deliverance thus marks one of the most glorious periods in the evolution of Portugal.

THE NEED OF AN AERIAL COAST PATROL

ADMIRAL PEARY, as a naval officer, is not unaware of the importance of sea power. Nevertheless, he believes that the ancient maxim, "He who commands the sea commands all," will, in the future, be changed to read, "He who commands the air commands all." In accordance with his convictions along this line Admiral Peary has become actively interested in the development of the air service of the United States. He is convinced that the command of the air is more vital to our safety than the army and the navy combined.

In an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, in Philadelphia, on April 29th, Admiral Peary laid particular stress on the need of an aerial patrol for our coasts. Citing figures to show the marked air inferiority of the United States compared with European powers, and referring to the revolutionary effect of aircraft in warfare, he said:

coast-line, as a base, gives us an inestimable advantage in aerial warfare, and will enable us to send out such a veritable cloud of aeroplanes, as would completely overwhelm and destroy any number of aeroplanes that could be transported on the decks of a hostile fleet, thus leaving us in possession of our eyes and the enemy blinded.

But we must be ready. There will be no time for preparation after the enemy is within sight of our shores, for as soon as the enemy secures a base at some strategic point on the coast, his swarm of aeroplanes—brought over aboard ship—will be loosed over our big cities, leaving appalling destruction in their wake.

We should have 5000 aëros on each coast, or 2000 at the very minimum. In case this number should strike the average man as fanciful when speaking of aeroplanes, Admiral Peary reminds us that in 1900 there were only some 700 automobiles in the country, as against 3,000,000 to-day, with an estimated output this year of over 1,000,000. At every important place on the coast "squadrons of

An attack upon us must come by sea. Our



ADMIRAL PEARY READY TO ASCEND IN AN
AEROPLANE

aeroplanes should be parked like tents of the summer encampment of the National Guard."

The idea of the coast patrol is to divide our coast lines into sections of about 100 miles each. Each of these sections is to be equipped with a seaplane, these machines to carry both pilot and observer and to be equipped with wireless and other apparatus. These seaplanes, patrolling their respective "beats," will give us

A continuous picket line of sea-planes or flying boats fifty miles or more off shore and 2000 feet or more in the air, around our entire coasts from Eastport, Maine, to Brownsville, Texas, and from San Diego, California, to Cape Flattery, Washington, each machine traveling back and forth,—back and forth,—over its section or "beat," a winged sentinel, forming a cordon, a continuous line of whirring shuttles, weaving a blanket of protection around the country.

Nothing exactly like this plan is now in operation anywhere. Yet the system would involve no new principle, but would be simply the organization and utilization on a large and systematic scale of the scouting function of a single aeroplane unit.

Admiral Peary pictures the actual working of the system:

One of these sea-planes is traversing its beat fifty to 100 miles west of San Francisco and 2000 feet or more up in the air. A ship or ships appear on the horizon fifty miles farther out. The powerful glasses are brought into play by the ob-

server. His trained eye recognizes the number, character, and course of the ships.

The wireless crackles the information to the shore station. The shore station transmits it to the great government wireless station at San Diego. That station snaps it eastward across the Rockies. In a few minutes Washington knows all about it, and, if necessary, orders are snapped back to San Francisco, for whatever action is advisable.

Let us imagine it is war. This advance notice of the approach of the enemy is the first step. In modern warfare, hours and even minutes may spell victory. The enemy is still unaware that his approach is known, for the sentinel seaplane was invisible to him.

With the next step a cloud of scout aeroplanes sweep out in such numbers as to overwhelm and destroy the enemy's aeroplanes, leaving him blinded.

Then follow the squadrons of great battle triplanes, each machine carrying several tons of high explosives to drop upon the hostile fleet. You can imagine the result.

The entire cost of the system will be about \$500,000—about half the cost of a single modern destroyer, and about one-third as much as was raised in both France and Germany by popular subscription for the air services before the war. Each section will cost \$10,000. Maine was the first State to give official endorsement to the plan, and the first aerial coast patrol station will be established on that coast this summer. Fourteen other States already have the funds necessary for their respective sections.

But it is not only as a war measure that a coast patrol of this kind would be valuable. There is the development of the machines through the improvements evolved by the constant use of the fifty or more patrolling aeroplanes, and the training of so many aviators in continual service, both of which would be valuable benefits. In this regard alone the patrol would more than pay for itself. Then there is the possibility that a patrolling aeroplane might be the means of discovering and securing succor for some ship in distress whose cargo would be worth more than the cost of the entire patrolling establishment.

It is proposed to raise the funds for the cost of each section in the communities within that section. When the various stations have been equipped, they will be turned over to the naval militia, which will be charged with their maintenance and upkeep. A more urgent and practicable project for preparedness than this proposed aerial patrol can hardly be imagined, and considering the proportionately small cost of each section, the project should be assured of accomplishment within a reasonably short time.



From the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union
GENERAL VIEW OF PUNTA ARENAS, CHILE

THE WORLD'S SOUTHERNMOST CITY



A BUSINESS BLOCK IN PUNTA ARENAS

PUNTA ARENAS (Sandy Point), the little Chilean city on the Straits of Magellan, may be fairly designated as the southernmost city of the world. The only permanent town that is nearer to the South Pole is the little penal settlement of Ushuaia, maintained by Argentina as a colony for her more desperate criminals. This settlement is located on Beagle Channel and numbers about 400 inhabitants, prisoners included. Punta Arenas, on the other hand, is really a city of 13,000 population, and according to Edward Albes, of the Pan-American Union, it is as lively and "hustling" as any place of that size in the world.

In a recent *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, this writer gives some of the impressions of a visitor to the city from northern latitudes. Unlike many of the older Latin-American cities, Punta Arenas (founded in the '50's of the last century) can boast of fine, wide streets, laid off parallel and at right angles to the waterfront. The business section has solid and substantial buildings, some of which would do credit to a larger place.

The wealth and progress of the city are largely accounted for by the sheep industry. The cold climate of Tierra del Fuego and

the Straits region generally, is well adapted to sheep raising. To protect them from the cold, nature provides the sheep with unusually thick and heavy coats of wool, which commands good prices in the European markets. The special qualities of this wool are that it washes very white and will take the most delicate dyes exceptionally well. Punta Arenas exports over 20,000,000 pounds of wool annually and has become one of the great wool-exporting ports of the world. In the territory of Magallanes, of which Punta Arenas is the capital, it is estimated that there are now 2,000,000 sheep, although thirty-five years ago there were but 185 head all told. There are also over 30,000 head of cattle in the territory.

As a result of the live-stock industry numerous factories for the local preparation and handling of its products have been established. Among these are refrigerating, canning, trying, beef-extracting, fellmongering, sausage casing, and pickling plants. There are two modern refrigerating establishments, the combined output of which amounts to nearly 400,000 frozen animals annually. The tanning works connected with these two



A STREET SCENE IN JULY
(The clothing stores)

plants market over 750,000 pounds of tallow annually, while six other tanning plants have about an equal output.

Whaling is also an important industry of the Straits region. The catch of one company during a recent season amounted to over 400 whales, and whale oil to the amount of 2000 tons, valued at \$214,000, was shipped to England.

The total foreign trade of the port amounts to about \$11,000,000 a year, of which a little less than \$4,000,000 repre-

sents the Chilean imports and something over \$5,000,000 the exports, while the imports and exports of Argentine goods transhipped amount to nearly \$2,000,000. Assuredly this is a remarkable showing for a city of 13,000 inhabitants.

The official reports of the Governor show that the people of the city are prosperous. There are seventy-nine fortunes of more than \$100,000, while several are estimated at from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000. There are also numerous savings-bank accounts.

LOUIS RAEMAEEKERS, THE DUTCH CARTOONIST OF THE WAR

AT a banquet recently tendered to the Dutch artist, Raemaekers, says Gustave Kahn in the *Mercure de France*, he remarked in answer to the toasts in his honor: "It is due to the *Telegraaf*, it is due to *M. Schroeder*, that I have been able to write which I have written."

The writer of the article asks his readers especially to note this phrase and the meaning that it was intended to convey. Nothing, in his opinion, more apt than this has been said regarding the art and the tendencies of Louis Raemaekers.

His art is graphic; he writes rather than depicts; his prime object is to argue; his productions are not violent, they are just. A German would regard his treatment as paroxysmal; the French do not. If one cannot look with serenity upon the tragic pages to which Raemaekers owes his renown, one may reflect calmly on his methods. Attention is given, perhaps, to the setting, but the stress is laid upon the total effect. Caricature, as it was conceived by the greatest polemic of the pencil, a Daumier, for example, exerts no influence on this art. It is not caricature, for there is no violent facial deformation, mirthful or depreciatory. What is presented is the acute stage of a situation.

Is Raemaekers' art entirely individual? No, we find the same aim, the same bent in Hermann-Paul's drawings of the war. Must we admit that the very tragedy of the subject, in its manifold aspects, deprives the critic, and the artist, of any desire of artistic exaggeration? One does not caricature such situations, indulge in irony upon the perpetrators of such actions, the personages of such dramas. Caricature has abdicated before a direct attack of the subject: the artist's reflections are sad, bitter; buffoonery of any sort finds no place here. Simple, strong phrases are needed to interpret the great drama; the draughtsman seeks to reproduce the most statuesque, the most salient, suggestive, of those phrases: to mark clearly the chief point of the drama is his first, his abiding care. Hence the prolific, almost daily, work of Raemaekers' pro-

duced in course of the war, which fills the immense hall of Georges Petit—forming a commentary of events, a succinct history of the conflict, a complete record of a person's state of mind in face of the catastrophe unrolled before him.

There are two aspects to be considered in this work; one is simply Dutch; the other is of general significance, recording, as it does, the revolt of a liberal mind before brutal force.

But in the part clearly Dutch, that is, in the numerous drawings where Raemaekers' chief aim is to put his countrymen on guard against the Germans, to counsel them not to be intimidated and entangled by the bulletins of their victories, the artist's Dutch origin is not particularly marked. He is not ethnically representative. This shows that Raemaekers, being a liberal, developed a cosmopolitan art formed of the grand principles of human liberty and the desire of a better social future. And he is an adept in that art.

Can it be said that he has been greatly influenced, technically, by French art? I think not. Raemaekers' designs have only very partial points of contact with the great French humorists. He has no mannerisms or prejudices.

His art is really of the North; one may note in the powerfully square shoulders of his soldiers, in their violent countenances, an atavism, recall the faces of Jordaens. His coloring is very simple; black and white have sufficed for his greatest effects; he has preferred them. In this gamut of designs, is it the nature of the subjects, is it the presentation which reminds one of Goya's pictures, with whom, for that matter, he is not preoccupied. It is the subjects, perhaps, which cause the very vague similitude. In reality, one cannot say that Raemaekers' method creates a manner, it is precisely the total absence of the usual resort to extremes and of intentional system which gives these intelligent designs the effect of writing.

Raemaekers' way of viewing the tragic hap-

penings admits, along with his indignation, of a bantering touch. Here he is racy of the soil, but by his moderation he likewise approaches classic art. . . . He seems to have clearly discerned a chief trait of the actual German mobilized trooper. He is fierce, but Raemaekers distinctly indicates by his figures that at the very moment when the brute is unchained in the *landwehr* by battle, pillage, facile indulgence of the senses, as well as by the orders of his superiors dictated by a barbarous conception of war, at that very moment the trooper is an inflamed iron-monger of some petty town of Hesse or Pomerania. He has discovered this new element, which makes his soldiers so different from those of the old military painters; his faces are carefully studied and doubtless reproduced from memory. . . .

Raemaekers evidently knows the German soldier. He notes his manner, but, above all, he studies his face, seizes the attribute of strength as well as of brutality. In the careful attention to details he is pronouncedly Dutch, an heir of Flemish art. In order to comprehend the kind of indignation which maintains to a high degree an expression of phlegmatism, to measure the disparity between it and the French conception, one should compare Raemaekers with another powerful artist, Jeannot, who has pictured the invasion in the most striking and vivid manner.

The artist excels particularly, perhaps, in pictures of small compass portraying German atrocities. One has a very realizing sense of the artist's excitement. He reproduces the entire drama. In Raemaekers' most



LOUIS RAEMAEKERS



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 "It is the only little job I can do without
 being too much of a Dutchman. In I think you will not really
 be so much of a Dutchman."

famous canvases—his pictures of Louvain, a vast procession of widows, a field of battle turned into a river with floating corpses, and other horrors, the artist retains the attitude of a philosopher who ascertains, explains, gives one a realizing sense of the situation. His drawings which appear in a newspaper form a constituent part of it; they are tantamount to articles of the first order.

His method is excellent; and he handles it so well that he seems to have created it. Highly talented, his talent is of an individual sort. We sought above to distinguish what in his art is due to his country, without finding direct influences of conception or workmanship. But if one wishes to discover Raemaekers' affiliations and his ties with his native land, one must recall the Dutch of the old days, to whom liberty of thought was a law and hospitality to free thought a duty. Did not savants and men of letters seek, in Holland, freedom of thought and expression? And they found it, not owing to the constitution of the country, but to the prevailing spirit of the land.

The great liberals who cherished that hospitable spirit were no doubt a class apart from the masses. It was the Dutch elite who gave the first place to liberty of thought. And it is from those Dutch, intellectually so courageous and so honest, that Louis Raemaekers, the good friend of the French and the excellent artist, is descended in a direct line.

RUSSIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES

THE development of Russia's industrial resources has always been a favorite theme with all those who have "preached" Russia from any public forum here or abroad. The present war has aroused the interest of the Russian people themselves, to whom the Russian political situation was always the one great national problem, in the economic future of their country. The Russian public has found, in these critical days for their national financial system, consolation in the bright future which Russia's vast latent wealth promised. But this consolation has suffered a painful blow at the hands of one of the most eminent and authoritative Russian economists and sociologists, Professor M. Tugan-Baranovski. In an article in the *Retch* (Petrograd), which has raised a storm in the Russian press, he mercilessly shatters the extravagant hopes that are being placed in Russia's "inexhaustible resources," and pokes fun at the formula—"the development of our industrial resources"—which is being used as a cure for all the economic ills from which Russia is suffering.

The formula is a very comforting one, and it is unnecessary, of course, to argue against it. But therein lies its trouble. What is to be said of a doctor who answers the question as to a medicine for combating a disease by replying that it is necessary to restore the health of the patient? In substance, the two answers are the same. Who doubts that the development of natural resources is the best way to cure all economic ills? Surely, wealth could eliminate poverty. But, where get that wealth, is the crux of the situation.

Has not our government exerted all its powers for the last two centuries to develop Russian industries? What new methods for the acceleration of the country's industrial growth are now proposed by those who so ardently advocate the application of the above-mentioned formula?

Professor Baranovski analyzes at length the arguments of the industrial interests and others shouting from all corners that Russia's salvation lies in her industrial development, and comes to the conclusion that they have devised no new methods. The gist of their discourses is "old stuff—the protective tariff," which has been strengthened constantly in Russia for the last twenty-five years, yielding no results.

Such results of many years' efforts to develop our industries cannot but lead one to the question: Are there not some deeper causes for the weakness of our industrial system—causes that are not to be remedied by any tariff barriers? And it seems to me that there are two such causes,

first, the general condition of our civic life, and, second, the natural condition of our country.

As to the first of these stated causes, the imperfection of our social and political organism, it is unnecessary to refer to it, since it is a matter of common knowledge. The second assigned cause is not generally and sufficiently recognized.

We like to talk about the inexhaustible natural wealth of Russia, and not only the general public, but also scholarly specialists, not infrequently claim that Russia possesses all the elements for an industrial development on a scale far larger than any of the Western European countries. The people believe these claims, without attempting to verify them by a reference to statistics. But, should one's attitude to the question become more serious, he will discover that in reality matters do not look as bright as they are generally supposed to. If we are unquestionably wealthy in some elements necessary for an industrial development, we are very poor in others.

Thus, for instance, we have vast reserves of iron ore, but we are not sufficiently provided with coal, and, generally, with mineral fuel. It is not merely that we are behind the Western European countries in this respect, but we have many times less than any of them. From statistical data we find that there is in European Russia three times less coal than in England, seven times less than in Germany, and nearly seventy times less than in the United States. Besides, one must take into consideration the area of Russia and the other countries, and then we can safely say that each unit of area in Russia is provided with tens of times less coal than any industrial European country.

This cardinal fact cannot be ignored in the estimation of Russia's industrial perspectives. Of course, such regions as the Donetzki (lying along the River Don), are rich enough in coal to support in that territory the most powerful industrial system. But we have only one such region in Russia, and the transportation of coal for hundreds and thousands of miles cannot but raise its price to such a degree as to render the cost of production of any article prohibitive.

The writer then makes the statement that he does not wish to say that Russia could not and would not progress industrially. He thinks that under an efficient financial and economic administration, implying also a more progressive and democratic political government, Russia could achieve some excellent results. But—

the foundation of Russia's economic weal will always remain agriculture. Russian industry will feel a sound basis underneath itself only when it will be able to lean against Russia's developed agricultural system. As far as rural economy goes, Russia, indeed, possesses a reserve of natural resources of which the Western countries could never even dream. Therein is located our elemental force, and the entire program of our economic policies should be planned correspondingly. We shall never become an America, but in our own line we may reach as high a place.

THE POPE'S PART IN A PEACE CONGRESS

THE possibility, perhaps we should rather say the probability, that Pope Benedict XV will be invited to send a delegate to any peace congress that may be eventually assembled, is creating a certain degree of uneasiness among thoughtful Italians, for they well know that sixty years ago the great Italian statesman, Cavour, took advantage of his presence at the Congress of Paris to set before the representatives of the powers the strong points of Piedmont's case against Austria, and so convincingly as to inspire Napoleon III with an ardent interest in the cause of Italian unity.

That this historic example might be followed by Benedict XV for the furtherance of the temporal interests of the Holy See, is recognized as a danger by many patriotic Italians, even by those who still retain their fidelity to the Church.

The best and most authoritative presentation of these views is given by Senator Eugenio Valli in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). The present status of the Pope, as determined by the Law of Guarantees, enacted March 13, 1871, about six months after the capture of Rome by the Italian troops, is slightly anomalous. He has no longer any territorial possessions, but yet the Vatican and the Lateran are under his immediate and exclusive control.

Moreover, in this Italian law the Pope's sovereignty is so far recognized as to admit his right to have direct diplomatic intercourse with such powers as choose to maintain diplomatic representatives at the Papal Court. Hence his relative independence and his abstract right to participate in a European Congress can scarcely be denied.

Furthermore, his status in this respect remains essentially what it was at the time of the Vienna Congress of 1815 when the Papal nuncio was not merely admitted as the equal of the representatives of the temporal sovereigns, but was even accorded formal precedence over them.

All this is freely and frankly admitted by most Italians, but all except those who are distinct partisans of the old order of things are firm in their conviction that to make the Pope's participation acceptable, there must be a clear understanding beforehand that the question of his temporal power, or of any international guarantee of the special privileges accorded by the Law of Guarantees,

shall not be opened up at the Congress. This being fully understood, Senator Valli declares that Italy would have no reason to oppose the sending of a Papal representative to the congress.

Incidentally Senator Valli takes occasion to voice his opinion that any international guarantee of the papal prerogatives, even within the limits of the Law of Guarantees, would immediately compromise the sovereignty of the Italian state, and would indirectly endanger its territorial integrity. Nor would this be all. The most essential parts of Italy's legislation would become exposed in the future to a positive or negative interference on the part of the Pontiff and of the powers which had guaranteed his position.

The subject of the Pope's status in a congress is also treated by Signor Cesare Olmo, in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence). After discussing the question along the lines we have already indicated, he says:

It having been shown that the presence of a delegate of the Supreme Pontiff at the Congress would not increase the danger, if danger there be, to the full and entire sovereignty of the Italian Government in Rome, it remains to be considered whether there would be any reluctance to having in the peace congress one Italian more, for such is the nationality of the reigning Pope.

However, in an assemblage the main object of whose efforts should be to insure against a new outbreak of war, and it reestablishes those normal conditions of social life which the latest warlike systems seem to have wholly forgotten, would not the presence of one who has not only condemned the war, but who has passed severe judgment upon the way in which it has been conducted, be at once opportune and desirable? For it is well to recall that Benedict XV, in his letters, has declared that this war is both a dishonorable and a suicidal one for Europe.

For my part, I confess that after the enunciation of the latest German maxims—only too readily accepted by the Latin world, in a spirit of reprisal and defense—that the aim of war is the destruction of the enemy, is to do him the greatest possible harm in every way, for the attainment of which end no means, however frightful, are to be rejected—in the face of these maxims which would thrust the world back into the barbarism of the Dark Ages, it seems to me that one cannot conscientiously reject the counsel, the word, the vote of an illustrious representative of the Catholic religion. And this all the more that, deprived of temporal power, he finds himself, by force of circumstances and by his office, called upon to advocate those moral principles which are the basis of modern civilization, that is to say, of Christian civilization.

WOMEN IN MEN'S JOBS

AMONG the vast readjustments of economic conditions in belligerent countries brought about by the war, one of the most striking is the remarkable manner in which women have pressed forward to take up the labor hitherto supposed to require the brain and brawn of men. Not alone in clerical positions, but in every sort of work demanding sustained physical exertion the women have made good—whether in the plowing of land and raising of crops or in the strenuous labors of the munition factory.

Already ominous fears are expressed lest at the end of the war the returning veterans may find it difficult to oust the fair usurpers. The problem is very complex. While many women will be glad to return to the shelter of the fireside there are thousands of others who will cling to the new-found work, either because of the death of the breadwinner or because regular hours and a regular wage make a stronger appeal to them than the "woman's work" that "is never done," with its irregular and uncertain wage.

Many factors will enter into the solution of this problem, and among these the woman's capacity to endure the conditions of any given sort of occupation and the amount and quality of her output will have enormous weight. For this reason a critical study of the results of the forced employment of women in places formerly filled by their fathers, brothers, husbands, or sons, which was recently undertaken by a famous German manufacturing plant, the *Drägerwerke*, is highly significant. This study appeared in the organ of the firm, the *Drägerhefte*, and was abstracted by *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt) of April 22, from which we quote:

The female employees of this concern consist preponderantly of girls and women who have been forced by the economic pressure of the times to become wage-earners for the first time in their lives. Among these the number who have been previously self-supporting is very small. Between these two groups of women a technical difference in the work soon becomes sharply obvious. All the women who have already been occupied in gainful pursuits attain a normal output with less expenditure of strength than those who have not previously been wage-earners. This difference disappeared very slowly. It was also determined that the output of the younger women and girls was greater than that of the older ones, and that the decrease in output due to age began earlier with women than with men.

However, there was one fact that caused considerable surprise—namely, that there were a number of instances where women equaled men in their output, even at the heaviest sort of labor, such, for instance, as rivet-stamping and even on the night shift. Of course, these were women in their physical prime.

A circumstance which might have been expected was that the women who had never before been wage-earners found the work more laborious than those who had had previous experience of some sort in the labor market. With time, however, this difference disappeared. An observation which will not please the feminists was that the women showed little power to grasp the relationship of the part to the whole in their work, and displayed on the whole little tendency to think for themselves while working.

The psychological attitude toward the work was highly interesting. Those women who had previously been in comfortable circumstances without being obliged to do work outside the home displayed false pride and embarrassment on first taking positions. Apparently there was a feeling of having been obliged to "come down a peg" socially. They found the first few days very hard, and were affected unpleasantly by the new surroundings, the strange companions, even the unfamiliar noises and smells of the factory. But one or two pay days wrought a difference and the powerful incentive of joy in self-support began to be operative.

One more thing is very remarkable. It proved to be the case that women working under like conditions developed a strong sense of collective unity, despite mutual skirmishing. The transference of a woman from one workroom to another was almost impracticable, because the separation from the familiar group had such an unfavorable impression upon the spirits that the capacity for work was unfavorably influenced. On the other hand, the forewoman and the workwomen of any given group held together with a sense of common interest when business regulations were made with reference to the various groups.

An amusing comment is that women who came to work arrayed in conspicuous costumes were soon trained to simplicity by the example of others. One can but wonder whether this conformity would have been so easily induced if the other sex had not been "gone to the wars." Considering the conditions to be contended against the average of health was fairly good. In the



GERMAN WOMEN AT WORK IN A LABORATORY

month of November, which usually exhibits an increased sick list the following conditions obtained among a thousand women:

Fainting spells, nine cases; pain in stomach, fourteen cases; heart affection, three cases; headache, accompanied by dizziness, nausea, and abdominal pains, forty cases.

Besides the maladies thus listed there were illnesses due to taking cold, cramps, in-

flamations, and injuries from slight accidents.

In fourteen cases the trouble was connected with periodical conditions. In twenty-six cases the invalids had to stop work; they were sent home or to a physician. On the whole this seems to be an excellent showing, which, of course, would tend to be bettered as the workers became more skilled and more inured to the conditions.

THE FOREMOST LIVING COMPOSER

TWENTY years ago Richard Strauss was anathema to all orthodox music critics. In 1904 an American writer called him "a massive, noisy, rollicking Till Eulenspiegel, Gargantua of Germany, with the whirling scale and a yellow clarinet in his brain and the beer-house rhythm of a jostle put in his heart." And in the same year Mr. Daniel Gregory Mason, in his book on "Beethoven and His Forerunners," while he did not mention the name of Strauss, condemned all program music and its "horde" of composers as decadent, holding that since Beethoven music had "gone to seed."

Now Mr. Mason proffers, in the current issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (New York), a deeply interesting and a valuable "Study of Strauss" which proves anew that the world moves, and that some music critics move with it, and in which he praises particularly Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" as a witty piece in which "the wit is yet forgotten in the beauty."

Sketching rapidly the chronology of Richard Strauss's artistic life to the present day, Mr. Mason lists the "traditional three periods," not as "Discipline, maturity, eccentricity," which suffice him as a description of Beethoven's development, but simply as:



RICHARD STRAUSS

(Whose work is estimated by Daniel G. Mason.)

"Music, program music, and music drama." He says:

This rapid survey of Strauss's creative activity shows that the natural bent of his mind is toward the realistic and dramatic side of his art; it was only in his youth, before he had found himself, that he wrote self-sufficing music; and though lyrical power is shown in many of his songs and in passages of almost all the orchestral works, yet it is on the whole true to say that the essential Strauss is Strauss the dramatist. And if we ask ourselves what are the qualities of temperament requisite to a dramatist, I believe we shall find in Strauss's possession of them in altogether unusual measure the key to his commanding position among the musico-dramatists of our day.

The writer proceeds to show that Strauss has, in unequal but high degree, these qualities of the dramatist: observation, sympathy, and magnanimity. "The first he has in almost unparalleled measure; the second somewhat fitfully, sometimes inhibited by his ironic cynicism; the third in his most genial moods, as for instance in the epilogue to 'Till Eulenspiegel'." From the testimony of his musical works Mr. Mason finds in Strauss "a rather extreme case of the active temperament, a man of positively explosive nervous energy." This overflowing and leaping nervous energy is indicated

by the characteristics of his melody, which are wide erratic skips and incisive abrupt rhythms, more rising than falling phrases, and his preference for the major to the minor mode, and for the vigorous duple to the more subtle triple meter. The consideration of these positive points leads the critic to an examination of the positive results, in the way of keen observation and masterly characterization, of this active-minded interest of Strauss in what lies about him.

Strauss's characterization is consummate. Superlatives are dangerous, but probably no other musician has ever carried to such a point the power of music to depict, or, at least, to suggest, varieties of character, both in human beings and in inanimate objects. . . . We have a sufficiently varied collection of portraits in his gallery, each sketched with a Sargent-like penetration.

The subtlety of the composer's use of rhythm for characterization can hardly be exaggerated. It almost justifies the extreme detail of his annotator's analyses, as, for example, of Mr. Wilhelm Klatte's diagnosis of the hero's character in "Ein Heldenleben," which reads like an old-fashioned phrenological chart. . . .

In the use of harmony for characterization Strauss is no less skilful than in the more important matters of melody and rhythm.

Turning to the quality of sympathy, Mr. Mason finds that many of Strauss's most characteristic merits, as well as defects, may be traced to his lack of "the introspective tendency which has been so fundamental in most of the other great German musicians, from Bach to Wagner; and which is seen perhaps at its purest and best in Schumann. Strauss is at the other pole from Schumann—and music is wide!" He continues:

Schumann's was a noble introspection that no one who knows it can help loving; but in natures less pure the introspective habit of German romanticism has not always been so happy in its effects. An unhealthy degree of self-contemplation tends to substitute futile or morbid imaginings for the solid realities of life. . . . The vapors of such confirmed sentimentalism can best be dispersed by a ray of clear, cold intelligence, such as Shaw plays through contemporary literature and Strauss through contemporary music. . . . Strauss has rooted us out of our agreeable reveries, sent us packing outdoors, and made us gasp with the stinging impacts of crude existence and the tingling lungfuls of fresh air. Is it not worth while, for this vigorous life, to sacrifice a few subtle nuances of feeling?

The essay is not compounded of praise alone. For one reason and another—temperament, environment, the enervation of the operatic atmosphere with its constant quest of "effect"—it is pointed out in considerable detail that the fresh and vital ele-

ments in Strauss's art have not entirely escaped contamination by more stale, conventional, and specious ones. "Particularly has he failed of his highest achievement, it seems to me, when desire for immediate appeal, the bias of an over-active mind, or the fallacies of a one-sided aesthetic have led him too far from the subjective emotion which is truly the soul of music." This converted critic concludes:

Yet when all subtractions are made he must remain one of the great creative musicians of his day. His surprising vigor and trenchancy of mind, his wit, his sense of comedy (in the Meredithian use of the word), his unerring eye for character, and, at his best, his sympathetic interpretation of life and his broad grasp of its significance as a whole, combine to produce a unique personality. Some of the eloquence we find in the more pompous parts of "Zarathustra" or "Ein Heldenleben" posterity will probably dismiss as bombast; but posterity will be stupid, indeed, if it does not prize "Till Eulenspiegel" and "Don

Quixote" as master expressions of the spirit of comedy in music.

"Till Eulenspiegel," particularly, is a well-nigh perfect blending of the three qualities of the master dramatist we began by discussing. It combines the observation of a Swift with the sympathetic imagination of a Thackeray. Beneath its turbulent surface of fun is a deep sense of pathos, of the fragmentariness and fleetingness of Till, for all his pranks; so that to the sensitive it may easily bring tears as well as smiles. Above all, it has that largeness of vision, rarest of artistic qualities, which not only penetrates from appearance to feeling, but grasps feeling in all its relations, presents a unified picture of life, and purges the emotions as the Greek tragedy aimed to do. All is suffused in beauty. The prologue, "Once upon a time there was a man," and the epilogue, "Thus it happened to Till Eulenspiegel," make a complete cycle of the work and remove its expression to a philosophic or poetic plane high above mere crude realism. There are doubtless more impressive single passages in later works, but it may be doubted if anything Strauss has ever written is more perfect or more tender than this wittiest of pieces, in which the wit is yet forgotten in the beauty.

LEADERS OF THE IRISH REBELLION— THEIR LITERARY WORK

MR. EDWARD J. O'BRIEN writes in the *Boston Transcript* that by a fortunate set of circumstances he has had access to the poems of three leaders of the Irish Revolution that has come to so tragical an end. These men are the late P. J. Pearse, or Padraic MacPiarais, as he signed his poetry; Thomas MacDonagh, and a younger man who was sentenced to imprisonment for three years, Joseph Mary Plunkett. They were highly educated dreamers, men of great imaginative power and exalted vision, passionately attached to the ideals they followed.

Thomas MacDonagh was born in 1878, and was consequently thirty-eight years of age when he was executed. He had published five volumes of poetry: "Through the Ivory Gate," 1902; "April and May," 1903; "The Golden Joy," 1906; "Songs of Myself," 1910; and "Lyrical Poems," 1911. He was for some time editor of *The Irish Review*, the chief literary organ of young imaginative Ireland; and he had published a volume on "Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry." Mr. O'Brien says of him:

I find the finest flowering of his poetry in "Lyrical Poems," and in the light of present events perhaps the most memorable poem in that memorable volume is the following quatrain:

Though silence be the meed of death,
In dust of death a soul doth burn;
Poet, rekindled by thy breath,
Joy flames within her funeral urn.

In view of his tragic fate, his poem entitled "Wishes for My Son" is especially poignant.



THOMAS MACDONAGH, IRISH POET AND REBEL.

There is a poem by MacDonagh called "The Poet Captain," in which he dreams of the poet being thrice summoned to lead his nation unto victory and freedom, and, after winning the victory, doubting and wondering as he remembers how little the history of a nation's freedom avails in the record of eternity, whose story is hardly altered by its myriad changes. It was MacDonagh's passionate spirit of adoration which made him a poet; his love for his country which made him seal his poetry with his blood. Perhaps he found beauty at last in stranger ways and more dear than any of which he had dreamed when he wrote his mysteriously lovely "Litany of Beauty," from which I can only quote a single fragment:

O Beauty of wisdom unsought
That in trance to poet is taught,
Uttered in secret lay,
Singing the heart from earth away,
Cunning the soul from care to lure—
O mystic lily from stain and death secure,
Till the end of all to stay!
O shapely flower that must forever endure!
O voice of God that every heart must hear!
O hymn of purest souls that dost unsphere
The ravished soul that hears! O white, white
gem!
O rose that dost the senses drown in bliss!
No thought shall stay the wing, or stem
The song, or win the heart to miss
Thy love, thy joy, thy rapture divine!
O Beauty, Beauty ever thine
The soul, the heart, the brain,
To own thee in a loud perpetual strain,
Shriller and sweeter than song of wine,
Than song of sorrow or love or war!

* * *

Austere Beauty of Truth
Lighting the way of the just!

Splendid Beauty of Youth,
Staying when Youth is sped,
Living when Life is dead,
Burning in funeral dust!

The glory of form doth pale and pall,
Beauty endures to the end of all.

It was in the same knightly spirit with which he wrote these lines that he went to his death deliberately and calmly, and I can think of no better epitaph than his own lines:

I followed a morning star
And I stand by the gate of Light,
And a child sings my farewell to-night
To the atom things that are.

Mr. O'Brien finds it more difficult to give as clear an impression of Padraic Pearse. All those who knew him well agree that he was a noble-hearted gentleman wholly devoted to the interests of Ireland.

His poetry for the most part is written in Gaelic, and has been published in a volume entitled "Suantraidhe agus Goltraidhe." His best-known English work is his rendering of Irish

folk-songs and old Irish rebel songs into rhythmic unrhymed English. I feel that he can be most fairly represented perhaps by his poem entitled "The Keening of Mary."

The wild, flaming passion of his love for the Gael and hatred of the Gall found absolutely final poetic expression in another rendering:

The world hath conquered, the wind hath scattered like dust
Alexander, Cæsar, and all that shared their sway,
Tara is grass, and behold how Troy lieth low—
And even the English, perchance their hour will come!

His own epitaph is written in these lines from his rendering of "The Dirge of Oliver Grace," by Seaghan MacWalter Walsh:

He will not be seen on a swift young horse
Clearing a road over fosse and fence—
His comeliness is forever changed,
On his majesty hath fallen a mist.

His gift-giving hand lieth still,
His gallant heart is dead and lifeless—
Seed of soldiers, friend of poets,
Love of the loud-chanting music-makers.

The youngest of the poet-revolutionists, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Mr. O'Brien thinks to be the most promising. He was born in 1887 and has published a book of poems entitled "The Circle and the Sword," which is dedicated to Thomas MacDonagh.

Other poems of his are to be found in the files of the *Irish Review*, the *Dublin Review* and the *Academy*. Because the future yet lies before him, brilliant with hope for Ireland, I shall content myself with quoting very briefly from his verses, while assuring the reader that there is a finer substance than almost any contemporary American poet can show in these quietly framed stanzas. Joseph Plunkett may be destined to give the new generation in Young Ireland its war songs and its songs of peace. He has already given to Ireland a stirring visionary ideal.

OUR HERITAGE

This heritage to the race of kings:
Their children and their children's seed
Have wrought their prophecies in deed
Of terrible and splendid things.

The hands that fought, the hearts that broke
In old immortal tragedies,
These have not failed beneath the skies,
Their children's heads refuse the yoke.

And still their hands shall guard the sod
That holds their fathers' funeral urn,
Still shall their hearts volcanic burn
With anger of the Sons of God.

No alien sword shall earn as wage
The entail of their blood and tears,
No shameful price for peaceful years
Shall ever part this heritage.



THE NEW BOOKS

NOTABLE AMERICAN BIOGRAPHIES

Woodrow Wilson, the Man and His Work. By Prof. Henry Jones Ford. Appleton. 332 pp. \$1.50.

Unlike many campaign biographers, Professor Ford is concerned more with the principles on which his hero acts than with the things that he has done, for, as he well says, "information without insight is of little value and indeed may be a disadvantage." We are therefore indebted to Professor Ford for an orderly presentation of the events in President Wilson's career, with a discriminating statement of their constitutional significance. For a man who now occupies so distinguished a place in contemporary history, Woodrow Wilson's public life has been notably brief. Six years ago he had never held public office, yet as a writer, a public speaker, and a university professor and president, he had found various ways of making known his views upon public questions. These are presented by Mr. Ford chiefly in President Wilson's own words. One chapter of the book—"Personal Traits"—is a reproduction of the character sketch written by Professor Ford for the *Review of Reviews* in the summer of 1912.



WOODROW WILSON AT TWENTY-THREE
(As a senior at Princeton, Class of 1879)

The Life of William McKinley. By Charles S. Olcott. Houghton, Mifflin. 2 v. 400, 418 pp. Ill. \$5.

Although there have been many "lives" of President McKinley, this is the only authorized biography based on his private papers. Mr. George B. Cortright, who was Secretary to the President during both the McKinley administrations, had not only preserved all official and private correspondence, but had made a special collection of memoranda in the President's handwriting, drafts of speeches and messages, reports of telephone conversations, photographs, and almost every kind of material related to the President that could be of any public interest. Associate Justice Day, of the United States Supreme Court, who was Secretary of State during the Spanish War, also had in his possession many letters and papers, together with a varied fund of personal reminiscence. Mr. Olcott was permitted to utilize freely

these sources of information, and was also favored with the use of the personal diary kept by Mr. Charles G. Dawes, of Chicago, who during part of the McKinley administration, was Comptroller of the Currency. The public phases of McKinley's career, including the tariff campaigns, the brief war with Spain, the establishment of colonial government in the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, belong to our national history. It has been Mr. Olcott's task to present a portrait of McKinley the man. Beginning with his service as a youthful volunteer in the Civil War, McKinley is pictured as a student and practitioner of the law at Canton, Ohio, as a member of the House of Representatives, as Governor of Ohio, and as the Republican standard-bearer in the memorable "sound-money" campaign of twenty years ago. The story is well told and will be read with keen interest by McKinley's contemporaries in public life as well as by the younger generation that has come upon the scene since his lamented death by the assassin's bullet at Buffalo.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY AT EIGHTEEN
(As a volunteer soldier in the Civil War)

Samuel W. McCall, Governor of Massachusetts. By Lawrence B. Evans. Houghton, Mifflin. 242 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

The present Governor of Massachusetts



SAMUEL W. MCCALL, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, A FORMER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

is one of the few Eastern Republicans who are regarded in this campaign year as available Presidential material. His long career in Congress, during which he exhibited unusual vigor and independence, made him a national figure. Mr. McCall is also a distinguished man of letters and in 1908 narrowly escaped becoming president of Dartmouth College. His career is skillfully summarized in this volume by Mr. Evans, who is a member of the Massachusetts bar.

Union Portraits. By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton, Mifflin. 330 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

For several years Mr. Bradford has been sketching in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* the great figures of the Civil War period. The first series of these "portraits" was devoted to the leaders of the Confederacy, both civil and military. The second series, just now appearing in book form, deals with McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, and Sherman, among the Union commanders, and with Stanton, Seward, Sumner, and Bowles among the eminent upholders of the Union cause in civil life. Of these the last named, Samuel Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican*, held no public office, but was identified as a journalist with the rousing and concentration of public sentiment in the North. In his capacity as biographer Mr. Bradford has made diligent use of the abundant materials that have come to light during the half-century that has elapsed since the close of the war. Such works as the "Diary of Gideon Welles" and the "Life and Letters of General Meade" have been freely drawn upon.

Abraham Lincoln, the Lawyer-Statesman. By John T. Richards. Houghton, Mifflin. 260 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Lawyers have always been especially interested in Lincoln's career and much of the literature that has grown up around his name is the work of members of the legal profession. We now have an entire volume giving the results of an investigation into Lincoln's record as a lawyer, his views upon the subjects of universal suffrage and the reconstruction of the Confederate State governments, and his attitude towards the judiciary.

Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. By Henry B. Rankin. Putnam. 412 pp. Ill. \$2.

The author of this book was for several years a student in the law office of Lincoln & Herndon, at Springfield, Ill. A native of the Sangamon Valley, Mr. Rankin grew up among the people and associations that formed the environment of Lincoln's own career. He is one of the few surviving "men who knew Lincoln."



ONE OF THOSE WHO
KNEW LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln. By Daniel E. Wheeler. 224 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

A well-written, though much condensed, account of Lincoln's career in the series of "True Stories of Great Americans."

U. S. Grant. By Lovell Coombs. Macmillan. 244 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

More than a score of lives of Grant are now in print and it seems that the end is not yet. The latest candidate for popular favor in this group is a volume in the "True Stories of Great Americans." The story of Grant's career is presented in compact form, and among the low-priced biographies of Grant nothing better can be found.

AMERICAN HISTORY

America's Foreign Relations. By Willis Fletcher Johnson, A.M. Century. 2 vols.; 551, 485 pp. Il. \$6.

A work designed to give the "average lay citizen" the essential facts in our diplomatic history, beginning with the relations that existed among the European powers which possessed or claimed possession of American territory before our nation was founded. Not a technical treatise, but a popular history in the best sense.

Third-Party Movements Since the Civil War. By Fred E. Haynes. Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa. 564 pp. \$2.50.

New party movements have been more frequent in the Middle West than in any other part of the Union, and it is fitting that a study of third-party movements since the Civil War should come from Iowa. The present work began as a history of third parties in that State, but it soon became clear that the scope of the work would have to be enlarged, since the movements of minor parties in Iowa were found to be bound up with the growth of those parties in other States. Thus the author's researches resulted in a history of third-

party movements in the United States since the Civil War, with special reference to Iowa. The Liberal Republican movement of 1872, the Farmers' Movement of 1873-76, the Greenback agitation of the '80s, the Populist campaigns of the '90s, and the more recent Progressive movement are all treated in detail.

The Revolution in Virginia. By H. J. Eckenrode, Ph.D. Houghton, Mifflin. 311 pp. \$2.

This account of the part played by Virginia in the American Revolution is based on the manuscripts in the archives department of the Virginia State Library. The history that it contains of the beginning of the Democratic party is of far more than local or State-wide interest.

The Mastering of Mexico. By Kate Stephens. Macmillan. 335 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A narrative of the conquest of Mexico, based on the "True History of the Conquest of New Spain," by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was born in Spain in the year 1492, and died in Guatemala about 1581. This is one of the chief sources from which Prescott derived his story of the conquest.

The Administration of President Hayes. By John W. Burgess, Ph.D. Scribner's. 154 pp. Ill. \$1.

Four lectures delivered last autumn by Professor Burgess at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, which was President Hayes' *alma mater*.

Presidential Nominations and Elections. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Scribner's. 237 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A history of American conventions, campaigns and inaugurations. Mr. Bishop's chapters on the "steam-roller" (Republican) convention of 1912, and the Progressive convention of the same year are suggestive in view of the gatherings to be held at Chicago this present month.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Vol. VI, 1816-1819. Macmillan. 573 pp. \$3.50.

This volume contains letters dated in the Madison and Monroe administrations. There is

no falling-off in interest as the publication of these remarkable letters proceeds.

Fifty Years of American Idealism. By Gustav Pollak. Houghton, Mifflin. 468 pp. \$2.50.

Articles contributed to the *New York Nation* by such writers as E. L. Godkin, William James, Carl Schurz, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

The Case for the Filipinos. By Maximo M. Kalaw. Century. 360 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This is said to be the first attempt of a young Filipino, educated in American schools, to write in the English language. Manuel L. Quezon, resident commissioner from the Philippines, is authority for the statement that Mr. Kalaw voices the desires of a generation of Filipinos that has grown to maturity during the period of American sovereignty over the Islands. Whatever may be our views regarding the wisdom of the Jones bill and the Clarke amendment, it is at least interesting and informing to have the Filipino point of view clearly stated.

WAR AND PEACE

With the French in France and Salonika. By Richard Harding Davis. Scribner's. 275 pp. Ill. \$1.

In this book Mr. Davis describes ten of the twelve sectors of the French front, as he saw them during the closing weeks of 1915, and also the French-British front in the Balkans. This was the second and last visit made by Mr. Davis to the scene of war. The book is made up entirely of letters as he wrote them for American newspapers, and its preface is dated April 11, the day of his death. The French authorities gave Mr. Davis every facility for observing the military operations, and he used those advantages to good purpose. The concluding chapter of the book, written as late as February, 1916, is a description of London in war time.

Golden Lads. By Arthur Gleason and Helen Hayes Gleason. Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. Century. 262 pp. Ill. \$1.30.

Mr. and Mrs. Gleason, both Americans, were witnesses of some of the atrocities described in the Bryce report. Mrs. Gleason's experience as a nurse at the front covered a period of twelve months in Belgium. Mr. Gleason's own time at the front was five months. One of the chapters of the book describes "Women Under Fire," and Mrs. Gleason herself tells "How War Seems to a Woman." The closing chapter of the book is an appeal for help in the rehabilitation of France.

By Motor to the Firing Line. By Walter Hale. Century. 293 pp. Ill. \$1.10.

This volume is made up of an artist's notes and sketches made with the armies of northern France during the months of June and July, 1915. Mr. Hale's special mission was to make a record of the devastation of historic monuments, cathedrals, and churches in the war zone, especially

in the Aisne Valley and the region of Compeigne. The artist was accompanied by Owen Johnson and Arnold Bennett, the novelists, and the three men were at Rheims during the shelling of the town on June 27, and at Arras during the bom-



BOMBARDMENT OF ST. JEAN DES VIGNES, SOISSONS
(A 30. Drawing by Walter Hale)

bardment of July 8, when the Hotel de Ville was being shelled and the cathedral was on fire in three places. Mr. Hale made his interior sketches of Rheims Cathedral while the building was actually under fire. Drawings and photographs made by the author illustrate his text.

The War in Eastern Europe. By John Reed. Pictures by Boardman Robinson. Scribner's. 335 pp. Ill. \$2.

Mr. Reed and Mr. Robinson left New York together for the Eastern theater of war in March, 1915. From Salonica they passed through Serbia to the Danube, met the great Russian retreat through Galicia and Poland (where they spent two weeks in prison), then made a dash into the heart of Russia, back through Rumania to Constantinople, and thence through Bulgaria and Serbia when the Bulgarian-German drive was just beginning. Like Mr. Hale, Boardman Robinson made his sketches of war scenes on the spot. They have a striking individuality.

England and Germany, 1740-1914. By Bernadotte Everly Schmitt. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 524 pp. \$2.

This volume is the work of a Rhodes Scholar, who had gathered much evidence regarding Anglo-German relations and had written several chapters prior to the outbreak of the war. Although these chapters, the author states, have since been rewritten, he has tried to keep this historical point in view, and has taken sides only when "available evidence seems to warrant certain conclusions."

The German Empire Between Two Wars. By Robert Herndon Fife, Jr. Macmillan. 399 pp. \$1.50.

A study of the political and social development of Germany between 1871 and 1914. The relations of Germany with foreign powers during the interval between the two wars are first discussed. The author then takes up internal politics during the same period, with particular attention to the subjects of municipal government, school systems, the church, and the press. The author compares the German constitution with the American, and describes and criticizes the Social Democratic Party. The book neither arraigns nor defends the acts of the German Government.

The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Trade in Germany. By Maurice Millioud. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 159 pp. \$1.25.

The attempt of a Swiss economist to account for the German national sentiment in support of the war, the aims and policy of German expansion in years before the war, and the reasons that led the German ruling classes to decide that their ends could not be attained without war. In this writer's opinion one of the potent causes of the conflict was the vast over-extension of German trade.

Germany Misjudged. By Roland Hugins. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. Ill. 114 pp. \$1.

The author of this "appeal to international

good-will" in the interest of a lasting peace prefers to be called a pro-American rather than a pro-German. His argument might be fairly described as a defense of Germany from an American, or neutral, viewpoint. The author states that he has never been in Germany, has no German blood, and no ties with the Fatherland. His positions are stated with moderation, and while he himself would be the first to admit that his views will find acceptance with only a minority of Americans, there is no reason why the majority should take offense at his manner of proposing them.

Belgium and Germany—A Dutch View. By J. H. Labberton. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 153 pp. \$1.

Another defender of Germany's position in the war has been found in Holland. Dr. Labberton, dissatisfied with the common English explanation of Belgium's plight, has attempted a re-statement of the philosophical ideas which in his view underlie the whole situation. This is interesting as an exposition of the subject by a citizen of a neutral country well versed in German literature.

Above the Battle. By Romain Rolland. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 194 pp. \$1.

The essays and letters written by the author of "Jean Christophe" since the outbreak of the war. M. Rolland's breadth of view has not tended invariably to popularize his discussion of war themes among his own people. His ideal of an international socialism fails to appeal to the intensely patriotic spirit of the French people in these days of stress. Although he has had his defenders in the Parisian press, he has been generally denounced as a traitor. His protest against war, however, will appeal with peculiar force to an important section of American public opinion.

The European Anarchy. By G. Lowes Dickinson. Macmillan. 144 pp. \$1.

This plea for a league of the nations is addressed to Americans in the hope that at the present moment it will find more response in the United States than in England. In estimating the European system, or rather, as he terms it, the European anarchy, the author refers to the underlying causes of the war and sets forth the possibility of a movement towards a future internationalism. As in all his writings on this subject, Germany's attitude, past, present, and future, is the center of the discussion.

La Guerre Actuelle devant la Conscience Catholique By Comte Begouen. Paris: Bloud et Gay.

Silhouettes Allemandes. By Paul-Louis Hervier. Paris: Editions de "La Nouvelle Revue."

Brief character sketches of Von Bethmann-Hollweg, Von Tirpitz, Von Bulow, Count Zepelin, Generals Hindenburg, Mackensen, Kluck, Maximilian Harding, and members of the house of Krupp.

To Ruhleben and Back. By Geoffrey Pyke. Houghton Mifflin Co. 246 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The experiences of an Englishman who

escaped from the German prison for civilians in July, 1915, and had not a few interesting adventures before he was privileged to cross the Dutch frontier.

Selected Quotations on Peace and War. Compiled by Commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. 540 pp. \$1.

This compilation is made with special reference to a course of lessons on international peace. Among the topics covered are "The Christian Ideal of World-Wide Fraternity," "Dangers in Modern Nationalism," "The Character and Causes of War," "The Moral Equivalents of War," "Preventives of War, Arbitration," and "World Federation, a Means of International Justice."

Why War? By Frederic C. Howe. Scribner's. 366 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Howe finds the causes of the present war chiefly in the conflict of powerful economic interests radiating from the various European capitals—in other words, "in the aggressions of British, French, and German financiers and concession seekers rather than in the ambitions of the Czar or the Kaiser; in the struggle for the exploitation of weaker peoples, of whom no less than 140,000,000, together with 10,000,000 square miles of territory, have fallen under the dominion of Great Britain, France and Germany during the last thirty years." His argument, therefore, is that every country in order to safeguard itself

against foreign foes, must take adequate precautions against the foes within.

Common-Sense Patriotism. By A. A. Warden. G. W. Dillingham. 129 pp. \$1.

The author of this little book shares the very prevalent opinion that fighting in this war is purely a waste of time, and in his eagerness to bring about a settlement he outlines some of the terms that he thinks may fairly be proposed by the several nations at the conclusion of hostilities.

The Conquest of America. By Cleveland Moffett. Doran. 310 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Although Mr. Moffett's book is styled "a romance of invasion," the imaginative or purely fanciful element is subordinated throughout to the argumentative. The author advanced the supposed date of the narrative only five years from the present time, so that distinguished personalities of our own day are made to figure in the story and practically no invention of war apparatus was required to add the touch of realism. The military methods disclosed by the great war now in progress are simply transferred to a new field and made to play their part in the ruthless invasion of the United States. It is said that the book has been approved by military experts. At any rate, it gives a vivid picture of the plight in which the country would find itself in case any one of the great European powers should think it worth while to attack our coast cities.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

A Northern Countryside. By Rosalind Richards. Holt. 210 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A series of capital sketches of people and places in rural Maine, with the change of the geographical names. Some of this description might apply almost equally well to other portions of northern New England. Most of the human characters portrayed are of a past generation. Of these the author writes with sympathy and intimate knowledge. The photographs of country and village landscapes by Bertrand H. Wentworth are especially effective.

Along New England Roads. By W. C. Prime, LL.D. Harper. 200 pp. Ill. \$1.

Descriptive letters written as newspaper correspondence during a period of more than forty years ending in 1892. These letters were widely read at the time of their original publication, and every one familiar with New England scenery will appreciate them. Motorists should be reminded perhaps that many of the roads severely criticized by Dr. Prime have been improved in recent years.

Blackfeet Tales of Glacier National Park. By James Willard Schultz. Houghton, Mifflin. 242 pp. Ill. \$2.

The author of this book, one of the few old-time frontiersmen and Indian fighters now alive, was adopted by the Blackfeet tribe, when a young man, married into the tribe, and for years lived, hunted and fought with the Blackfeet on the western plains. He has recently revisited his former comrades at their encampment in Glacier Park and has made a collection of their legends. In the present volume he gives his own narrative of his experiences and adventures, which is illustrated by a series of excellent photographs.

Canoeing in the Wilderness. By Henry D. Thoreau. Houghton, Mifflin. 191 pp. Ill. \$1.

In this volume Mr. Clifton Johnson has edited Thoreau's account of a wilderness canoe trip in the Maine woods made when he was forty years of age. Interesting illustrations in color are supplied by Will Hammell.

NOVELS FOR SUMMER READING

THERE is a certain beauty in cold facts. They lie like Jacob's Ladder pitched between earth and heaven, but their mysterious connection between the cosmos and the natural world can only be made manifest by the creative imagination of genius. "The Red Horizon," the most graphic war book published since the beginning of the war, is a narrative of facts—for the most part unadorned. Here are the trenches, with their stench, filth, and horror. Here is the pitiless cannonading, the shriek of the explosions, the wounded, the dying, the fearsome and the brave. Here, too, are avenues of nameless graves, some of them with little bouquets of withered flowers and scraps of soiled letters stuck on the wooden crosses. And there are more cheerful pictures of "somewhere in France," of French women making coffee for English soldiers amid the ruins of their homes, records of long night marches, of grateful periods of rest after days of fighting. And thrilling through the pain and horror is the call of adventure, the romance, the joy in the dangerous life of a soldier.

Patrick MacGill, the author of this incomparable narrative of the trenches, went to the front with his regiment, the London Irish, in the early days of the war. He has been back but once—on his recovery from a wound in the hospital at Versailles, he went to England to marry the niece of Cardinal Gibbons. This book was written in the trenches, and for sheer descriptive accuracy and the gripping quality of actualities, it is unequalled. The story of the finding of the body of an Irish soldier of the Munster Fusiliers—the man with a "string of beads with a shiny little crucifix on the end of it" around his neck—stirs the very fibers of the heart. And Patrick MacGill tells the sanitary man, "It's his *rosary*," and in his mind he sees "the barefooted boy going over the hills of Corrymeela to morning mass with his beads in his hand. On either side rose the thatched cabins of the peasantry, the peat smoke curling from the chimneys, the little boreens running through the bushes, the brown Irish bogs, the heather in blossom, the turf stacks, the laughing colleens . . ." They find a letter from his colleen and they bury the letter and the rosary with the Munster Fusilier. And the next day one of the London Irish, yearning back to his home, goes to place some flowers on the grave and gets shot in the head, and that evening he is buried beside the Fusilier.

Other works by this author include "The Children of Dead End," and "The Rat Pit."

"Green Mansions," a romance of the tropical forests of South America, by W. H. Hudson, has the advantage of a most excellent foreword by John Galsworthy. He writes that Hudson is of

all living writers the most valuable our age possesses, that he has the rarest spirit, and the clearest gift of conveying the nature of that spirit.

"Green Mansions" is a symbolic romance, a passionate love story, pure as the rain and the air, and, if one attends to the symbolism of Rima, the bird-girl, the most glowing tale of the pursuit of ideal beauty perhaps ever written. The author is a distinguished naturalist. Among his other works are "The Purple Land," "Idle Days in Patagonia," "Afoot in England," "The Land's End," "Adventures Among Birds," and "A Shepherd's Life." He does not pose as Nature's prophet; his books are the expressions of his own elemental, tricky interpretation of the free natural world.



PATRICK MACGILL, AUTHOR OF "THE RED HORIZON"

Maxim Gorky's powerful novel, "The Confession," is a parable-story of the long search of Matevi, a foundling, to find God. When Matevi is a little boy he lives with the kind-hearted old drunkard, Larion, who sees God in everything and tames the birds to come at his call. Larion dies and Matevi is befriended by a thieving overseer whose speculations he is obliged by circumstances to sanction. His marriage and the birth of children hold him to this ignominious existence for a time, but after their death, he joins a colony of monks, positive in his belief that they have come close to God. He dwells among them until he sees that they are as other men, and subject to kindred passions. Then he wanders on, finding everywhere on the earth hate and inhumanity to man, but no one who can tell him where God dwells, or how to live in union with Him. He passes through many adventures—each one told with Gorky's stark realism, and often touched, as in the story of Christa and her baffled motherhood, with superhuman beauty. Finally he meets an old man who pours light into his soul. God is in the immortal "People," they are created in the image and likeness of God. The "People" are the "fathers of all gods that have been and will be." To know God, a man must take his part with the people, finding joy in their spiritual unity and bear his part in their "universal creating of God."

Gorky is again living in Russia and working for a new social order that shall wipe away blood and lust from the earth. "The Confession" is a great advance over his past work. It places him in a niche with Dostoevsky and Turgenev. The translation and excellent foreword are by Rose Strunsky.

"The Pioneers" is a \$5000 prize novel that tells the story of the early settlers of Australia. The author, Katherine Susannah Prichard, was born in the Fiji Islands, where her father edited

*The Red Horizon. By Patrick MacGill. Dutton. 364 pp. \$1.25.

*Green Mansions. By W. H. Hudson. Alfred A. Knopf. 300 pp. \$1.50.

*The Confession. By Maxim Gorky. Stokes. 293 pp. \$1.25.

*The Pioneers. By Katherine Susannah Prichard. Dutton. 229 pp. \$1.25.

the *Fiji Times*. She was taken to Australia when she was a little girl and educated there. Afterwards she went to England and became a successful writer for the magazines.

There is great sense of reality in her novel. Donald Cameron, the stern pioneer who shouts the gathering song of Clan Donald over his ploughed acres; Mary Cameron, his wife; the two convicts who came to Donald's cabin in his absence; the pretty heroine Deirdre, and old McNab, who is too ready with his gun, all are as real as the '49ers who thrust civilization into our own West. The story has an excellent plot; it is moving and beautiful in the telling. But behind the incidents of the book lies the larger story of the construction of a new commonwealth from materials in many cases none too promising to begin with. One feels the regeneration of character moving along with the cultivation of the land. And the book ends on the right note—that no blood strain can overpower the "adventurous, toiling strain of the men and women who came over the sea and conquered the wilderness."

There are two ways to read many of Rider Haggard's books. One way is for the story, the other is for the hidden truths which his thrilling tales unfold. The reader who decides on either method will not be disappointed in "The Ivory Child,"¹ another novel of the "Allan Quatermain" series, which began over thirty years ago with the publication of "King Solomon's Mines." It is the story of the conflict between two tribes in the heart of Africa—the Black Kendah who worship a monstrous rogue elephant, Jana, and the White Kendah, who serve the oracle of an ancient ivory statue of a child. Only a woman can be the mouthpiece of the "Child," and when one priestess dies, the White Kendah search for a woman who bears upon her breast the crescent-shaped mark that sets her apart for the service of priestess. The woman who bears this mark in the story is the wife of Lord Ragnall. She is kidnapped by the White Kendah and carried to the sanctuary of the "Child." There by some magical art, her memory is deadened and she remembers nothing of her former life. The story of Lord Ragnall's search for her, and of the great battle between the White and the Black Kendah is told in Rider Haggard's most impressive manner. The tale is an allegory of the worship of the earth spirit Isis, the eternal Mother of all life, and of the conflict between good and evil.

No better picture of rural New England twenty-five years ago can be found than that given in the life-hill of Sarah Clayborn's latest book, "The Spinner."² Ellen, the heroine, is a typical nineteenth-century girl, who goes to Radcliffe College and emerges from her ideas of life gained in a quiet Vermont village into a large conception of what a life of social service can mean to a woman who has no marital attachments. Ellen misses romance, but she does not sorrow over it. She has so many boy-friends that she feels that a person who had all her blessings could not fairly claim the full fraction of love. There are love stories in the book, but they pale

beside the story of Ellen's helpfulness and sincerity, and her modesty—as contrasted against the rising tide of individualism—when she deprecates the amount of happiness any one person may claim from life.

There are two "best" books this month about real boys. If you like Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer, don't fail to make the acquaintance of Mart Campin in John H. Walsh's story, "Cam Clarke."³ It is a story of an Irish family, the Campins—twelve children, a frail little mother, and an ignorant, kindly, sometimes drunken father—who came across the plains by wagon from Dubuque, Iowa, to a new settlement in Eastern Washington. There the family meet Cam Clarke and his mother who had come all the way from Worcester, Massachusetts. "Cam" and Martin Campin become "pals," and it is Martin who tells the story—boy fashion—of hard times and the making of new homes in the "Inland Empire." There's a plot and a good love story in the book, but the real boy is best of all. The frontispiece is an exquisite drawing by William Van Dresser.

The other "boy book" is "Gibby of Clamshell Alley," by Jasmine Stone Van Dresser. "Gibby" was a little waif from the wrecked schooner *Loretta*, who was cast up on the calm beach of Agawam, in New England. He had no folks, so he adopts a grandmother and matches his willing hands against the enmity of the town bully and keeps Granny's roof over her head. "Gibby" is wild, unlearned, ragged, wary from frequent beatings, but his good blood and Yankee shrewdness and industry serve as bucklers against the unfriendly. He is a real boy all the way through the book, even in its fairy-tale ending where "Gibby" comes into fortune, happiness and a brand new name—"Allen Ross Tilton."

Will Levington Comfort writes in "Child and Country"⁴ of the education and development of the child. When he wearied of life in the city he found a quiet spot on Lake Erie, made a home there, and began educating his own children and other people's children in his study. It is a book of great inspiration and one that gives solace and strength. The novelist envisions the rising generation with the passion of a master builder, who is sure that the plastic material of our American youth will be shaped into prophets and seers and sages, unto men and women who shall heal the nations. "Education is a religion," he writes. "It has to do with establishing connection with the sources of power, and bringing the energy down to the performance of constructive work in matter. . . . All training that does not encourage the child to look into the Unseen for his power, not only holds, but draws him to the commonness of the herds."

The children who learned wisdom in the novelist's study come to us in the book, the young boy nicknamed "The Abbot," the Valley Road Girl, and the wonderful "Little Girl." Everyone who loves children and is interested in their growth and education should read this book.

¹ "The Ivory Child." By Rider Haggard. Longmans, 342 pp. \$1.15.

² "Gibby of Clamshell Alley." By Jasmine Stone Van Dresser. Dutton, 1924. 214 pp. \$1.25.

³ "Cam Clarke." By John H. Walsh. Macmillan, 1924. 144 pp. \$1.45.

⁴ "The Ivory Child." By Rider Haggard. Longmans, 342 pp. \$1.15.

⁵ "The Spinner." By Sarah Clayborn. Houghton, 206 pp. \$1.00.

"Collected Tales,"¹ by Barry Pain (two volumes), are issued in response to popular demand for the serious work of this writer of brilliant short stories. They contain only serious stories, since on the advice of W. E. Henley some years ago Mr. Pain gave up his humorous work. The first volume of these stories contains, among other remembered tales, those fine narratives, "The Glass of Supreme Moments," "The Doll," "Zero," and "The Celestial Grocery."

"The Best Short Stories of 1915,"² and the year-book of the American short story are edited by Mr. Edward J. O'Brien. The collection is the outgrowth of an article published in *The Boston Transcript*, which gave an estimate of the quality and quantity of American short stories published during the year 1915. The stories of the collection are taken from forty-six periodicals. They are distinctive, typically American, trenchant—in many instances powerful. If there is a fault in the collection, it is that they have not sufficient diversity; they flow in one channel of short story-writing, and their style, taken as a whole, approaches the style of the new Russian writers rather than the smooth English of older American short-story writers. "Zelig," the prize story seems written with the blood of the heart. Human-welfare stories dominate the book.

They of the High Trails. By Hamlin Garland. Harper & Brothers. 381 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

Each chapter of Hamlin Garland's new book introduces a typical character of the Western mountain country—"The Grub-Staker," "The Cow-Boss," "The Remittance Man," "The Lonesome Man," "The Trail Tramp," "The Prospector," "The Outlaw," "The Leaser," and "The Forest Ranger." So "They of the High Trails" is not merely a novel—it is also a series of character sketches. Mr. Garland knows his mountain West and its human denizens.



HAMLIN GARLAND

The Little Lady of the Big House. By Jack London. Macmillan. 392 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Jack London did well to make California the scene of this exuberant revelling of his imagination. No other part of the United States would offer a fitting background for a story so highly colored. It is a tale that calls for the last ounce

"Souls on Fifth,"³ by Granville Barker, does not explore the fifth round of some super-plane of existence. "Fifth" is Fifth Avenue, New York, where all the souls who are unable to escape from the spell of their old pleasures and ambitions drift aimlessly up and down, mere patches of grey, fuzzy material of various shapes and sizes. One soul wants to escape from the vast concourse, and here the story breaks away from satire and ends on a plane of lofty idealism. It is a piquant and most unusual story.

Mr. Dallas Lore Sharp celebrates the attractions of country life in "The Hills of Hingham," a book that tells of his fourteen years' experience with his boys and "Her," a garden, woodlot, hens and bees, and books to read and write in the outskirts of elm-shaded Hingham. The exact hill was fourteen acres more or less "unmitigated gravel," the author tells us, but to him and to us in the reading about it, an earthly paradise. Everyone who has a farm or who wants one, or who loves nature and children will want this joyous record of happiness in the country that brings us the inner spirit of each successive season caught in prose that turns now and again into sheer poetry. If you cannot move to the country the next best thing to do is to read "The Hills of Hingham."

of Mr. London's mastering power of visualization. Even then the strain on the reader's sense of the probable is intense. But it is a brilliant novel, like its predecessors from the same pen.

Old Judge Priest. By Irvin S. Cobb. Doran. 401 pp. \$1.25.

The old Kentucky judge, whom Cobb has immortalized, is here the center of a group of real Americans—small-town Americans—who become as vivid to the reader as the village streets where they linger and chat.

The Abyss. By Nathan Kussy. Macmillan. 508 pp. \$1.50.

The unadorned record of childhood and youth passed in the Underworld. Two additional volumes are required to complete this autobiography. The present instalment gives some graphic pictures of Hoboland.

Those Gillespies. By William John Hopkins. Houghton, Mifflin. 325 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

A story of Boston's Back Bay and Beacon Hill, involving the fortunes of Robert Gillespie, his wife, and his sister, Miss Kitty Gillespie. There is no lack of "local color."

"The Log of the Ark." By I. L. Gorden and A. J. Fruen. E. P. Dutton. 147 pp. Ill. \$1.

"The Log of the Ark," by Noah, with hieroglyphs by Ham, is good for at least fifty laughs. It is the log of the voyage to Ararat, the time B. C. 2349, the accessories of 1915. One item announces the stopping of the work on the Tower of Babel; the next that the wireless report is "C. Q. D. Bagdad." It purports to have been excavated by I. L. Gorden and A. J. Fruen. The illustrations are extremely amusing.

¹ Collected Tales. By Barry Pain. Stokes. 306 pp. \$1.25.

² The Best Short Stories of 1915. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Small, Maynard. 686 pp. \$1.50.

³ Souls on Fifth. By Granville Barker. Little, Brown. 61 pp. \$1.00.

⁴ The Hills of Hingham. By Dallas Lore Sharp. Houghton, Mifflin. 224 pp. \$1.25.

POETRY FOR VACATION READING

CARL SANDBURG has made poetry out of Chicago.¹ He has gone up and down the streets, into the parks, the factories, the stockyards, into little shops and great centers of trade. He has looked at the city in all kinds of weather, under



CARL SANDBURG
(Author of "Chicago Poems")

every prismatic covering of light, in darkness and dawn and twilight. And he has seen the people moving through the arterial system of the city streets and taken them as symbols of the life that moves through them. He has shaped poetry that is like a statue by Rodin. It has no determinate outlines; the whole blends at every angle of feeling and perception with the larger reality, with the "impalpable mist," that he finds back of the thing as we see it, the primal mist out of which all life and eternity are shapen. A

line from the poem, "Who Am I?" might well have served as a title for "Chicago Poems"—"My name is Truth and I am the most elusive captive in the universe." An impression of Lincoln Park, in "Bronzes," shows the quality of Mr. Sandburg's feeling for the landmarks of the city.

"I cross Lincoln Park on a winter night when the snow is falling.

"Lincoln in bronze stands among the white lines of snow, his bronze forehead meeting soft echoes of the 'newsies' crying forty thousand men are dead along the Yzer, his bronze ears listening to the mumbled roar of the city at his bronze feet.

"A lithe Indian on a bronze pony, Shakespeare seated with long legs in bronze, Garibaldi in a bronze cape, they hold places in the cold, lonely snow to-night on their pedestals, and so they will hold them past midnight and into the dawn."

"Others,"² an anthology of the new verse, contains contributions from fifty men and women who have deserted the old forms of poetry and are pioneering new paths. Some of these paths end in blind alleys, a few descend into incomprehensible jungles of words wherein beauty is irretrievably lost, but many of the paths lead on to uplands where the spirit of youth sweeps the brain clear of the cobwebs of tradition. The reader will find much of this poetry "sweet," and nearly all of it revolutionary, but there is a splendor in its newness and fine courage and bold rhythm.

"Voyage a L'Inde," by Walter Conrad Arensberg; "The Dancer," by Arthur Davidson Fackel; "The Idiot," by Horace Holley; "Peter Quince at the Cloister," by Wallace Stevens; and "Cin-

quaine," by Adelaide Crapsey, are among the poems of exceedingly great beauty presented in the collection. Some of the verse that is lacking in lyrical values digs into the mind with strong, reckless realism. An example of this kind of verse is Skipwith Cannell's "Ikons." One of the stanzas cries the creed of the apostles of the new poetry.

"We young men come up from our beginnings crying—

Way! Make way for us!

The old ones stand against us

Like lions who are old and hungry.

* * * * *

I am tired of old colors and old sounds;

I will make new sounds with my mouth and they shall be music."

The verse entitled "Others," by Ferdinand Reyher, epitomizes the desire of certain of the new poets:

"We will sit in spider's corners

And lure shadows into our game,

To do as we wish.

Vowels opening like salmon parasols

Against green embroidery,

Consonants that chime

As clearly as rhine glasses clinking."

Mr. Charles Wharton Stork calls attention in the preface to his translation of Gustave Froding's poems³ to the sudden rise and growth of the Scandinavian influence in recent European literature. Ibsen, Bjornsen, Strindberg, Selma Lagerlof, and Ellen Key are among those whose influence is felt, but the influence of Scandinavian poetry is not apparent for the reason that with the exception of this volume and selections from the work of Tegner and Runeberg, very little has been translated into English. Swedish folksong began to develop early in the Seventeenth Century. Later it was influenced by French, German, and Italian models and by English and German romanticism. The master of the early poets was Karl Mikael Bellman. Of the modern poets, Gustave Froding is admittedly the greatest. He seems, on slight study, to be the legitimate predecessor of our own poet revolutionaries. He pulls the mask from reality; he is frank, and does not hesitate to vary the meter, rhyme, and stanzaic arrangement within the compass of a single poem. Form evolves as he composes; there are no set laws for his genius. His folksongs have that rare elemental touch that is so essential, and in all the poems translated for this volume, there is undeniable beauty and power.

New books of verse that have a timely appeal include "Lyrics of War and Peace" (Bobbs-Merrill), by William Dudley Foulke. They are of exceptional beauty and rich with spiritual comforting.

"Idols," by Walter Conrad Arensberg (Houghton, Mifflin), contains poems that express the delicate and elusive tangibilities of the subjective impressed upon a highly sophisticated mind. Mr. Arensberg must be classified with the symbolists.

¹ "Chicago Poems." By Carl Sandburg. Hous. 184 pp. \$1.50.

² "Others." Alfred Knopf. 110 pp. \$1.00.

³ "Poems by Gustave Froding. Translated by Charles W. Stork. Macmillan. 192 pp. \$1.25.

"Turns and Movies," by Conrad Aiken (Houghton, Mifflin), give us much that is new and daring. It is raw realism in combination with poetic fervor and a passion for truth.

". . . And Other Poems," by Louis Untermeyer (Holt), is a brilliant book of waggish verse vastly entertaining and amusing. The section, "The Banquet of the Bards," gives parodies on the leading contemporary poets; "Attempted Affinities" is the result of the poet's imagining what would result from the collaboration of various poets—for instance, Herrick and Horace; and the third section, "Pierian Springs," contains verse that has been published in various magazines.

"Wolf's-bane," by John Cowper Powys (G. Arnold Shaw), presents mortal disillusion in the confession of poesy, with the object that by making our sorrows lyric, we may, in a measure, enjoy them. The verse is often reminiscent of the music of Poe. Here and there a lofty note challenges admiration. A notable and a unique collection.

"Battle and Other Poems," by Wilfrid Wilson

Gibson (Macmillan), is a book of stirring verse—songs of the life of a soldier, twenty poems on various subjects, and seven plays of impressive beauty. Mr. Gibson is a poet of the people, a lyricist who penetrates the heart of humanity. He was born in Hexham, England, in 1878. Other books published previously are "Daily Bread," "Fires," "Borderlands and Thoroughfares."

Mr. Hermann Hagedorn is a true poet. "The Great Maze: The Heart of Youth," a poem and a play, published together, will not disappoint the reader who likes a story for the story's sake, or those who take delight simply in the manner of expression. "The Great Maze" is the story of Agamemnon's return to Clytaemnestra after ten years' absence. The characterization is superb; the passionate imagination of a master-poet shaped this tale, which is as old as time and still as modern as yesterday. There is nothing finer in modern American poetry. "The Heart of Youth" is a play that was written for the dedication of an out-of-door theater.

"CALIBAN," THE COMMEMORATION MASQUE

ASIDE from the sumptuousness of its actual physical presentation upon a stage, there is a blinding glory in the very conception of the magnificent masque, "Caliban," devised and written by Percy MacKaye to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare. The Master Bard wrote, "All the world's a stage," but until the production of "Caliban" no maker of masques and plays had attempted to show us within the scope of a single performance, the entire historic civilization of the earth, and the redemption of this civilization by art, from barbaric times to the present age. The Masque is a complex structure of music, light, dance, acting, song, scenic values, pantomime—the whole built into a monument of dramatic art that lifts as the apex of its upward-pushing pyramid, the "spoken word." Its triumphant art acknowledges the profound testament of St. John—"In the Beginning was the Word."

The precise motive of "Caliban" is taken from Shakespeare's play, "The Tempest." Mr. MacKaye conceives the art of Prospero as that of Shakespeare, the art that liberates the groping human animal intelligence into a fourth dimension of imagination, where we perceive that we are indeed "such stuff as dreams are made on," and that in this airy kingdom of Ariel and his spirits, are shaped the finer powers that age after age redeem mankind from lusts and brutalities. He writes that Caliban is the child-curious part of us all, groveling close to his aboriginal origins, yet groping up and staggering with almost rhythmic falls and back-slidings toward that serene plane of pity and love, reason and disciplined will.

The action of the Masque takes place on three planes—in the cave of Setebos (before and after

its transformation into the theater of Prospero), in the mind of Prospero (behind the symbolical Cloudy Curtains of the inner stage), and on the ground circle of the "Yellow Sands" of historic time. The Interludes of the Masque show three historical periods—Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Elizabethan England. The settings are architectural and scenic; the stage of modified Elizabethan type, and the great Ground Circle corresponds to the "orchestra" of the Greek theater.

The art of Prospero triumphs over Caliban's deformed earth-nature. By means of the master creations of Time, the "deathless artists of the plastic mind," Caliban is wrenched in spirit from the prison of his loathly shape into sudden radiance. He cries to Miranda:

"Lady of the Yellow Sands! O Life! O Time!
Thy tempest blindeth me: Thy beauty baffleth—
A little have I crawled—a little only
Out of mine ancient cave. All that I build
I botch; all that I do destroyeth my dream.
Yet—yet I yearn to build, to be thine Artist
And 'stablish this thine earth among the stars.
Beautiful!"

"Caliban" was produced in the Lewisohn Stadium of the College of the City of New York on May 23, and the following four nights. It will be released for general use on June 1. The book of the Masque is illustrated with cuts of scenes designed by the distinguished Viennese artist, Joseph Urban, and by Robert E. Jones, who designed the admirable settings for Granville Barker's production of "The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife."

* "The Great Maze: The Heart of Youth." By Hermann Hagedorn. Macmillan. 111 pp. \$1.25.

* "Caliban." By Percy MacKaye. Doubleday. Page. 229 pp. 16. Paper, 30 cents; cloth, \$1.25.

MODERN PLAYS

DO you do an injustice to your children if you fail to bring them up in a strict religious faith? That is the salient question of Paul Hyacinthe Loyson's play, "The Apostle." Monsieur Baudouin, the French Minister of Religion and Instruction, finds that his son, Octave, has dishonored the public office that has been entrusted to him. He prepares—regardless of parental affection—to expose his dealings and deliver him to justice. But Octave's mother, Eugenie, interferes. She reminds Baudouin that he stopped the boy's prayers, wrenched him away from the bosom of the church, took away his God. His son has been educated without a living faith, without rules, or being armed against himself; everything has been done for his brain, nothing for his conscience, therefore his parent must accept a part of his moral responsibility, and accept the part of an unintentional accomplice in his crime.

Barrett Clark has translated this play, which is Loyson's fourth study in tragedy.¹

A most effective play, "Punishment," the work of Louise Burleigh and Edward Hale Bierstadt, depicts the fallacy of the idea that punishment is in any way an actual, regenerative force. The action takes place within Riverside Prison. The Warden, John Calvin, finds himself ground between two opposing forces, the enmity of the convicts that results from his stern discipline and lack of understanding of their individual problems, and the determination of the ring of outside grafters to remove him because he will not per-

mit them to control the prison. Thomas Mott Osborne has written in the foreword that "Punishment" is not unworthy a place beside Galsworthy's masterpiece, "Justice"; and George Kirchwey writes that the "play opens the door of hope and points through it to a better system of the future which is even now coming into being." It is an excellent reading play.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw publishes, in one volume, three plays: "Pygmalion," the story of how a duchess was made out of a flower-girl by means of a little money and tuition by a professor of phonetics; "Overruled," a delightful comedy for married people; and "Androcles and the Lion," a play based on the familiar story of the lion who befriended the man who had once extracted a thorn from his foot. A larger portion of the book is given up to the lengthy preface to "Androcles," in which Mr. Shaw makes it quite clear that the religion we have been accustomed to name as Christianity is a quaint but wholly intelligible evolution of the rites of savagery that lead with perfect consistency up to the religion of Luther and Calvin. After a discussion of the gospels and the religion of the majority—worldliness, and the religion of the minority—salvationism, he comes to the pith of his preachment. Government is impossible without religion. We have an anti-Christian religion, therefore the present-day cataclysms of state and government are traceable to our failure to practise the ethics of Jesus Christ.

ART CRITICISM

THE Appeal of the Picture," an examination into the principles of picture-making, by Frederick Colin Tilney, puts into permanent form the various thoughts and precepts that have arisen in the writer's mind during fifteen years of art-teaching and art-criticism. It is intended for the general public and for two particular classes of students, the sanguine scholar of the art school, and the student of artistic and pictorial photography. The chapters treat of size, tone, color, composition, realism and idealism, naturalism, landscape, impressionism, mural painting, genre pictures, portraiture, and many technical modifications of pictures. The object of the book is to make us understand—not art primarily, but pictures, why some are good and others bad, who we like one and dislike another, and to show us conclusively the sound reasons at art that lie behind every historical masterpiece. Any person of average intelligence who will carefully study this book will not only find his way happily about art galleries and exhibitions, but he will be able to express opinions based on distinctive taste and sound judgment. The text is illustrated with many reproductions of paintings and

diagrams that give point to the author's arguments.

A constructive study of the development of the art of painting, from prehistoric to modern times, is given in Dr. Raley Husted Bell's book, "The Philosophy of Painting." Every person of artistic taste will be interested in this thoughtful, stimulating work whether he is acquainted or unacquainted with the technique of painting. The contents include discussions of the theory and origin of painting: Early Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Christian Painting, the Roman Period, the Italian Masters, Tonalism and Tonalists, the Secret of the Old Masters and of Stained Glass. Dr. Bell tells us to think on the message of the painter; Watts expressed it thus: "Critics usually fail because they do not regard art and literature from the same point of view and as occupying the same level, seldom taking into account what the artist has to say, but only how he has said it." He feels that modern art is bound to be influenced by Japanese art ideals, and that the coming problem of painting will be how to express the soul, or phases of it.

"Estimates in Art," by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., presents studies of Claude Lorraine, Botticelli, El

¹ The Appeal of the Picture. By Frederick Colin Tilney. Doubleday, Page & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y. 1924. Pp. 288. \$2.50. Overruled, and Pygmalion. By George Bernard Shaw. New York: The Century Company, 1924. Pp. 144. \$1.50.

The Philosophy of Painting. By Raley Husted Bell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. Pp. 320. \$1.50.

Greco, Rembrandt, Vermeer, Sorolla, Carriere, Watts, La Farge, and Far-Eastern Painting. There is much new material in this brilliantly written book, and that which can lay no claim to novelty is presented in a fresh original style that has an added excuse for being in the fineness of its literary texture. In particular, the splendid descriptions of Goya's paintings, the chapter on Watts, the tribute to LaFarge, and the analysis of the psychology of Chinese landscape painting contribute to render this book a most valuable contribution to the literature of art. Mr. Mather is professor of art and archæology in Princeton University.¹

Practically everyone with any appreciation of art who visited the Panama-Pacific Exposition agreed that the Palace of Fine Arts, with its magnificent display of modern painting and sculpture fulfilled every desire for the beautiful that could emanate from the human mind. Mr. Christian Brinton, who has prepared a large illustrated volume, "Impressions of the Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition,"² writes that the Fine Arts Building seemed indeed "an island set amid a shimmering sea of color, a haven where the spirit sought grateful repose." And amid the multitude of books, Mr. Brinton's catholic impressions of modern art will offer the same solace. It contains five color-plates, "The Skaters," by Gari Melchers, four panels by Brangwyn, and 82 illustrations in black and white. The introductory essay discusses "The Modern Spirit in Contemporary Painting," and there is an added chapter on the beautiful Exposition in miniature at San Diego.

A unique little art booklet, by Cora Lenore Williams, is entitled "The Fourth-Dimensional Reaches of the Exposition."³ The author finds that length, breadth, and height are not enough to reveal our delight in its beauty—visible or remembered. Another dimension is required—and this leads to a discussion of the so-called fourth dimension of the mathematicians as a thought form.

During the last few years artists have been seeking a new form language. Structural necessity admittedly must evolve architectural forms, but ornament may be supplied from other sources. Mr. Claude Bragdon suggests in a unique book, "Projective Ornament,"⁴ that the new form language may be developed from a geometric source. Most persons who have any knowledge of mathematics are familiar with the illusion of hyperspace—a fourth dimension, that is, a direction moving at right angles to every known direction. Now by means of projective geometry—the higher development of geometric figures—Mr. Bragdon uncovers a rich source of intricate ornamentation that seems inexhaustible. After a technical exposition of his theories he proceeds to the symbolism of the rhythmic correlation of balanced forms—rhythmic space subdivision which is the secret of good ornamentation and good architecture. Various applications of projective ornament are suggested, not as designs to be copied, but as stimulants to our own research and discovery. He finds that the secret of beauty is "necessity"—the world order. The book has a colored frontispiece and many delightful illustrations in black and white.

IRISH MEMORIES

"REVERIES Over Childhood and Youth,"⁵ by William Butler Yeats, comes to us while our minds are still overcast with the shadow of the deaths and misfortunes of many of his friends and associates among the group known as the Irish Intellectuals, in the recent attempt to gain liberty for Ireland. Among the early memories of the poet are impressions of Sligo, where he lived for a time with his grandfather William Pollexfen, whom he admired and feared for the reason—a typically Irish one—that it was the custom to fear and admire him. Jack Yeats, a brother, who is a well-known artist, has enriched this book with a drawing of the village of Roses Point in Sligo, "Memory Harbor," looking with its curious foreshortening, much as a boy's vision would place it in his memory. There is a great deal about his father, J. B. Yeats, senior, his methods of education, and also his methods of painting. He was known as the man who "scraped out every morning that which he had painted the day before." He writes of his

mother: "She would spend hours listening to stories of the pilots and fishing people of Rosses



THE MOTHER OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS
(From a drawing made by J. B. Yeats, in 1867)

Point, or of her own Sligo girlhood, and it was always assumed between her and us that Sligo was more beautiful than other places." Yeats hurries on to tell us that while his own memory of his mother is dim, he has been told by an old cripple whom he met in San Francisco, who had left Sligo before his mother married, that she "had been the most beautiful girl in Sligo." His father's friends, the Pre-Raphaelite painters, Wilson, Page, Nettleship, and Potter, are distinct in his gallery of portraits. The recollections of his school days are amusing. Apparently the youthful "Willie"

¹ Estimates in Art. By Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. Scribners. 315 pp. Ill. \$1.00.

² Impressions of The Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. By Christian Brinton. John Lane. Ill. 203 pp. \$3.

³ The Fourth Dimensional Reaches of the Exposition. By Cora L. Williams. Paul Elder. 17 pp. 50 cents.

⁴ Projective Ornament. By Claude Bragdon. Rochester, N. Y.: Minus Press. 79 pp. \$1.00.

⁵ Reveries Over Childhood and Youth. William Butler Yeats. Macmillan. 180 pp.

Yeats never did anything—not even his lessons—quite like anybody else. He regrets that his father did not take him out of school and teach him only Greek and Latin; and he glories in the readings of poetry that his father gave him at breakfast in the York Street tenement house in Dublin, and now when he sees "Coriolanus" played, it is not Irving's or Benson's voice he hears, but his father's subtle, impassioned monotone in the fine lines. Here in the early days of boyhood, we find the dim beginning of "Shadowy Waters." He goes sailing before dawn

off Rosses Point to find what seabirds cry in the night.

The idea of the Irish Theater came into his mind when he noted that the Irish people did not read, but that they would listen. The reveries are written in the intimate personal way that one writes a letter to an intimate friend. They are so simple that one remembers pages as easily as the pages of old fairy tales. The book ends with a note of sorrow, for to the poet "all life weighed in the scales of my own life seems to me a preparation for something that never happens."

SEASONABLE OUT-OF-DOOR BOOKS

Out of Doors. By Emerson Hough. Appleton. 301 pp. \$1.25.

From a fund of experience gained by travel in nearly every State of the Union, as well as in the Canadian provinces, Mr. Hough has prepared this practical handbook for the fisherman, camper, and hunter. One distinctive feature of the work is the advice and information that it conveys as to the location of the best camping-grounds in America. A special chapter is devoted to "The Woman in Camp."

American Trout-Stream Insects. By Louis Rhead. Stokes. 177 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Text descriptions and illustrations in color of the best-known insects alluring to trout that appear month by month on the rivers and lakes of the temperate regions of North America. Mr. Rhead is already well known to anglers as the author of several standard books on North American fish.

American Boys' Book of Bugs, Butterflies and Beetles. By Dan Beard. Philadelphia. Lippincott. 399 pp. Ill. \$2.

It is said that Dan Beard, founder of the American Boy Scouts, knows more boys and has made more interesting and practical things for boys than any other living man. It is his special knowledge of boys, as well as what he knows about insects, that qualifies Mr. Beard in a peculiar way to write such a book as this. In other words, he knows how to make his topic interesting to his audience.

Wild Flowers of the North American Mountains. By Julia W. Henshaw, F. R. G. S. 341 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The flowers described in this book are classified according to color and without special reference to their scientific relationships. There is, however, a general key at the beginning of the volume which will be of use to botanists. The flora of Canada receives especial attention throughout the book. There are many well-executed plates, both colored and uncolored.

The Story of Agriculture in the United States. By Albert H. Sanford. Heath. 394 pp. Ill. \$1.

A novel attempt to gather the more important facts of our agricultural history into a book that may be accessible to those whose lives are associated with the farmer's calling. Oddly enough, very little has heretofore been done in the way of drawing material for the instruction of young people in our rural schools from their actual environment. This book is made up of such material and is intended primarily for boys and girls who live on farms, although it should be of interest to many others.

The Principles of Plant Culture. By E. S. Goff. Macmillan. 295 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

A useful text-book for beginners in agriculture and horticulture that has had a test of nearly twenty years in the hands of teachers and students at schools of agriculture throughout the country. The work has now been revised by Professors L. R. Jones and J. G. Moore, of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, and a preface is supplied by Professor L. H. Bailey, of Cornell. The present edition is the eighth. Professor Goff died in 1902.

My Growing Garden. By J. Horace McFarland. Macmillan. 216 pp. Ill. \$2.

A book written out of the personal experience of the author and members of his family, and most attractively illustrated from his own photographs. It is the story of what Mr. McFarland and his family have done within a half-dozen years to make from an old house, surrounded by a couple of acres of abandoned vineyard, a real garden home.

Old-Time Gardens. By Alice Morse Earle. Macmillan. 489 pp. Ill. \$2.

A mass of information about the gardens of yesterday which supplements and rounds out Mrs. Earle's researches in colonial home life and institutions.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE FACTOR OF GUARANTEE IN AN INVESTMENT

INTRINSICALLY an investment is rated on earning capacity. Legally it may be helped by the guarantee of some corporation or individual whose credit may be assumed to be higher than that of the guaranteed.

There are obviously conditions where the guarantee plays an important, and necessary, part in the financing of companies, especially during their development stage. It is always difficult to float the securities of a railroad which enters a territory of rather unknown traffic possibilities unless it has the moral or legal backing of a prosperous going concern. Without the Denver & Rio Grande guarantee the Western Pacific could not have been constructed across the desert and mountainous States of Utah and Nevada. The great terminals of Western railroads depend somewhat on participating lines for their credit. Such expensive undertakings in the East as the New York, Westchester & Boston and the New York Connecting Line have been possible only because the New York, New Haven & Hartford, in the one case and the New Haven with the Pennsylvania Railroad, in the other, have agreed to stand sponsor for interest and principal. The Canadian Northern Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway have been greatly assisted by the guarantees which the Canadian Government gave to their bondholders.

This obligation has been more conspicuous in railroad than in industrial financing. One reason is the amounts involved are larger in railroad construction and the net returns on capital usually smaller than where the manufacture of a product is involved. Again the government and State regulations surrounding the investment are more strict. A government may prefer to guarantee a railroad bond issue rather than grant a land subsidy as used to be done when land values were lower than they are these days.

In only a few instances is there a direct earning factor behind issues of government bonds. Special emissions have been related to percentages of customs receipts, as in Mexico, or to State monopolies, as in Japan

and Russia, but 95 per cent. of the buyers of government securities are inspired by the faith they have in the intention and the legal requirement of the issuer to pay off the bonds at par when they mature. It was the guarantee of the British and French governments that they would take up the Anglo-French 5's in gold at par in 1920 that made \$500,000,000 of them saleable in the United States last year.

The purpose of this article is to show that while guarantees are valuable and play an important part in establishing the price of securities they should not be considered, as they too frequently are, the *sine qua non* of a corporation investment issue. It is a tragic fact that in the numerous railroad reorganizations of the last three years the guaranteed bond has fared very badly and the owners of these bonds have suffered larger losses, in proportion to cost prices, than in almost any other class. Because it was guaranteed the bond sold at a premium over issues that were rated on earnings and when it had to stand on its intrinsic value it made a very sorry showing. The unfortunate experience has also been that as soon as it revealed its inability to earn its own interest the guarantor frequently found some way to evade his responsibility, or liability, and the house of cards collapsed.

When it was realized that the Western Pacific could not cover the service of its debt from its own revenues investors who had paid 95 or higher for its first-mortgage 5 per cent. bonds began to appreciate that the Denver & Rio Grande guarantee could not check the decline in price, and they finally fell to about 20. Various mortgages on properties subsidiary to the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway have carried the absolute guarantee of the parent company, and in years gone by have sold at substantial premiums, but in the present condition of receivership in which the guarantor finds itself it is to the actual earning power under these bonds and not to the guarantee that their price has been responding as it has tumbled 40 points, and in some instances 60

points, from high record levels. It is significant that one finds on lists of protective committees the names of representatives of large institutions that had bought the bonds in their heyday on the guarantee factor. Especially deplorable has been the experience of holders of bonds of coal companies related to railroads now insolvent. These bonds commanded investment respect chiefly on the guarantee, and relatively few holders took the trouble to investigate the production and exhaustion feature of their properties. With the guarantor's ability to guarantee gone these elements were looked into, and in several notable cases the discovery was made that equities were trifling.

In the general collapse of Mexican government and railroad securities the specific bonds that carried the government guarantee made no better showing than the others, for all were reduced to the common measurement of what they could earn with a large percentage of the system two rails of rust or littered with partially destroyed equipment.

In the last analysis it is earnings that establish the true price basis. It is only by first suffering such losses on guaranteed bonds as have been indicated that the investor has this fact drilled into him. Fortunately he is beginning to see the light. He cares less to-day for the social standing, so to speak, of his bond than what it covers and what the property mortgaged earns. Investment houses whose clients have met with heavy reverses in guaranteed issues in the last five years have been known to refuse participation in underwritings in which the guarantee feature was made conspicuous over that of earnings. One writer recently described the guarantee as a "fetish," and amounting in some cases to "investment idolatry," pointing out where a terminal bond was advised because it was guaranteed

by receivers of a bankrupt road, and again where another issue of this type was recommended on the guarantee of 12 roads, five of which were in receivers' hands, and one or two others with very low credit, the guarantee instead of earnings being emphasized.

There is the pernicious side to the guarantee. (It is conspicuous in the New England railroad situation. The Boston & Maine system was built up on a structure of rentals and guarantees.) Frequently the rate established has been based on temporarily abnormal earnings. When these become normal, or go below normal, the property is neglected physically to meet the guarantee. There may be great economic changes in the territory of the guaranteed company which permanently affect its earning power. The inevitable result of the drain of high-fixed charges is insolvency. Too often in recent years New England investors, individuals and corporations alike, have missed the point and made their guarantee a "fetish," when it was in reality a liability, and its value finally reduced by the leveler of actual earnings.

We do not suggest at all that guaranteed bonds as a class should be forfeited the right of investment respect. All that is hoped for is to encourage the prospective buyer of securities of all descriptions to look first to the actual or potential earning capacity of such bonds or stocks as may be offered him, and to place in a secondary, instead of in a primary place, the guarantee factor. This will have the effect of giving him a greater interest in his investment and keeping him in touch with the changes that surround it. If it has been bought on what it can earn, rather than who guarantees payment, it will be less likely to be found in the investors' portfolio when protective committees call for the deposit of it following default.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 737. SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS ABOUT MINING AND OIL STOCKS

Your suggestion has been read with interest and I think your statement represents a fair thing. I have tried to tell this story in my previous articles, pointing to the many companies that are doing much more than pay. Most of the companies are in the oil business and are doing much more than pay. I have tried to tell this story in my previous articles, pointing to the many companies that are doing much more than pay.

There is also the point of interest of companies that are doing much more than pay. I have tried to tell this story in my previous articles, pointing to the many companies that are doing much more than pay. I have tried to tell this story in my previous articles, pointing to the many companies that are doing much more than pay.

It is difficult, and in some respects dangerous, to attempt to generalize in discussing securities of the kind you refer to. We believe, however, that it may properly be said that for the average investor even the better class of mining stocks cannot be recommended with as much assurance as the better class of railroad stocks. The underlying reason for this is that the earning power and, therefore, the dividend paying ability of the mining companies does not, on the average, show anywhere near the stability that is shown by the earning power and dividend-paying ability of the railroads as a class.

Just at the present time the copper-mining companies, in particular, are enjoying an unexampled amount of prosperity. Owing to conditions arising out of the trade that has been carried on between this country and Europe in furnishing supplies and materials for war purposes, the price of the copper metal has risen rapidly, and as a result the mining companies have been making unusual profits. A great many companies in this field of enterprise that were not able to operate profitably under normal conditions in the copper market have been graduated into the profit-making class and their stockholders are enjoying at least a part of the benefits. But there is undoubtedly a good deal in this situation that is of merely temporary nature, and we believe, therefore, that to buy the copper stocks on the strength of existing conditions is to take a considerable amount of speculative risk. This consideration is entirely aside from the fundamental consideration that, while the mining industry has been brought during recent years to a point where it partakes much of the nature of manufacturing enterprise, there still remains the unknown factor resulting from the inability to guard against the contingencies that arise from time to time in connection with a development of the hidden supplies of the raw material with which these companies work.

Much the same kind of consideration obtains in connection with the oil companies, except the relatively few whose business is entirely, or for the most part, outside the field of actual production. We refer to companies like the Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Standard Oil of New York, the Standard Oil of Ohio, the Standard Oil of California, and the Standard Oil of Indiana, whose business is essentially that of refining and marketing oil and its by-products.

Purely from an investment standpoint, the companies in this subdivision of the group of former Standard Oil subsidiaries are considered best by the authorities. At the same time, it is difficult to judge the real merit of these stocks on account of the fact that it has never been the policy of the companies to make public very much information about their affairs.

NO. 738. TAX-FREE BONDS IN PENNSYLVANIA FOR A WIDOW'S INVESTMENT

Will you be kind enough to suggest a few purchases that might be recommended for a widow having approximately \$5,000 to invest? She is in such position that safety of principal is the first essential. It would be the idea to have her invest not more than \$1,000 in any one thing, and preferably not to invest the entire amount in any one particular class of securities. Your views as to the best judgment to be observed in a case of this kind will be appreciated.

In addition to the question of safety, we believe one important thing to take into consideration in a case of this kind is to get exemption from the personal-property tax in your State, in order that the income from the investment may be kept at as high an average rate as possible.

Accordingly, we have made a few random selections of high-grade bonds that are tax free in Pennsylvania. We mention them not so much with the idea of recommending them specifically as the best or most satisfactory investments to be had for such purposes as yours, but rather more with the idea of illustrating the type and class of securities to which we believe your selections ought to be confined.

The bonds are: Pennsylvania Railroad, general mortgage 4½'s, now selling to net about

4.40 per cent; Cleveland Short Line, first mortgage 4½'s, selling to net about 4.45 per cent; Pennsylvania and Mahoning Valley Railroad, first and refunding 5's, selling to net about 4.70 per cent, and Scranton Electric Railroad, first and refunding 5's, selling to net about 4.75 per cent.

We quite agree with you when you say that it would be preferable not to invest the entire amount of this fund in any one particular line, although to obtain the tax-exempt feature we think you will probably find it necessary to stick to railroad and public-utility bonds.

NO. 739. THE QUESTION OF HIGHER INCOME YIELDS

I will have three or four thousand dollars to invest soon. I have some other money invested and would not now be so particular about immediate profitability as I would a somewhat larger amount, although, of course, I want the security. I have some bankers suggesting that if we get five this season and eight per cent we are wasting our money. What do you think of this idea?

Local brokers say that the Anglo-French bonds selling to yield over six per cent. are a first-class investment. What is your opinion of this?

We are in agreement with your local brokers who recommend the Anglo-French five per cent bonds at present prices. In fact, we regard these bonds as offering one of the genuine bargains in the present investment market. We say this, of course, aside from all considerations other than purely financial and investment considerations.

We are not quite so sure that it is right to make the broad, general statement that an investor wastes his money nowadays if he gets less than seven per cent income on it. We believe that such a rate of income may be safely obtained, but not always under conditions that conform to the individual investor's circumstances. There are a number of localities throughout the country in which there are reasons for higher loaning rates on capital other than deficiency in underlying security. The individual investor whose circumstances require the higher rate is confronted with the problem of finding such localities and then in finding a reliable and experienced banking-house to represent him in his loaning transactions. Even then he usually finds that he has to make some sacrifice to compensate for the higher rate—usually the sacrifice of a broad market for his securities.

NO. 740. SHORT-TIME INVESTMENTS

I am enclosing a short list of industrial securities and would like to have you tell me what you think of them for short-time small investments.

We find the issues named to be representative of a fairly good class of industrial shares, but they are not the kind of securities that are properly considered for "short-time small investments."

The most desirable short-time investments are to be found among corporation notes, railroad-equipment obligations, the notes of a number of foreign governments, which have financed their requirements in this country since the outbreak of the war, municipal bonds of the kind that are issued in series, and bonds or certificates secured by first mortgages on real estate, either improved-producing city property or productive farm land. These various classes of investments now offer net income yields running from 4 to 4¼ or 4½ per cent among the corporation notes and equipment obligations to 6 per cent among the real-estate investments.

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